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HISTORY OF GERMAN THEOLOGY
IN
THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

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HISTORY
OF
GERMAN THEOLOGY
IN
THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

BY
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EDINBURGH:
T. & T. CLARK, 38 GEORGE STREET.
1889.

PRINTED BY MORRISON AND GIBB,
FOR
T. & T. CLARK, EDINBURGH.
LONDON, HAMILTON, ADAMS, AND CO.
DUBLIN, GEORGE HERDEFT.
NEW YORK, SCRIBNER AND WELFORD.

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

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IN the Nineteenth Century, as in the Sixteenth, Germany has been the living heart and head of Protestant and progressive theology. In other countries the Christian tradition has been resolutely preserved and somewhat purified and spiritualized, yet the first attitude of its representatives has been generally that of suspicion and distrust, and even in its greatest organization, of hostility and hatred towards the new theological aspiration and thought. But in the land of Luther and Melancthon, and even more than in the age of the Reformation, the religious spirit from the very outset of the century realized its Christian freedom and put forth its essential power. In consequence, the development of theology and the evolution of religious thought in Germany have largely responded to the needs of the time, and have presented a spectacle of progress which, when viewed as a whole, has had no rival or approach elsewhere. The vast learning, the indefatigable research, and the intellectual energy of the German theologians have become proverbial, while their daring originality and speculative ardour have recalled the most fertile century in the dogmatic development of the Church, and have alternately dismayed, perplexed, and subdued the more sober thinkers of the other divisions of Christendom. Taken all in all, the German theological development as exhibited in its profound, penetrating, and fertile results, must be considered to be one of the most distinctive, influential, and characteristic elements in the spiritual work of the century.

The force of this movement can no longer be ignored by

any earnest student of theology anywhere, nor can its realized wealth of accumulated knowledge and current ideas be easily estimated or overrated. The already sceptred sovereigns of the German theology stand out large on the historic canvas when compared with any of their contemporaries, and their work has a much more sterling and enduring worth. In their patient search the German theologians have examined and weighed every word, it might even be said, every letter and point that remains of the original Scripture, with a perseverance, an impartiality, and a carefulness which for real merit and value far surpass the mere minute and mechanical formalism of the Seventeenth Century. They have striven, at least as earnestly as the philosophers and with greater success, to overcome the negative spirit of the age of Enlightenment, and to satisfy the keen craving for spiritual knowledge by opening up to it again the sealed fountains of eternal life and light. With the widening thoughts of men, they have widened the boundaries of their science and found room for the restless modern mind to orb about, with all its spontaneous and varied individuality, in its battling with old unslain scepticisms and in its eager search for wider and more essential truth. Applying their methodical and disciplined habit of thought to the scattered material of theology, they have gathered it from every Christian thinker and from every age, and have organized it into a living spiritual unity instinct with the energy of a new life. They have reverently recognised the Person of Christ as the attracting and unifying centre of all their thought and devotion, and have made the original creative life of the Apostolic Age live anew as the guide and inspiration of their own best endeavours. With rare faithfulness and unwearying perseverance they have revised the old theological conceptions, and have introduced order and method into the history and criticism of the past. They have even created new theological sciences which have rapidly grown to be the most vigorous members in the theological organism, and have elaborated new scientific formulæ for all the empirical contingencies of the expand-

ing life of the Church. And, finally, with the universal resources of philosophy they have explored the relations of all the elements of Christian thought and life to all the other intellectual and spiritual potentialities of the human mind and race, and have thus embraced the whole historic development of religion and humanity in their science. And so they have been practical withal, in the highest and widest sense, in having ever striven towards that ideal unity of the higher spiritual life, which is at once more essential and more universal than the most ambitious scheme of mediæval hierarchy or outward mission, and which they believe is destined at last to exhibit the divine-human principle of Christianity in its fulness, and to embody really in human life the eternal conception of the kingdom of God.

This, however, has been but slowly and reluctantly recognised, and is even yet far from being universally acknowledged. German theology has had to encounter and overcome a world of prejudice and opposition in the English mind, which at first extended to everything in it, including its ideas, its methods, and its very name. At the close of the Eighteenth Century, the English scholars and thinkers were wholly indisposed to turn to the European continent for leading or light. The political complications had chilled the sympathies of the English generally for continental ideas and modes of thought. In consequence of the great cataclysm, France, the once pleasing and graceful guide of the elegances and adornments of life, had become a horror and a terror. The Hanoverian succession had not idealized Germany to the popular mind, and German literature, which was only attaining classical form, was either ignored or despised. By the force of events the intellectual leaders of England were thus at the time thrown upon themselves and were living in a certain cold and haughty isolation, realizing again in their own sphere the old description of the "*Britannos toto orbe divisos*." The English Church was but recovering from the exasperation of the Deistical controversy, and dreaded nothing more than the rekindling of its smouldering fire. The theologians, as repre-

sented by Watson, Horsley, and Paley, had no sympathy for essential thinking in religion, and had given all their strength to throwing up a fence of protective outworks around the precincts of the Holy City. The bearers of the religious revival were too intent on the diffusion of the new spiritual life, and too absorbed in its immediate expression, to give more than occasional heed to the reflective and scientific movements elsewhere. In these circumstances, the rise of the new German theology could not but be viewed with distrust and suspicion. The feeling of aversion to it intensified through the early decades of the century as some of its most novel and threatening aspects came into view. It thus became the fashion to regard it as the chief of infidelities, and to decry it as "rationalism," "neology," and even "atheism," till the term "Germanism" became synonymous with all three. The ingenious phrase of old Dennis, "clotted nonsense," was wittily revived to satirize the ideal philosophy with which it was accompanied or crowned; and the clever biographer of Sir Walter Scott, who was supposed to know, did not hesitate to apply a profaner epithet to stigmatize it. Popular preachers lashed themselves into fury to denounce its impiety; and solemn churchmen, who looked askance at the Hebrew points and studied only the Greek of Aristophanes, anathematized it with a semblance of heroic wrath. To be suspected of knowing German, or of being given to the study of German theology, was almost certain to blast the prospects of the young divine and to mark him out for the special care of the ecclesiastical authorities. The new reviewers and the University preachers readily took up the hue and cry, and carried it on with greater clamour and bitterness. In vain was it pointed out by the German theologians themselves that all this alarm and zeal were out of date and beside the mark, as applicable only to the dead or dying Rationalism of the Eighteenth Century. Ecclesiastical bigotry and intolerance were only heightened by appeals to the sentiment of patriotism and wounded vanity. Through such a phalanx of unreasoning, unlettered, and

unenlightened opposition, had German theology in the beginning of the century to win its way.¹

¹ Most of what is here referred to is now melancholy reading, and it would be better entirely to forget than to recall it were it not that it is still necessary to point the moral it conveys. The controversy that raged on the subject in the English Universities during the third decade, received considerable attention both in this country and in Germany, and did much to clear the air. We get a reliable glimpse of the state of opinion and the competency of the combatants in Thirlwall's able Introduction to his translation of Schleiermacher's Essay on Luke, which was published anonymously in 1825 (see below, p. 132). The future Historian and Bishop was then a Chancery Barrister, and, following in the line of Bishop Marsh, the translator of Michaelis, he writes: "It cannot be concealed that German theology in general, and German biblical criticism in particular, labours at present under an ill name among our divines; so that no one is more sure of an attentive and believing audience than he who undertakes to point out its mischiefs and dangers. . . . It would almost seem as if at Oxford the knowledge of German subjected a divine to the same suspicion of heterodoxy which we know was attached some centuries back to the knowledge of Greek." "The last warning voice against the infection of German divinity" had been raised by Mr. Conybeare, in the Bampton Lecture of the previous year, 1824; but the Lecturer, although an earnest man, was entirely ignorant of the German language, and his book did "not contain one of the modern names which every one at all acquainted with the literature of Germany has been accustomed to respect as the chief ornaments of its theology" (pp. viii.-ix.). Thirlwall's publication did not tend to popularise that theology, and it certainly created a prejudice against Schleiermacher, and turned sympathy away from his other incomparably more important works. In the same year Hugh James Rose delivered his celebrated Discourses on the German Theology before the University of Cambridge. (*The State of Protestantism in Germany described*; being the Substance of Four Discourses preached before the University of Cambridge in 1825. By the Rev. Hugh James Rose, B.D., Christian Advocate in the University of Cambridge, etc., 2nd ed. with an Appendix, 1829). These Discourses were very acceptable in England, but their extreme judgments and antiquated standpoint aroused the ire and called forth the protests of the German theologians. Rose's "Chronological Table of German Writers on Divinity" closes with Röhr, De Wette, and Wegscheider, and the name of Schleiermacher is barely mentioned in the text. Even Ammon (see below) took up the defence of German orthodoxy; a Dr. Beck in the *Allgemeines Repertorium* (1826, p. 285) told Rose that he "ought to read many more German books, and gain a wider knowledge of German literature;" and Dr. Bretschneider condescended to the somewhat testy retort: "We should allow Mr. Rose to pay as many compliments to his colleagues and his superiors at our cost as he pleases; and should not grudge him the pleasure of telling his friends, what they are all persuaded of before, that there is no country more perfect than England, and no Church more excellent than the high Episcopal Church, with its Thirty-nine Articles and its tedious Liturgy." Nothing more offensive to Rose's High Church tendencies and ritualistic attachment could have been said, or more calculated to encourage him in his crusade. Greater knowledge and greater fairness were brought into the controversy by Dr. Pusey, then fresh from the study of theology under Neander and Tholuck, and full of the first flush of liberal and generous feeling. Pusey largely corrected the narrow judgments of Rose, appreciated the importance of the philosophical

As in so many other instances, it was the clear vision of the poets that first caught the flaming up of the new dawn. The spirit of the new religious speculation found Wordsworth open and receptive for its power, and mingling it with his pure communings with nature, he gave forth its keynote of "natural piety" in his solemn and lofty tones. But it is to Coleridge, more than to any other, that the German theology owes its first genuine appreciation. The high endeavour of the poet-metaphysician to restore the deeper thought of the past and to wed it with the new theology of the time, was the greatest service that he did to the literature and spiritual life of his country. The speculative school of theology that arose in England under the inspiring influence of Coleridge, as represented by Julius Hare, Maurice, and their immediate scholars, was permeated and quickened by the spirit of German thought, and for the first time turned the rich resources of German theology to account.¹ The

movement, and acknowledged the greatness and the great restorative work of Schleiermacher. His contributions to the subject are still readable and of value, and their spirit is in striking contrast to his later polemical verbalism and sacramentarianism, which led him even to throw doubt on the Hebrew scholarship of Ewald. (*An Historical Enquiry into the Probable Causes of the rationalistic Character lately predominant in the Theology of Germany, to which is prefixed a Letter from Professor Sack upon the Rev. H. J. Rose's Discourses, etc.* By E. B. Pusey, M.A., Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, 1828. Part II. containing an Explanation of the Views misconceived by Mr. Rose, and further Illustrations. By E. B. Pusey, M.A., Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Oxford, etc., 1830.) Rose replied to Pusey deprecating his *liberalising* tendency and maintaining his position with some vigour (*A Letter to the Lord Bishop of London in reply to Mr. Pusey's work, etc.*, 1829). The beneficial influence of Neander and Tholuck appears throughout this controversy, and it went much wider and further through their other pupils in England, Scotland, and America. Rose's views were repeated by G. Pearson, B.D., another Cambridge Christian Advocate, in 1834, in his Letter on the "Danger of Abrogating Religious Tests," etc. His egregious blunders were forthwith treated with condign severity by Sir. W. Hamilton (*Edin. Rev.* Oct. 1834. Cf. *Discussions*, p. 486).

¹ Cf. J. H. Rigg: *Modern Anglican Theology, 1857*; and the late Principal Tulloch's sympathetic and appreciative Lectures on the Movements of Religious Thought in Britain during the Nineteenth Century, 1885. In 1836 John Sterling, amid the earnest utterances of his distracted and unsettled mind, declared of Schleiermacher that "he was on the whole the greatest spiritual teacher I have fallen in with." Robert Alfred Vaughan brought stronger intellectual capacity and a more scientifically trained habit to the study of the great renovator of the German theology, and his remarkable Essay on Schleier-

advance of the critical movement in England occasioned a closer intercourse with the products of German criticism, and in time led to intimate familiarity with it and masterly use of its appliances.¹ The opposition to German science, and the voluntary ignoring of its movement, led inevitably to bitter punishment and reprisal. But every encounter with the dreaded enemy ended in a better understanding, and even at last in something like an acceptance of its main positions.² It was found that if German theology presented much that was rationalistic and destructive, it furnished at the same time the strongest and keenest weapons with which to combat fundamental unbelief, and an almost inexhaustible store of all the learned materials and apparatus that could be of use to the expounders of Scripture and the defenders of the faith. Beyond England proper, the appreciation and appropriation of the resources of German theology passed through a somewhat similar experience, and ended in similar results. The keen

macher—written at the age of twenty-six—is one of the most striking evidences of the early maturity and solidity of his genius. It should not be lost sight of by the students of German Theology. It appeared in 1849 in the *British Quarterly Review*, vol. ix., and has been reproduced in his *Essays and Remains*, vol. i. In the same year, 1849, appeared J. D. Morrell's *Philosophy of Religion*, one of the earliest and ablest attempts to deal with the subject in England. It is entirely founded on Schleiermacher's Doctrine of Religion, gives in an Appendix a translation of part of Rothe's Ethics, and is introduced by a vigorous vindication of German Theology.

¹ Dean Stanley's Commentary on First Corinthians appeared in 1847; the first edition of Alford's Greek Testament in 1849; Bishop Ellicott's Commentary on Galatians in 1854; and Professor Jowett's work on the Epistles to the Thessalonians, Galatians, Romans, in 1855. Dr. Dörner generously says of these critics (including Trench) that they "are not only intimately acquainted with, and favourable to, German Theology, but have also in some respects equalled it." As much might be justly said of such later scholars of the Church of England, as Lightfoot, Westcott, Scrivener, Plumptre, Driver, Cheyne, and Hatch. Great services of a similar kind have also been rendered in connection with other communions by Dr. Samuel Davidson, Dr. S. P. Tregelles, Dr. Porter, Dr. W. L. Alexander, Dr. A. B. Davidson (Commentary on Job, 1862), and Dr. W. Robertson-Smith (editor of the last vols. of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*).

² The celebrated Oxford Essays and Reviews appeared in 1860. Most directly relevant to the present subject was Dr. Rowland Williams' account of Bunsen's Biblical Researches, which brought forward the whole method and results of the German Critical School. The reply of H. J. Rose, B.D., to it (Bunsen, the Critical School and Dr. Williams) in the "Replies to Essays and Reviews," 1862, should also be referred to. Professor Jowett's Essay on the

and active mind of America, quickened and stimulated by the living German elements poured into it, soon became alive to the immense advantage of direct acquaintance with the sources of German theology, and her rapid progress in theological science has been mainly due to her eager and sympathetic study of the German theologians.¹ Even in Scotland, the rigour of stern traditions was softened and subdued to a careful and patient waiting upon the new theology, and she has amply atoned for her external and suspicious attitude towards it, and her slow movement, by the industry and fidelity with which she has reproduced so many of its master works.²

But it is not merely in the reproductions of translators, nor

Interpretation of Scripture is also still relevant. The extensive Literature on the Essays and Reviews need not be here even referred to, but their influence on the popular mind will be found indicated in "The Essays and Reviews and the People of England, with an Appendix containing the Protest of the Bishops and Clergy, the proceedings in Convocation, and all the Documents and Letters connected with the Subject," Lond. 1861. The Colenso controversy, and the Robertson-Smith controversy in Scotland, further brought up the whole of the critical questions connected with the Pentateuch and the Old Testament, and occasioned great progress in the study of German criticism.

¹ Many American students of Theology have studied in the German Universities, and the influence of German Theology has been great in America, especially of the conservative and moderate schools. The theology of the old Princeton School and the new Andover School, both came under its power. The Bibliotheca Sacra, founded in 1844 by Park and Edwards, has done excellent service. Dr. Schaff has been a great force in the theological literature of America. He was born at Coire in Switzerland in 1819; studied theology in Tübingen, Halle, and Berlin; and was appointed, on the recommendation of Neander, Tholuck, and Julius Müller, to a professorship in the German Reformed Church of the United States. In 1845 he went through the ordeal of a charge of heresy. He was appointed Professor in the Union Theological Seminary, New York, in 1869. His earliest works were written and published in Germany; but his life-work has been to naturalize the best forms of German Theology in his adopted country. Dr. Schaff would have had a place—and a very high place—in the following History, as a German theologian and Historian of the Church, were it not that his adopted country is proud to claim him as one of her chief ornaments, and that all English students reap directly the benefits of his numerous and valuable works.

² In Scotland the struggle towards a just appreciation of German Theology was also protracted and obstinate, as was to be expected. The attitude of aversion to it and the consciousness of the need of it are both ingeniously indicated so late as 1847, by a not incompetent critic of Theodore Parker's translation of De Wette's Introduction to the Old Testament, in the North British Review, vol. vii. No. 14, who says: "The continually increasing influence exercised by the Infidel Theology of Modern Germany upon the

only in the scattered reflections of exceptionally advanced thinkers, that the German theology has made its way among us; its influence has now become pervasive, irrefragable, universal throughout our theological literature and thought. It has more or less directly revolutionized and renovated the whole of English theological science, and its methods and results have been naturalized in every department of our theology, until mastery of them has become the dominant note of the scientific theologian. It is not too much to say that the whole progress and expansion of recent English and American theology are mainly, if not wholly, due to it. Excepting, it may be, a certain cultivation of patristic literature, the exploration of archæological adjuncts, and the conduct of

literature of Great Britain and America, must be a matter of no slight or transient importance to thoughtful observers. . . . We must not dissemble the truth: the danger to be dreaded from the influence of German theological literature arises from the miserable deficiencies of our own. There are, to be sure, some splendid exceptions to the general poverty . . . but they stand alone, like tall trees in a barren landscape, and make the general desolation more remarkable" (p. 355). Sir W. Hamilton was wont to mock the Scotch Theology with its bareness. "Now, for nearly two centuries," he said in 1836, "*Scotland*, compared with other countries, may be broadly said to have been *without a theology*" (Discussions, etc., p. 335); but his attitude towards the later thinkers of Germany was not calculated to encourage the young theologian to explore "the Hercynian brakes." A more vital influence in favour of the study of German Theology was exercised by the writings of Thomas Carlyle. Dr. Chalmers, with praiseworthy appreciation but limited knowledge, admitted the fitness of the German Theologians to be "hewers of wood and drawers of water for the service of the sanctuary," apparently all unconscious of the close approach of his own theological form to what was best and highest in the new German theology. It was only when the products of German theology were reproduced in translations that it came to be understood and valued. Clark's *Biblical Cabinet*, founded in 1832, did great service in reproducing works by Tholuck, Neander, Rosenmüller, Lisco, and even Röhr. This work has been carried on in greater volume and force by the *Foreign Theological Library*, which was founded in 1846, and which has reproduced many of the great standard works of German theologians like Hengstenberg, Keil, Delitzsch, Bleek, Julius Müller, Gieseler, and Dörner. The work of the early translators, such as Dr. Robert Menzies, Dr. Fairbairn, Dr. W. L. Alexander, was difficult and meritorious, and should not be forgotten. An interesting account of the services of the Foreign Theological Library to the cause of theological science is contained in the *Bookseller* of July 1882. (See also among other reviews, the London Quarterly Review of July 1864, and July 1869.) The service rendered by the Theological Translation Fund Library, founded in 1873, in translating works of representatives of the more advanced schools, such as Baur, Ewald, Keim, Hausrath, may also be noted, as well as that of the many excellent American translations.

merely local controversies, our theology has virtually, within the last half century, become *germanized*. Our Philosophy of Religion is entirely of German origin. The greater freedom, truer historical treatment, and richer insight that have arisen in connection with the interpretation of Scripture, have mainly sprung from German criticism. Biblical Introduction and Biblical Theology have been added to the theological organism under the same stimulus, with wholesome, rectifying, and vitalising effect. Our Apologetics and Dogmatics—in so far as we can be said to have Apologetics and Dogmatics—have been transformed and renovated by German elements, or they spend their energy in battling mainly with the effete forms of German scepticism. The once dreaded conceptions of the German “neology” have already become the popular common-places of the English pulpit. Christian Ethics has again won recognition as a special science among us, and Practical Theology is aspiring to the same intellectual dignity, under the same guidance. The History of the Christian Church and of Christian Theology as a whole, with that of its particular departments in detail, has been written with something like the fulness of the laborious Historians of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries by their German successors, but with an incomparably greater freshness, truthfulness, and skill, that have been readily appreciated and imitated by the English Historian. The Germans not only contribute the theological matter of our universal Encyclopædias, but write our special theological Encyclopædias and text-books, or train the students who write them for us.¹ Let it be frankly and candidly admitted that, with all the independence and vigour and practical self-reliance of the English mind, English theology has had to go to school again to Germany in the

¹ See among other evidences of all this, Professor Flint's admirable and suggestive article “Theology” in the new edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, with all else relating to Theology in that magnificent work. Also, see especially that “wonderful monument of industry, learning and skill,” Dr. Schaff's edition of *Herzog's Encyclopædia*, or Dictionary of Biblical, Historical, Doctrinal, and Practical Theology, 3 vols.; Röhiger's *Encyclopædia of Theology*, 2 vols. 1884; and Hurst and Crooks' edition of Hagenbach's *Theological Encyclopædia and Methodology*, 1884.

Nineteenth Century, as it had to do in the Sixteenth, when the flower of the English youth went to Wittenberg to appropriate the new Christian ideas that were to revolutionize the thought and life of their country and of the world. But let the benefits realized from this discipline be also fairly and gratefully acknowledged and valued as they deserve to be. Above all, let German Theology, many-minded and many-voiced as it is, be no longer decried as the champion of infidelity or the enemy of true scriptural faith, of which it is indeed, as it has been from the beginning, the strongest auxiliary and ally. And if a crowning and final evidence of this is required, that shall be plain to all practical minds and beyond all prejudiced cavil or gainsay, let us point to the Revised Version of the Holy Scriptures as the last universally available product of the new German theological science. It may be safely said that apart from the progress and influence of German criticism such a work would not yet have been called for; and without the aids of German learning even the distinguished scholars who carried out the work so well, would hardly have ventured to undertake it. Such a fact is surely sufficient of itself to attest to all candid minds the scriptural and beneficent character of German Theology.

Having thus authenticated itself and its right to scientific supremacy, a knowledge of German theology has become an absolute necessity to the theological student, and to all who are interested in the progress of theological science. It forms at this moment the main substance of all relevant theological teaching, and the guide of the soundest and most hopeful inquiry. Yet German Theology is still far from being adequately understood, nor are there means yet generally available for its just appreciation. The translations which have already appeared, numerous and well designed though they be, give, at the best, only fragmentary, one-sided, and incomplete representations of the scientific movement. But too many of them have been anything but translucent media for the transmission of theological thought, and to their imperfection much of the prejudice regarding the so-called

"mysticism" and "transcendentalism" and unintelligibility of German Theology has been due. Moreover, even the greatest of the German masters have been left as yet almost untouched by the translators, and their systems have been most inadequately dealt with. The historical representations of the theological development, whether translated from the German, or produced by English writers, have their several merits, but they are also wanting in completeness, in the investigation of historical relations, in the exposition of details, and in clear and comprehensive exhibition of the progress of the movement as a whole.¹ The young theological student, as well as the general reader who is confined to the knowledge of German theology as it is exhibited in the English language, unquestionably requires at the present moment skilled historical guidance, with careful literary and critical orientation, through the dense and tangled growths of the German theology of the century.

The present work is offered as specially adapted to meet this want. It may be confidently claimed for it that it is reliable and intelligible throughout, and a safe and easy

¹ Dr. Kahn's *Internal History of German Protestantism*, translated by Meyer, appeared in 1856. It gave the English reader a concise and vigorous sketch of the chief historical facts, but the theology is very summarily treated, and it is looked at from a very one-sided point of view. Dr. Schaff's *Germany its Universities, Theology and Religion* (1857), is a much more interesting and attractive book, and it has promoted a much more intelligent appreciation of the German theologians. It is still of value not only for its clear account of academic and religious relations, but for its living and sympathetic "sketches of Neander, Tholuck, Olshausen, Hengstenberg, Twisten, Nitzsch, Müller, Ullmann, Rothe, Dorner, Lange, Ebrard, Wichern, and other distinguished German Divines of the Age." Hag-nbach's *History of Christian Doctrines* (3 vols., Edin.), along with his *History of the Church in the 18th and 19th Centuries* (translated by Hurst, 2 vols., New York, 1869), gives clear, careful, dispassionate glimpses of the period. Dr. Hurst's *History of Rationalism* (New York, 1866, Lond. 1867) presents a well-written and well-informed sketch of its subject from the usual standpoint. Dr. Dorner's *History of Protestant Theology* (2 vols., Edin. 1871) is necessarily brief in its representation of the Nineteenth Century, but exhibits his characteristic breadth and solidity of judgment. Dr. George Matheson's *Aids to the Study of German Theology* (3rd ed. 1877) is a fresh, suggestive and eminently sympathetic introduction to the leading thoughts of the German Schools, and gives in its lucid delineations and criticisms, gratifying evidence of the growing interest of the new Scottish theology in their vital and central positions.

guide to the theological student as well as to the general reader through the subject. It is the work of a singularly gifted and qualified scholar, who has brought the fullest knowledge and the most patient industry to his task. Grounded not only upon a conscientious study of the sources of the subject, but upon faithful reference to all that has been lately written worth reading upon it, it is pervaded at the same time by a living sympathy for all that is highest and most enduring in modern theological thought, and its representations and judgments are restrained and guided by an independent critical faculty and an earnest regard for practical Christian truth. It is written not only with the full mastery of a matured and vigorous mind, but with the easy grace, the penetrating insight, the keen discrimination, the luminous characterizations, and the clear style of the accomplished French writer. And if more may be needed to commend it, it may be allowable to add that it has been tested throughout by reference to the original German literature, and has been found to be unfailingly correct and reliable. The author has been at great pains to bring his work in this English edition up to date, and he has left no school or tendency, or even any great individual representative of these, untouched or unestimated. His vivid and attractive portraiture of individuality and character, as well as his firm grasp of the general movement of the schools of thought through all their variations and details, cannot be overpraised. And it may be further confidently premised that not a little of his matter will be found to be new even to the advanced student of German theology, while such scientific analyses and summaries as those of the theology of Schleiermacher, Hofmann, Rothe, Ritschl, and others, cannot but be welcomed as important and much needed contributions to our theological literature.¹

¹ It would be out of place to enter here upon even the public life of the distinguished author, or to dwell upon the chivalrous patriotism, the courageous devotion to duty, and the noble self-sacrifice which he displayed in the hour of his country's trial. These things are known to all who have been interested—and who has not been interested?—in the recent history of Alsace; and they

It is more than ever necessary, and it is now happily possible, to be just to the merits, achievements, and claims of the German theology; but nothing is to be gained by exaggeration, concealment of real faults, or misdirection of effort. Of the German theology it may be said, as Goethe has said of the world, that its history is its judgment. In the history of it here presented, its aberrations and its extravagances are not concealed. It is made manifest that it has often erred in its methods, and has at times endangered the progress of Christianity by its excesses. But it will also be seen that these have been merely partial and transitory phenomena, and that it has not only paid the penalty of its subjective and arbitrary tendencies, but has always healthily recovered from them. Its unreal flights of fancy, its irreverent audacities,

are only alluded to because they lend a special interest to his History and enhance the evident impartiality with which it has been written. It may suffice in the personal relation, to quote the account of the learned author already published in Dr. Schaff's *Encyclopædia of Living Divines* (1887): "Frédéric Auguste Lichtenberger, Lic. Theol. and D.D. (both Strassburg 1857 and 1860), born at Strassburg, March 21, 1832, studied at Strassburg, Paris, and in Germany, and since 1864 has been member of the French Protestant theological faculty, first at Strassburg and since 1877 in Paris. On the re-organization of the faculty, necessitated by its removal, he became its dean. He edited the *Encyclopédie des sciences religieuses* (Paris 1877-82, 13 vols.), and contributed twenty important articles to it. Among his works are *La théologie de G. E. Lessing*, 1854; *Etude sur le principe du Protestantisme d'après la théologie allemande contemporaine*, 1857; *Sermons*, 1867; *L'Alsace en deuil*, 1871, 10 editions; *Histoire des idées religieuses en Allemagne depuis le milieu du dix-huitième siècle jusqu'à nos jours*, 1873, 3 vols."—It is upon this *Histoire*, as republished in a second edition (1888), that the following translation is founded. The translation contains the matter of the last two volumes, with the account of the Classical Literature (*infra*, pp. 242-273) taken from the first volume. The author has furnished many corrections, additions, and improvements throughout; the chapter on the Neo-Kantian School is wholly new; and all this matter has been translated from his manuscript. The translator is responsible for limiting the English edition to the period of the Nineteenth Century, and for some minor modifications; but this has been done with the sanction and co-operation of the author, and in such a way that this edition is both unique and complete in itself. The Appendix has been added for the sake of completeness, the volume appropriately closing with Dr. Schaff's account of Dörner, the last of the great systematic theologians. Owing to the new matter furnished by the author, which is of great value, this English edition is much more correct and complete both in the History and Literature (which are carried down to date) than the French editions. The German Theology of the last century will be found fully treated, along with its historical antecedents, in the first volume of Pünjer's *History of the Christian Philosophy of Religion*, 1887.

its alternating arrogance and fits of despair, have been only the occasion of calling forth more vigorous faith, more substantial work, and more fruitful conditions of progress. It will help not only to dispel any remaining prejudice, but to facilitate a juster estimate of the occasional abnormities which have produced so much panic, and given rise to so much misunderstanding, to have them set in their proper historical surroundings, to have their natural causation explained, and to have their real place assigned in the whole movement. It is the most dazzling and startling productions that naturally draw the greatest attention at first, and make the strongest impression. In this sphere too, the flickering fatuous fire of the marsh has too often been mistaken by weary wanderers of the night, for the friendly gleam of the hospice; and even the scientific observer has not unfrequently mistaken the aerial flash of the meteor for the radiating glint of the star. But time tries and settles all things, and one chief advantage of this History will be found to lie in the care and judgment with which it guides the student to distinguish the essential from the accidental, the permanent from the transitory, the living from the dead. It will be his own fault if he fails to be emancipated from the narrowness and slavery of the "Old Schools," and is not raised to the large and abiding freedom of the true spiritual life, so as at once to be guarded from the wasteful and needless repetition of antiquated efforts, and the danger of being carried away by any sudden and sensational surprise. Yet, with all our admiration, it is certainly not meant that all true theology has been confined to Germany during the Nineteenth Century; it would not only be to be blind to the universal providence of the time, but even to be guilty of the greatest injustice, to hold such a view. Neither is it meant that all German theology is equally true and valuable in all its schools and stages, for its own history is the completest refutation of such a conception, and nowhere is it more necessary to apply the Apostolic maxim: Prove all things, hold fast that which is good. Nor, in fine, is it meant that this History is to be taken as complete, or

exhaustive, or final, in its exposition of the most valuable contents of the German theology. On the contrary, it is presented as only introductory to the study of the subject, and as auxiliary to other more laborious efforts. The student will find here a pleasing, picturesque, and faithful survey of the whole domain; but if he would scale the highest heights of German religious thought, he must continue to advance under further guidance until he finds full and final satisfaction in the direct appropriation and enjoyment of the original works of the creative masters themselves.¹

It is not the purpose of a preface to anticipate or review the matter that follows, but only to prepare the reader for intelligent appreciation and understanding of it. But if it be still asked, after all that has been said: What will it profit to study the German theology? then it may be answered far more confidently than ever: Much every way. The specialist in every department of theological science has long since discovered that he can here find the whole material of his subject ready worked to his hand, and he can rarely hope for other originality in dealing with it than the novelty arising from his own selection and adaptation.² The various movements and struggles of the development, with all their failures and successes, are so many examples of warning and instruction for the thought and life of all the Churches; and it would be

¹ The student will find this further guidance in the second volume of Pünjer's *History of the Christian Philosophy of Religion*, where the higher philosophical speculation on the subject, which is not specially dealt with in the present volume, is very fully and carefully exhibited.

² The extraordinary activity of the German Theologians is shown not only by their abundant literary productions, but by the immense amount and range of their academic teaching. This may be gathered by a glance at the theological statistics of the Universities. In connection with the 20 German Protestant Faculties (including Basel, Bern and Zürich, but not Dorpat and Vienna), there were, in the Summer Session of 1888, 174 Teachers of Theology (Professors Ordinary and Extraordinary, Privat-docents and Repetents), and no less than 5,061 Students of Theology. In Berlin there were 13 Professors and 679 Students. The *Deutscher Universitäts-Kalender* further shows that every department of theology is taught in the fully equipped Faculties. The year 1888 has been a singularly prosperous one in the Universities, but it has also been sadly marked by the death of such theologians as Keil, Riehlm, Kahnis, Schweizer and Lechler, and the retirement of Reuss.

unfaithfulness or blindness to the teaching of Providence were they to be merely repeated again in ignorance, or heedlessly overlooked. The practical and conservative mind of England has still much to learn on this side from theoretical and critical Germany.¹ There too, if anywhere, the quickening spirit has been brooding over the struggling chaos of human thought, and bringing forth new life and a higher order. And even if nothing should be discerned in the movement but the working of natural forces, he must be dull of soul who could pass such a display of the highest human powers carelessly by, or who did not feel in their presence a deeper sense of the mystery and grandeur of his human nature. Assuredly high advantage will be reaped from it, if it only teaches the student in any degree to understand better the religious relations of his age, and to apprehend with deeper confidence in its living purpose, some side of the religious task which has been assigned to him in it. In the freedom and energy of the German theology, the rational mind of the century has had full play in dealing with all the fundamental problems of the

¹ M. Lichtenberger has elsewhere finely distinguished and contrasted the religious characteristics of England and Germany: "England, conservative by temperament and by tradition, has understood Christianity especially on its practical side; she realizes in a marvellous manner the charitable and missionary activity to which the Gospel calls us. Not so strong and not so free on the ecclesiastical side, but bolder in the domain of thought, Germany, with its speculative and critical genius, has carried farther forward the torch of investigation in what relates to the origin of Religions, the authenticity of literary Documents, and the proper physiognomy of Christianity."—*Encyclopédie des sciences religieuses*, I. Préface, vii.—This contrast of character and habit between the religious spirit of England and Germany, explains, along with much else, the still unhappily prevalent tendency among us to regard all German Theology as "Rationalism." The following History will clearly, and it may be hoped, finally correct this view. All competent writers are now agreed in their historical representations on this point. Thus the late Dr. Carl Schwarz, in his remarkably able, although one-sided, sketch of the History of the German Theology since 1835, and himself one of its most advanced representatives, says: "The Rationalism of the Eighteenth Century and of the beginning of the Nineteenth Century, is assuredly dead, without recall. It had neither heart nor head." Dr. Matheson goes even farther, and strikingly remarks: "The expression 'German Rationalism' has become almost proverbial, but in truth Rationalism never found in Germany anything but a foreign soil; it was always in direct antagonism to the spirit of the nation."—*Aids*, p. 5.

religious life; and all its phases, from the most exulting optimism to the most despairing pessimism, are thus typical and significant to every individual mind. The Germans have indeed proved themselves to be "a nation of thinkers and critics," and the German theologians have evidently had a very special and distinctive function to realize in the work and consciousness of the century. It is difficult, perhaps impossible, to sum up the spirit of any age in a single formula, or even to describe its work in any one relation by the fullest reference to details. The Nineteenth Century has in consequence been variously estimated and designated by the students of the Philosophy of History, and it will not be fully understood, any more than any other, till long after it has run its course. Somehow it has come to be most popularly and familiarly represented as *an epoch of transition*.¹ Every epoch is, indeed, a transition from its predecessor to its successor, but the Nineteenth Century may be so designated in a distinctive and real sense. It was to the master minds of the Eighteenth Century that the immensity of the external world and man's universal relation to it most clearly revealed itself; and the conception of the mathematical and mechanical infinity of the universe became established, even in the popular mind, by the science of Newton and Laplace. It was reserved for the Nineteenth Century, in continuation of the scientific movement, to establish the vital and organic unity and perfection of the world, and of man's relation to it, in all its least details. The progress of science has thus at once enlarged, enriched, and deepened the mind of the century, and has brought with it new intellectual problems and new spiritual tasks. The speculative ideality of its first decades has been humbled before the inflexible realism and multiplicity of nature; its romantic hallucinations have been rudely dispelled by the accumulated squalor and misery of the human world; and the spirit of its philanthropy has been perplexed by the wider responsibilities which all this new

¹ This is well put by Gass in his *Geschichte der protest. Dogmatik*, and reproduced by Astié in his *La théologie allemande contemporaine*, 1874.

knowledge has imposed. The ideal of the century has become more practical; its God more consciously active and present; and its humanity more dependent and interpenetrated with itself, and with the universe of things. In the gradual reunification of the terrestrial life, the limited intellectualism and the jealous individualism of the last century have largely given way to the necessity of a more socialistic practice; and the accompanying advance of political reform, industrial productivity and international communication has given new significance to the question of the value of ancient institutions and traditions. At the same time a more definite conception of evolution has made way; more precise scientific methods have been applied to the investigation of the secret mechanism of nature; and a deeper sense of the security of civilisation has grown up with the discovery of immanent and progressive historical law. The Nineteenth Century has thus been passing, both in theory and practice, from the general enlightenment and liberty of the last century, by specialization of enquiry and appropriation in detail, through the whole realms of nature and of history, to a completer mastery of knowledge and more concrete spiritual power. And undoubtedly one of its chief problems all through, has been how to combine and harmonize the new tendency with what is most universal and essential in Christian tradition and belief. Nay more, the whole religious life of the world has become an object of the highest intellectual interest; the relative worth of the various Religions of Mankind, has been comparatively investigated; and scientific tests are being applied to determine the value of religious institutions, religious sociability and religious motive, on all their stages and in all their forms. The religious problem of the ultimate reality of the spiritual life and its reconciliation with the earnest tendencies of modern thought, has thus accompanied the movement of the century in all its highest and freest efforts. No age can do more at the best than endeavour to satisfy its own needs and maintain the continuity of the spiritual life, and this the Nineteenth Century has most faithfully done. It will remain

for the next century to gather and concentrate the wealth of the new knowledge more fully in the consciousness of the individual, and to unify and embody the true religious life of Humanity in its widest and most universal relations, with all the satisfying clearness of science, with all the crowning graces of art, and with all the permanent safeguards of universal human federation.

In the long and toilsome process of preparation for this consummation, it will probably be found that one of the chief scientific factors has been the German theology with its large aspiration, its patient industry, its courageous trial of all the ways of approaching the Divine, and its resolute forward movement. Its greatest creators and leaders have now passed from the visible sphere, but they have left their great systems of thought and their inspiring faith to sustain and guide the last years of the century. Their successors, if with less genius, are labouring with not less earnestness to confirm, establish and diffuse the best of their results. To help on this necessary labour of simplification and diffusion, this translation has been undertaken; and it is now sent forth, in the hope that it may contribute in some measure to it. But it will be to misunderstand every page that follows, if the reader does not find that the work of the German theology throughout the century has been in its own way, however much it has been misrepresented and decried, a work of revival and renovation and reconstruction. In the midst of the disturbed faith and the distracted consciousness of the time, and its manifold yearnings and gropings after a new order of life and thought, it exhibits the application of the highest energies of the modern mind, in the free spirit of Protestantism, to the investigation and comprehension of what is most vital in Christianity and most essential in religion. And although it has learned to restrain the speculative flight of the individual reason, and to abandon many a cherished idea and form, it remains not the less conspicuously conscientious, hopeful, and reverential in dealing with all the cardinal problems of our religion. The German

theology was never more alive to the divineness of fact, to the worth of the common world, and to the practical law of duty than it is at this hour; it was never more intent on bringing life and immortality to light, and certifying their strength and comfort to the soul of man; nor did it ever lie closer to the heart of Scripture, or wait more faithfully on the guidance of the spirit of Christ, in its most earnest and progressive representatives. Its history is a history of progress towards a higher unity, by differentiation and spiritual growth all through; and the secret of its vital strength has surely lain in its pervading Christian faith, rising as we may see it do, throughout all its struggles and endeavours, towards full and final insight into its all-embracing divine object, the beginning and middle and end of all its efforts:

That God which ever lives and loves,
One God, one law, one element,
And one far-off divine event,
To which the whole creation moves.

W. H.

EDINBURGH, *Feb.* 28, 1889.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

—o—

WE propose to study here the evolution of the religious thought of which Germany has been the theatre during the present century, and which, combined with other not less powerful causes, has brought about a complete transformation in the ideas, the manners, and the institutions of that country, as well as exercised a considerable influence upon the development of the intellectual and moral culture of the whole of our modern society.

The difficulties presented to such a study lie less in the number of facts which it is necessary to collect, to group, and to expound, than in the obligation to appreciate them equitably. It would be idle to demand from one who proposes to relate the history of religious ideas an indifference which would amount to taking up the position of being entirely disinterested as regards the subject. The duty of impartiality, of exactness,—and of a scrupulous exactness,—is more particularly incumbent on the historian of religious struggles. This, however, does not imply that he is to have no opinion on the grave problems which are in question. He will make his best endeavour, it need hardly be said, to be always just, especially towards the ideas and the men whom he may be led to combat, but he will not prevent himself from showing wherein any particular tendency and method, or certain results, appear to him legitimate or erroneous.

One of the most striking characters of the revolution which we are about to study—if we neglect the accidental struggles and the secondary problems with which its movement is embarrassed—is the gradual substitution of the principle of

liberty for the principle of authority in matters of religion. In spite of what the ignorance or blindness of parties has been able to assert, and notwithstanding the voluntary misunderstandings by means of which attempts have been made to obscure the discussion, it is essentially a question of method which is at issue. What, in fact, constitutes the interest of the history which we are about to trace, is not only the struggle between truth and error, or between Christianity and naturalism in its various forms, for this is of all times, and constitutes the very substance of the history of humanity through the past eighteen centuries. Another question has arisen, and in its turn awaits its solution. This question may be put thus. Will religion and Christianity in the future impose their services on humanity in virtue of an external authority and of considerations drawn from elsewhere than their own nature; or will their own virtue suffice to make them be accepted as our best auxiliaries in the path of progress, unless it be necessary to break completely with them in the conviction that they constitute an obstacle rather than a help? This is a grave question, and one which is evidently of the highest interest in relation to the future destinies of humanity.

Unhappily for such minds as are but little enlightened, or are naturally indolent, the solution of this question of method is complicated by a historical and psychological problem which demands investigations and attention of which every one is not capable. Amid so many diverse pretensions and contrary affirmations, it is essential to determine what constitutes the authentic Christianity which corresponds best to the thought of the Master and the testimony of His disciples, and to examine further whether this Christianity fully satisfies the religious sentiment, seeing that this feeling is founded in human nature itself, and is called to occupy a chief place in human life.

Now, it is quite admitted that one who proposes to narrate the history of the contemporary religious struggles, ought to have resolved on his own account the problems which we

have thus summarily indicated. But without in any way dissembling the solution which we believe to be best, it does not enter into the plan of our work to expound it, or expressly to justify it. We have rather undertaken to give an exact account of this religious and theological movement in its originating conditions, to sketch its various phases, to enumerate the chief actors in groups, and to study their most characteristic literary monuments. To give some guidance to minds that are curious as to these subjects, to put into their hands a guiding thread, and to furnish them as far as possible with the elements necessary for a personal appreciation: such is the aim which we have pursued. May the result correspond in some measure to our efforts!

The sources from which we have drawn are numerous and varied. Independent of those works themselves which have made their mark in the religious history of modern Germany, we have consulted the biographies, the memoirs, and the correspondence of the principal actors in the movement; and we have frequently borrowed from the reviews and journals which usually reflect the physiognomy of the time with faithfulness. We have thought it right to give a large place in our work to the biographical element. Not only does it add to the interest of the narrative by animating and colouring it, but it often explains better than many other considerations, the development of ideas, the nature of the controversies, and the tendency of the system which has to be expounded. It has also appeared to us advisable in the interest of those readers who may wish to pursue this study farther for themselves, to make the bibliographical references as complete and as accurate as possible.¹

¹ References to English Translations are introduced and enclosed in square brackets.—Tn.

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CONTENTS.

FIRST PERIOD.

FROM SCHLEIERMACHER TO STRAUSS.

1799-1835.

INTRODUCTION.

	PAGE
Influence of Political Events,	3
The Movement of Philosophy.	7
Kant,	8
Fichte,	11
Schelling,	13
Hegel,	14

CHAPTER I.

THE OLD SCHOOLS.

Rationalism and Supranaturalism,	18
Röhr,	19
Wegscheider,	20
Paulus,	21
Reinhard,	25
Steudel,	27
Planck,	28
Bretschneider,	30
Tzschirner,	32
De Wette,	34

CHAPTER II.

SCHLEIERMACHER.

Schleiermacher—	
His Individuality,	46
His Youth and Student Life,	49
Relations with the Romantic School,	55
His Discourses on Religion,	61
Analysis of the Discourses,	63
The Monologues,	90
Preacher at Stolpe,	102

Schleiermacher—	PAGE
Professor at Halle,	110
Dialogue on the Festival of Christmas,	113
Patriotic Efforts,	116
Ecclesiastical Activity at Berlin,	120
His <i>Life of Jesus</i> ,	131
His Outline of the Study of Theology,	135
His Dogmatic Theology,	141
His System of Ethics,	159
His Pastoral Theology,	164
Close of Schleiermacher's Life,	165

CHAPTER III.

THE DISCIPLES OF SCHLEIERMACHER.

Neander—	
Early Life—Conversion—Studies—Professorship,	168
Monograph on the Emperor Julian and his Age,	171
Monograph on Saint Bernard,	172
Work on the Gnostic Systems,	173
Monographs on Chrysostom and Tertullian,	173
His Church History,	175
His History of the Apostolic Age,	178
His Life of Jesus,	180
Personality and Influence of Neander,	183
Nitzsch—	
His Early Life and Professorship at Bonn,	185
His <i>System of Christian Doctrine</i> ,	189
Professorship at Berlin, and Death,	192
Character of Nitzsch's Theology,	195
Twisten—	
His Lectures on Dogmatics,	196
Julius Müller—	
His <i>Christian Doctrine of Sin</i> ,	197
Ullmann—	
His Early Life and Work as a Professor,	199
His Monograph on Gregory of Nazianzum,	200
His <i>Sinlessness of Jesus</i> ,	200
His <i>Essence of Christianity</i> ,	202
<i>The Reformers before the Reformation</i> ,	203

CHAPTER IV.

THE NEW ORTHODOXY.

Its Origin and Character,	206
Claus Harms—	
His Early Life and Training,	207
His 95 Theses,	208

Hengstenberg—	PAGE
His Early Life and Works on the Old Testament,	212
His Work as editor of <i>The Evangelical Gazette</i> ,	213
Hahn—	
His <i>Text-book of Dogmatics</i> ,	217
Daniel Krummacher and F. W. Krummacher,	218
Harless—His <i>Christian Ethics</i> ,	218
Guericke,	219
Rudelbach,	219
Kurtz,	219
Sartorius,	219

CHAPTER V.

THE SPECULATIVE SCHOOL.

Strauss on the Reconciliation of Religion and Philosophy,	221
Daub—	
His Life and Work as Professor at Heidelberg,	222
His <i>Sermons</i> , <i>Theologoumena</i> , and <i>Introduction to Dogmatics</i> ,	223
His <i>Judas Iscariot</i> ,	224
His <i>Dogmatic Theology of the Time</i> ,	225
His <i>System of Theological Ethics</i> ,	226
Marheineke—	
Professor at Heidelberg,	227
His <i>History of Ethics</i> , <i>System of Catholicism</i> , and <i>Symbolics</i> ,	228
Professor at Berlin,	229
His <i>History of the German Reformation</i> ,	229
His <i>Christian Dogmatics</i> ,	231
Analysis of the Dogmatics,	232
Göschel—	
His <i>Aphorisms</i> ,	239
Rosenkranz—	
His <i>Encyclopædia of the Theological Sciences</i> ,	240
Erdmann. Schaller. Hasse,	241

CHAPTER VI.

THE CLASSICAL LITERATURE.

Schiller—	
His Influence on his Countrymen,	242
The Character of his Literary Works,	243
His relation to Religion and Christianity,	247
Goethe—	
His Influence and the Nature of his Genius,	249
First Period of his Life and his Religious Struggles,	251

Goethe—

Second Period of his Life and its Literary Productivity— <i>Faust</i> ,	PAGE 257
Third Period of his Life—Conversations with Eckermann,	260
His Philosophy, and his Views of Religion and Christianity.	264

CHAPTER VII.

THE LYRICAL SCHOOL.

The Influence of the Lyrical and Religious Poetry.	274
The Romantic School,	275
Jean Paul Richter,	276
August Wilhelm von Schlegel,	278
Friedrich von Schlegel,	279
Tieck,	280
Brentano,	281
Novalis,	282
Körner,	286
Arndt,	287
Jahn,	288
Schenkendorf,	290
Uhland,	291
Rückert,	295
Platen,	297
Lenau,	297
Heine,	298
Leopold Schefer and Friedrich von Sallet,	301
Albert Knapp,	302
Spitta. Julius Sturm. Gerck,	304

SECOND PERIOD.

FROM STRAUSS TO THE PRESENT TIME.

1835–1888.

INTRODUCTION.

Influence of Political Events—The Reaction and Literature,	311
The Ecclesiastical Struggles,	313
The Relation of Philosophy and Theology,	317

CHAPTER I.

STRAUSS.

Biblical Criticism before Strauss,	320
Strauss's Early Life and Studies,	321
His <i>Life of Jesus</i> ,	324
His <i>Christian Dogmatics</i> ,	329
His <i>Julian the Apostate</i> ,	331

Strauss—

Monographs on Christian Märklin, and Modern Pietism,	PAGE 332
His New Life of Jesus,	333
His Lectures on Voltaire,	334
His <i>Letters to M. Renan</i> —Practical Politics.	335
<i>The Old Faith and the New</i> .	336
Analysis and Criticism of Strauss's last Work,	337

CHAPTER II.

THE RADICAL SCHOOL.

Feuerbach—	
His <i>Thoughts on Death and Immortality</i> ,	360
His <i>Essence of Christianity</i> ,	361
Max Stirner,	363
Arnold Ruge,	364
Daumer,	367
Herwegh. Blum. Marx. Karl Vogt. Buchner. Moleschott,	370
The Theistic Opposition: I. H. Fichte, Ulrici, Trendelenburg, etc.,	371
C. H. Weisse—His <i>Future of the Protestant Church and Philosophical Dogmatics</i> ,	371
E. von Hartmann,	371
Friedrich Rohmer,	372
Hermann Lotze,	372

CHAPTER III.

THE NEW BIBLICAL CRITICISM.

Weisse and Wilke,	374
Bruno Bauer—	
His <i>Exposition of the Religion of the Old Testament</i> ,	374
His <i>Critique of the Synoptic Gospels and Gospel History</i> ,	375
His <i>Critique of the Pauline Epistles</i> ,	376
His <i>Trumpet of the Last Judgment on Hegel</i> ,	376
His <i>Christianity Unveiled</i> ,	377
His <i>Russia and Germanism</i> , and later Writings,	377
Ludwig Noack,	378
Ferdinand Christian Baur and the Tübingen School.	379
Baur's <i>Symbolics and Mythology</i> ,	379
His Character, Standpoint, and Works,	380
Baur's Critical Works on the New Testament,	381
Exposition of the Results of Baur's Criticism,	383
Importance and Deficiencies of Baur's Criticism.	385
Schwegler,	390
Zeller—	
His Work on the Acts, etc.,	391

Hilgenfeld—

	PAGE
His Method and Works,	392
Köstlin,	393
Volkmar,	394
Holsten,	395
Ritschl,	397
Lücke,	399
Bleek,	400
Stier,	402
Meyer,	404
J. F. von Meyer,	405
Olshausen,	405
Ebrard,	405
Riehm,	406
Oehler,	406
Drechsler,	406
Tuch,	406
Keil,	406
Diestel. Kleinert,	407
Ewald,	407
Knobel,	410
Reuss,	410
Weizsäcker,	412
Keim,	412
Baumgarten-Crusius. Credner,	414
Hupfeld,	414
Lechler,	414
Thiersch,	415
Bernard Weiss,	416
Gesenius,	417
Winer,	417
Lachmann,	418
Tischendorf,	418
Wellhausen,	419
Bernard Stade,	420

CHAPTER IV.

THE NEW LUTHERANISM.

The Neo-Lutheran Party, and its Organs,	421
Stahl,	423
Löhe,	430
Delitzsch,	432
Münchmeyer,	434
Kliefoth,	435

	PAGE
Vilmar,	438
Scheele,	441
Leo. Victor von Strauss,	442
Philippi,	443
Höfling. Harnack,	444
Thomasius,	444
Gess,	446
Hofmann,	446
Hofmann's Doctrine of the Atonement,	449
Kahnis,	459
Zeizschwitz,	462
Oettingen,	463
Zöckler,	463
Grau,	463
Steinmeyer,	463
Luthardt,	464
Baumgarten,	464

CHAPTER V.

THE SCHOOL OF CONCILIATION.

The General Characteristics of the School of Conciliation,	467
Hoffmann,	472
Tholuck,	473
Dorner,	477
Liebner,	480
Lange,	481
Martensen,	482
Beck,	484
Auberlen,	485
Hundeshagen,	486
Hagenbach,	487
Riggenbach. Guder. Heldt. Löwe,	488
Beyschlag,	488
Fabri,	490
Rothe—	
His Life,	492
His <i>Beginnings of the Christian Church</i> ,	500
His <i>Theological Ethics</i> ,	508
His <i>Dogmatics</i> ,	513
His Ecclesiastical Activity,	523
His <i>Still Hours</i> ,	525
Bunsen—	
His Life and Work at Rome,	528
His Life and Work in England,	531
His later Life and Work in Germany,	536
His <i>Bibelwerk</i> ,	539

CHAPTER VI.

THE NEW LIBERAL SCHOOLS.

	PAGE
Character and Divisions of the Liberal Schools.	542
Hase,	543
Rückert,	550
Schwarz,	552
Pfleiderer,	554
Sydow. Jonas,	556
Lisco. Hanne,	557
Gieseler and the Church Historians.	557
Schneckenburger,	558
Henke. Heppe,	558
Gass,	559
Frank,	559
Steitz,	559
Jacobi,	559
Engelhardt,	560
Wuttke,	560
Lipsius,	560
Harnack,	560
The <i>Protestantenverein</i> ,	561
Schenkel,	561
Holtzmann,	567
Hitzig,	569
Hausrath,	570
Alexander Schweizer,	570
Biedermann,	572
Vögelin,	573
Hirzel,	573
Lang,	573
Adolf Stoecker.	575

CHAPTER VII.

THE NEO-KANTIAN SCHOOL.

Ritschl,	576
Herrmann,	584
Kaftan.	585
Schultz.	586
Bender,	586
Frank.	587

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CATHOLIC THEOLOGY.

Influence of the New Spirit and of the Reaction.	589
Jahn. Hug. Herbst. Movers.	589

	PAGE
Droste von Vischering,	591
Sailer,	592
Diepenbrock,	593
Martin Boos,	593
Gossner,	594
Henhoefer,	594
Wessenberg,	594
Hermès,	596
Günther,	597
Frohschammer,	598
Möhler,	601
Görres,	604
Ketteler,	605
Joerg,	605
Janusen,	605

THE OLD CATHOLICS.

Döllinger,	606
Friedrich,	608
Huber,	608
Pichler,	608
Reinkens,	609

APPENDIX.

Delitzsch,	611
Fürst,	612
Lagarde,	612
Merx,	614
Nöldeke,	615
Strack,	615
Schrader,	616
Baethgen,	616
Cremer,	617
Grimm,	617
Christlieb,	618
Klöpper,	618
Orelli,	619
Schürer,	619
Zahn,	620
Dorner,	620

INDEX.	625
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FIRST PERIOD.

FROM SCHLEIERMACHER TO STRAUSS.

1799-1835.

INTRODUCTION.

I.

(TWO causes specially contributed to influence the development of religious ideas and the theological movement in Germany from the beginning of the Nineteenth Century. They were the political events of the time and the movement of philosophy.) The influence which these two causes exercised was considerable, and it must be indicated at the outset.¹

The defeat of the German armies after their vain attempt to arrest the advances of the Revolution in France, and the inability of the governments to prevent the spread of the revolutionary wave beyond the Rhine, together with their unprovidedness and disorder in face of the ambitious enterprises of Napoleon, brought about a state of abasement such as Germany had not known for long. The rapidity with which the Emperor of the French was able to accomplish his designs, and the feeble resistance which he encountered, not only revealed the fragility of the political and military institutions of Germany, but also brought to light the absence of the patriotic sentiment. Before this triumph of force over right and justice, and in face of numerous examples of servility and apostasy which indicated considerable debasement of character, Germany felt herself profoundly humiliated. This feeling could not but increase during the long trial

¹ Among the numerous works which treat of this subject we may refer to the judicious survey of Honegger: *Literatur und Cultur des 19ten Jahrhunderts*, in ihrer Entwicklung dargestellt, Leipz. 1865.

occasioned by the foreign occupation, but it bore salutary fruits. Guided by a just instinct, those who directed the destinies of the nation understood that a moral reform carried out in the individuals must precede the elevation of the people at large. In all the German States, but especially in Prussia, where the political awakening began, owing to the courageous initiative of Stein,¹ Scharnhorst, and their coadjutors, the sovereigns entered into closer relations with the nation, and decreed a series of liberal measures, having particularly in view a reform of the system of education. They also showed themselves able to take advantage of the awakening of the religious sentiment.

Under the pressure of the misfortunes of the time, many eyes were turning anew towards God; many souls had learned again to pray. Nor were there wanting voices which attributed the public disasters to the abandonment of the old beliefs. The Bible, the hymns, the books of edification which had been disdained by a generation that had eagerly sought for intellectual light and progress, were restored to honour. The God of hosts, who holds in His hand the destinies of peoples as well as of individuals, was supplicated for the liberation of the country, and for deliverance from the Napoleonic yoke. The disasters which struck the French army during the retreat from Russia under the influence of an exceptionally rigorous winter, the rapidity with which the coalition which was to crush it completely, was formed on its track, the general rising of the German nation in 1813 and 1814, the repeated successes of the war of independence, which twice in the space of eighteen months led the victorious armies of the Allies to the walls of Paris, the final fall of the Empire and the overthrow of France by the treaties of 1815, were attributed to the intervention of God as much as to the skill of the generals, or to the constancy of the peoples.²

¹ See the excellent Biography of Stein by Pertz: *Das Leben des Freiherrn von Stein*, Berl. 1850, 5 vols. J. R. Seeley: *Life and Times of Stein*, or Germany and Prussia in the Napoleonic Age, 3 vols. 1878.

² W. Baur: *Geschichts- und Lebensbilder aus der Erneuerung des religiösen Lebens in den deutschen Befreiungskriegen*, Hamb. 1871, 2 vols. [W. Baur:

The sovereigns now confirmed on their thrones by the treaty of Vienna, and closely united to defend their rights, were skilful enough to turn to their own advantage this disposition of mind. They forgot the liberal promises which they had made in the hour of danger, and, while still observing a certain circumspection towards men whose co-operation had been so useful to them, they threw themselves resolutely into the arms of the reaction, and made use of the religious awakening in order to hasten on that work of restoring the past which was the object of all their wishes. Literature and art contributed in their own way, and often involuntarily, to favour this tendency. It was the epoch in which the Romantic School flourished. Germany seemed entirely and suddenly smitten with a sort of infatuation for the Middle Ages. The mediæval period was not only studied with passionate fondness; it was like a foregone resolution to rehabilitate its manners, its institutions, and its literary and artistic products. Strange it was that the national sentiment, instead of allying itself with the liberal spirit, kindled into enthusiasm for archaeology and Gothic traditions. It is true that it essayed to remount beyond the feudal ages to the times of the ancient Germans, but it was feudalism which profited in reality by the movement.

The Middle Ages were not to form the only burden of this passion for retrospective things. It was the time when Friedrich Creuzer (1771-1858) lectured at Heidelberg with a prolonged success on the symbolism and mythology of the ancient peoples. Leaving aside the historical and heroic element, Creuzer sought to reduce all the myths of Greece to problems borrowed from the domain of the philosophy of nature, and he saw in them astronomical and physical allegories transplanted from Egypt and from India to the Hellenic soil.¹ It was then that Heinrich Schubert (1780-

Religious Life in Germany during the Wars of Independence. Translated by Mrs. G. Sturge, 2 vols. 1870, 2nd ed. 1872.]

¹ *Die Symbolik u. Mythologie der alten Völker, besonders der Griechen*, Leipz. 1810-12, 4 vols.

1864) disclosed at Munich the "night-side" of nature, and unveiled the mysteries of magic and magnetism. He wrote a new psychology as a complete history of the soul, claiming for it, under the sole condition of a peculiarly delicate nervous system, the capability of detaching itself from the body, of contemplating the interior of nature, of giving revelations about God and heaven,—in a word, of being invested with extraordinary gifts which recalled the charisms of the primitive Church.¹ It was then, too, that Justinus Kerner (1786–1860) wrote at Weinsberg his famous book, *The Clairvoyante of Prevorst*, in which he traced the natural history of phantoms, which, according to him, were more numerous in nature than living beings. He developed the theory of the "nervous spirit," which at death separates itself along with the soul from the body. It preserves a form and distinct colour, according to the sentiments that are peculiar to each individual (bad spirits being green, repentant spirits being yellow), and it is able to be seen of men.

While the youth and the cultivated minds of the time were thus wandering in poetic dreams or straying amid the unhealthy speculations of another age, the diplomatists were meeting with their sovereigns around the green tables of congresses, and were forging the new chains which were to bind the people to the re-erected thrones. In their thought the Church was also to give her aid in carrying the spirits of the time back into the ways of the past. By lending herself to play this part, she sacrificed what of independence yet remained to her, lost all credit with enlightened men, and compromised in the gravest manner the cause of the Gospel by associating it with the designs of an aggressive politics. Her leaders in but too great numbers became thus the complacent instruments of the reaction.

¹ Ansichten von der Nachtseite der Naturwissenschaft, 1808. Symbolik des Traums, 1814. Altes u. Neues aus dem Gebiet der innern Seelenkunde, 1817. Geschichte der Seele, 1830.

Theology likewise fell under the general influence that was bearing along the minds of the time. In her turn, she had her period of romanticism. The attempt was made to rejuvenize the old dogmas, the old beliefs, and the old usages, and to animate them with a poetic breath. The Catholic Church ably profited by these circumstances. She saw herself suddenly surrounded with a new prestige. Her alliance was sought, and conversions, especially in the upper classes of society, were noisily announced; and all this induced men to believe that there was still within her a power of life and expansion, which the future was not to justify. Attempts were also made to give to the Protestant Church a new constitution which should be more solid and more uniform. But these efforts, although favoured by the Courts, broke on unexpected resistances which arose on various sides with the view of defending the rights of individual religious conviction, and the autonomy of the particular Churches. We shall have to return to these points in the sequel of our History.

II.

In the course of this period of national abasement and political impotence, during which Germany successively underwent the yoke of the stranger and the oppression of the monarchical reaction, there arose in rapid and brilliant succession a series of Systems of Philosophy which also distinguish the time. As we watch their development, we see them reciprocally engender and complete each other, and reveal the singular power of analysis and synthesis with which the German mind is endowed. This movement of philosophy in Germany has been compared, and not without reason, to the contemporary movement of the French Revolution, only with the difference that the one has been accomplished in the domain of facts, and the other in that of ideas. And, in truth, the old French monarchy which was carried by storm in 1789, with its transcendent absolutism, was a

system of authority which rested only on traditional and abstract ideas, just as did the dogmatism of the old metaphysics. At the call of Kant, Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel, the German thought gathered its strength, concentrated upon itself, interrogated itself, and sought to take account of what it contained. It carried back all the laws of the universe and of the human soul to a general principle which is absolutely supreme, and which finds the elements of its certainty only in itself. Its ambition was to construct a system of truth which should owe its strength and authority only to itself. In this it was like the new State, which, according to the theorizers of the Revolution, was to rest only upon the national will freely expressed and exactly determined.

We shall give here but a very concise summary of this philosophical movement, the history of which is now to be found in numerous and excellent works. What interests us mainly is the influence which it has exercised on the movement and development of the religious ideas.

IMMANUEL KANT (1724-1804) belongs by his age and teaching rather to the Eighteenth Century, but his philosophical system only began to diffuse itself widely after 1790. The strength of the philosopher of Königsberg resides in his exclusivism, in the logical persistency and rigour with which his thought pursued the path which it had opened up for itself. Of a meagre and parsimonious nature when compared with his friends and compatriots, Hamann and Herder, Kant was the hero of rule, the puritan of modern thought. He gave to the current of his time its philosophical expression. His philosophy is properly called subjectivism or Criticism. Kant took up a position intermediate between Dogmatism and Scepticism. All the anterior systems had a dogmatic character plainly unfolded; they set forth a series of principles as immediately certain, and made everything else flow from them. Kant takes up Hume's doubt of any *a priori* certainty of human knowledge. Before passing to the search of truth, he holds that it is necessary to examine the instrument which is at our disposal, that is to say, our

understanding. It is necessary to distinguish the cognitions of pure reason from those of empirical reason, and to determine their limits more exactly. In opposition to Scepticism, Kant maintains that our understanding has forms to which the characters of universality and necessity inherently belong; but contrary to Dogmatism, he affirms that these forms, as well as the knowledge which results from them, are purely subjective.

Kant is distinguished by his ardent and vigorous pursuit of certainty through rigorously exact analysis and criticism of our faculties. In this lies the real merit of Kant. He destroys un pityingly the deceptive security in which the popular philosophy, proudly intoxicated with the results to which it had arrived, was reposing. The method of Wolf, according to which truth was to be obtained by means of clear ideas, was declared to be vain. The revolution which Kant effected in philosophy has been compared by himself to the revolution which Copernicus accomplished in astronomy. The measure of our cognitions is very limited. It is impossible for us to know anything of being in itself. We perceive things only in their relation to us. Our reason, becoming modest and reserved, ought to be satisfied with this purely subjective knowledge.

Kant has further proclaimed—and not less to the glory of his name—the autonomy and absoluteness of the moral consciousness. The certainty of the good is completely independent of all theories regarding the good: the certainty of the fact is anterior and superior to any theory about it. It has all the force of a “categorical imperative.” Obligation in the moral sphere has the character of being absolute and indisputable. It is within, and by an immediate intuition, that we have a consciousness of the intrinsic excellence of the good. A philosophical Moses,—as Dorner calls him,—Kant, in opposition to the naturalism and eudæmonism of his time, fixes the inviolable majesty and holiness of the moral law. The will freely applied to realize this law, is the supreme good. “There is nothing in the world nor out

of the world which can be called good without limitation, but a good will."

Religion occupies quite a subordinate place in the system of Kant. Far from being the source and support of morality, it is only a sort of appendix to it, a simple postulate of the practical reason. It is the moral consciousness which is the sovereign judge in matters of faith. Religious truths, as not belonging to the domain of pure reason, cannot be demonstrated; it is from a simple motive of practical utility that it behoves us to adopt them. The value of religious faith ought to be determined by its relation with practical reason. The God of Kant is exclusively transcendent; He is only the sovereign judge who re-establishes the harmony between the kingdom of virtue and that of the passions which has been disturbed here below. It is salutary for us to believe in the future realization of this harmony. But in fact we can know nothing of God, all our cognitions being bound to the forms of space and time. In determining the limits of the theoretical reason, as he has done, Kant interdicts us from all investigations which would extend to the sphere of the supernatural. In no case does God act upon us, for that would be an end to our liberty and our morality. Human virtue would have no longer any value. To admit a divine supernatural legislation would be to place our reason under an external authority, and to prevent ourselves from willing the good for its own sake.

Kant does not directly attack the doctrine of a supernatural revelation. What he does is to show that reason has no decisive arguments which it can validly establish either in favour of or against it. By what certain criteria could the human mind recognise a true divine revelation and distinguish it from a false one? Where are the limits of nature and of the supernatural? Where does miracle begin? No one can say.—Kant rejects all dogmatic cognition; it only produces fanaticism and superstition. The true kernel and essence of the revealed faith, freed from all dogmatic covering, is pure moral belief. This mode of

conceiving the revealed faith is what the philosopher of Königsberg calls Rationalism. In fact, Kant was the creator of this expression. He judges of the ecclesiastical doctrines only accordingly to their moral value; he does not analyze their historical genesis. Considering a dogma as the symbol of a moral idea, he usually introduces into it by his interpretation an entirely new sense. He admits that the ecclesiastical doctrine has not this sense, but it is implicitly contained in it; it is the essential element of it. It is owing to this element that the dogmas have been able to make such a lively impression on the minds of men, and to find so much credence among them. Hence the necessity of a moral interpretation of Holy Scripture and of the Confessions of Faith. It is useful to explain them according to the needs of the community, at the risk of putting into them something entirely different from what is found in them. To Kant the Church is a vast educational institution, which sets before itself the moral perfection of those who are less advanced by means of those who are more so.

We shall have to point out in the following chapter the influence which Kant exercised upon theology, and the numerous disciples who grouped themselves around them. He found fervent disciples in all parts of Germany; and in the last years of the Eighteenth Century, there was a general eagerness to bring his abstract propositions, formulated in a scholastic language, within the reach of the cultivated public by means of extracts, of dictionaries, of commentaries, in the form of letters, and such like. In particular, the *Jena Literary Gazette*, under the direction of Schütz, pursued this end with indefatigable ardour. In the present day, as we shall see, the influence of Kant upon theology has again come to the front in the Neo-Kantian School.

III.

JOHANN GOTTLIEB FICHTE (1762-1814) gave to the philosophy of Kant a development which was in harmony with

its very nature and character. This titanic spirit was tormented with an insatiable need of acting, of struggling, of creating. He cannot accept the limits placed by Kant between the pure reason and the practical reason. He proclaims the absoluteness of the Ego, which, in affirming itself, posits at the same time the non-Ego and aspires to permeate it, to reconquer it by incessant effort. There are no more objects, so to speak, in presence of this absolute subject, which aspires to universal science and to universal power. As Saturn devoured his own children, so does the ambitious spirit of Fichte tend to absorb all that is not itself. What is true in this idealism of Fichte, is the energetic call addressed to the human spirit to seize the high reason of what can appear to limited intelligences only as flat and vulgar reality. To comprehend all, and to permeate all by a vigorous act of our spirit, is what is claimed by this masculine wisdom, which is clothed with an incontestable moral power.

During the first part of his career, Fichte attached himself in religious matters to Kant. (He guards his disciples against the subtleties of dogma. He teaches the necessity of a moral order of the world, which he calls God; but he expressly denies personality to it, and finds himself not incorrectly accused of atheism. Faith is the accomplishment of what duty orders us to do, without hesitating and without giving regard to consequences. All good actions succeed, for the world is organized for the good; bad actions fatally fail.) All Fichte's philosophy is a masculine appeal to action.

At a later stage in his career, he approaches Christianity, in appearance at least, by the way in which he glorifies love and the incarnation of love as the absolute moral force in the person of Jesus Christ. God is the unity of the Ego and of being; and the bond which unites them is love. By love, God and man, being in itself and individual existence, become one. But we must beware of mistaking the sense of this proposition. Our love of God is only the love which God has for Himself; we cannot love Him, He only can love Himself in us. This love is the source of all certainty, of all

truth, of all reality, of all happiness. It is the essence of religion. The way by which we realize it, is a matter of indifference. Fichte, like Kant, absolutely ignored the importance of history. It cannot therefore be said that the mysticism of the second period of his philosophic thought is a serious progress beyond the idealism of the earlier period. But his work on *The Destination of Man, A Guide to the Blessed Life* (1805), forming an enthusiastic but venturesome commentary on the Fourth Gospel, and his *Discourses to the German Nation* (1807-1808),—an energetic protestation against the Napoleonic tyranny,—are animated by a powerful moral vitality, and they contributed not a little to the elevation of those to whom they were addressed. Nevertheless, it is very apparent that philosophic thought in this prodigious effort to reduce everything to unity, glides more and more towards pantheism, that formidable danger which all the moral energy of Fichte did not succeed in avoiding.

FRIEDRICH WILHELM JOSEPH SCHELLING (1775-1854) further extended the field of philosophic speculation which was already so vast. He embraced nature in it, and he mingled poetry with it. (Schelling, less original and powerful than his predecessors, teaches the absolute identity of God and the world, of the ideal and the real, of the soul and the body. The essence of nature is nothing else than the spirit itself in the lower stages of its development. God is absolutely immanent in the world. He is the determining principle of all that is produced in it. The laws to which the whole universe is subject, and which we discover by a sort of intuition of our soul, are no other than the effects of the divine will.) Schelling finds the eternal ideas of reason expressed in a poetical and symbolical manner in the doctrines of Christianity; and he strives to disengage them from these doctrines and to make us contemplate them in their original beauty. But he is obliged to give to these doctrines a sense different from what they have in the ecclesiastical system. His system is a sort of Gnosticism or Christian Neo-Platonism.

In 1841, Schelling was called from Munich to Berlin to combat the influence of the Left Wing of the Hegelian School, and by his intermediation, philosophy entered into alliance with romanticism, professed to speak to the imagination, and lent itself complacently to the designs of the current reaction. It associated itself with this powerful movement of opposition against the alleged prosaic character of the Eighteenth Century, and against the exclusive reign of reason and utilitarian commonplace morality. It issued in a fantastic idealism which abused the mania of immediate intuition in order to justify the most chimerical views. In its scorn of the present, it threw a brilliant aureole around the past, and favoured the undesirable confusion of religion and poetry.

In view of this latter relation, the new evolution accomplished by GEORG WILHELM FRIEDRICH HEGEL (1770-1831) was salutary. Hegel, as has been said, was by nature of a massive spirituality. Established in the University of Berlin from 1818, and animated by profound seriousness, he regarded his task as a holy mission. He proposed to himself to brace up again the spirits that had been intoxicated and relaxed by romanticism, and to impose on all the intellectual activity of his contemporaries the discipline of his system, which was at once severe and imposing. Owing to prudent arrangements, he secured the favour of the government for his philosophy, which professed to offer to all the spirits that were eager for action a sort of refuge from the disgust and disappointment which participation in public life reserved for them. Hegel reared a sort of universal ideal empire calculated to indemnify Germany for the want of political power and national greatness which events seemed to refuse to it.

Possessed of immense knowledge, of a methodical intellect, and of a rare dialectical power, Hegel deduced with incomparable logical rigour the consequences contained in the premisses laid down by Kant. Combating at once the distinction of the subjective and objective set up by Kant and the purely subjective idealism of Fichte, he admits with

Schelling the absolute unity of all things, and the identity of the subject and object. But while Schelling, in order to explain how everything is derived from this unity, takes his point of departure in the Absolute, which is revealed to him by an immediate intuition, Hegel starts from the Idea, and professes by the force of dialectic alone to make all things spring from the Idea. This includes the Absolute, which is the pure idea considered in itself and in an abstract manner, Nature, which is the idea manifested and become object, and Spirit, which is the idea turning back upon itself and beholding itself as soul, as society, and as God. God is to Hegel the concrete unity, the idea determining itself, the generating principle of immanence. Religion is the consciousness which God has of Himself in finite being; or, again, it is the spirit which is conscious of its essence. Hegel deliberately transports religion from the lower sphere of feeling into the higher sphere of thought; but even in this sphere it occupies only a secondary rank. It expresses under the imperfect form of the symbolical representation or image, what philosophy expresses under the more limpid and more correct form of the conception or Idea. The task of religion is to resolve itself insensibly into philosophy.

In order to construct his system, Hegel starts from this principle: "All that is rational is real, and all that is real is rational." The fatal consequence of it is the loss of the Absolute. Everything is relative; everything becomes; everything has its reason for being; everything in the world can be justified. The philosophy of Hegel takes in morals a position the reverse of that of Kant. It leads to the most dangerous applications in politics and in religion. Further, it is founded entirely on abstractions, while the procedure which furnishes them is not explained. It is the most imposing play which reason can engage in; but it is only a play, for we have nowhere solid land beneath our feet. Hegel pretends to construct the whole world from an idea; but his world is in fact but an idea, and under the pretext of objectivity, we fall into the most fatal arbitrariness. M. Scherer has excellently said: "Reality has

been severe to the system of Hegel. It has been put to the test, and it has not stood through. With what promises did it seduce the human soul, and how badly it has kept them! Yes, there are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamed of in philosophy, or have been explained by it, even by the philosophy of the Absolute. The questions to be solved remain still standing before us, as obscure and threatening as ever; and in approaching their solution, we have less hope and more discouragement. Hegel presented us the infinite in a formula, but the infinite which is formulated is not the infinite."¹

And yet, in spite of the deceptions which it provoked and the too manifest weakness which it revealed, the movement of philosophy from Kant to Hegel attests in its own way the grandeur of the human mind. It is already much to set forth its problems, even although they may not be resolved. To discipline the mind, to perfect the methods and the processes of our investigations, to habituate us to rigour and precision in our demonstrations, to elevate intelligence above the world of changing phenomena and transitory impressions, to learn to discern in all things their essence, their inner law, their genesis and progressive development, to embrace, connect, and co-ordinate everything in order to reach at one view a great, simple, and fertile whole: this is what Germany, nay, it is what all the intellect of Europe, owes to these vigorous thinkers, to those powerful dialecticians, who by their systematic constructions astonished the first quarter of our century.

Their influence on the religious and theological movement was immense. The pantheism, so seductive and so dangerous for the human mind, in which this new effort of philosophy issues, was, taken all in all, a necessary reaction from the abstractions of a superannuated deism; and the theory of the immanence of God, if on one side it unfortunately led in certain minds to a removal from Christianity, which always

¹ Hegel et l'hégélianisme. *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 15 Févr. 1861.

became more pronounced, did on another side, when rightly understood and rectified and completed, respond to the legitimate wants of the religious sentiment. We shall afterwards see what efforts have been put forth in this laboriously cultivated field of German philosophy, to produce new arguments, whether in favour of materialism, the natural heir of pantheism, or in favour of spiritualism, that useful ally of the Christian doctrine.

CHAPTER I.

THE OLD SCHOOLS. RATIONALISM AND SUPRANATURALISM.

I.

AT the beginning of this century two religious tendencies were still contending for the sway over men's minds, and it is not without interest to see them extending or rather transforming themselves. Under an appearance of unquestionable affinity, they contained in germ the new parties to which the direction of the religious movement in Germany belongs to-day. (Jena and Tübingen were the two principal centres from which this double current of Rationalism and Supranaturalism issued.)

The regions of Saxony experienced more than any other part of Germany the effects of the philosophical revolution of the last century. It was at Halle that Wolf had lectured and that Semler had undertaken the criticism of the old orthodoxy. The capital of letters was found at Weimar, under the ægis of Duke Charles Augustus. It was there where Goethe and Herder lived, and its neighbourhood had a powerful influence over the University of Jena. But it must be admitted that the rationalistic theology which sprang up there, and which is more specially attached to Kant, is far from having the same grandeur as the classical literature, or the same force as the philosophy of Wolf. Not that it is necessary to have recourse in explaining this fact to the men, whose scientific activity, character, and piety are worthy of all praise, but the irremediable weakness and the mediocrity which characterize their theological point of view are inherent in the very principle of rationalism.

Among the numerous representatives who have continued in our Century the primitive traditions of rationalism, only three may be specially mentioned here.

JOHANN FRIEDRICH RÖHR (1777-1848) was the most active leader of the German rationalism. His father was a tailor in a poor village near Naumburg, but owing to his great facility for work and to generous aid, he was enabled to pass through a course of study at Schulpforta and Leipsic. He made himself familiar with the writings of Kant, and undertook the task of popularizing the opinions which were enunciated in them. Appointed pastor at Ostrau, and from 1820 Preacher of the Court and General Superintendent of Weimar, he became the influential and all-powerful head of the Church in the Grand Duchy of Saxony. Röhr has expounded his theological point of view, with a frankness which leaves nothing to be desired, in his *Letters on Rationalism*.¹ (According to him, reason is the last resort and the supreme authority in matters of religion: not the philosophical reason which thinkers alone possess, but reason as it is found in every one of us under the form of tact and natural instinct. This reason has the right to reject without appeal all doctrines which are repugnant to it, including all those doctrines which are not received everywhere and have not a moral end. The only end which religion pursues is morality. Morality is what renders Christianity acceptable to reason. Christianity has never wished nor been able to be a positive religion. The historical elements which it has adopted are of value only as means fitted for propagating natural religion, which is the source of true morality. Christian theology is composed at bottom only of the doctrine of the existence and attributes of God and the doctrine of man, characterized according to their luminous and their sombre sides. As to Christology, it ought to be absolutely lopped off from religion. The legendary and speculative elements which constitute it had an origin much posterior to the modest and amiable appearance

¹ Briefe über den Rationalismus. Zur Berichtigung der schwankenden und zweideutigen Urtheile, die in den neuesten dogmatischen Consequenzstreitigkeiten über denselben gefällt worden sind, 1813.

of Jesus, whose teaching of a morality so very pure is absolutely conformable to the data of reason.)

Röhr has developed the same principles in a popular work on dogmatic theology,¹ and in his Literary Journal for Preachers, which is one of the most characteristic productions of that time.² Like Nicolai, the Pope of Weimar, as Röhr was called, combated all the tendencies opposed to his own with an asperity and an irritation that are almost comical. He attacked with supreme scorn all the theological and religious publications which did not enter into the limited framework within which his own thought moved, and he pronounced *ex cathedra* his pitiless decisions. (Intolerant to the last degree, he accuses his adversaries—whether Reinhard, Tzschirner, Hase, or Harms, Hengstenberg, Marheineke, or Schleiermacher—of idolatry, of servility, of hypocrisy, of jesuitism, and of papistry. It may be said that Röhr was in a state of continual acerbity and passion against everything he did not understand.) The most celebrated of his controversies is the one which he had to maintain against Hase, who, with that fine and elegant irony for which he is known, took a pleasure in unveiling the slight scientific value of the point of view of his adversary.³ The numerous sermons published by Röhr bear the same cold, dry, and moralizing character.⁴

JULIUS AUGUST LUDWIG WEGSCHEIDER (1771–1849) is the most scientific representative of this group of theologians. Belonging to Brunswick by birth, he studied at Helmstädt, spent ten years at Hamburg as a teacher, and in 1810 was called as a professor to the University of Halle, where his lectures had a great success. This success only began to decline towards the end of his life, owing to the denunciations of which he was the object in the *Berlin Evangelical Gazette*,

¹ Grund- und Glaubenssätze der evangelisch-protestantischen Kirche, 1833.

² Predigerliteratur, 1810–19. Kritische Prediger-Bibliothek, 1820–48.

³ Anti-Röhr, 1834. Cf. the reply Antihassiana, and Was will dieser Hutterus im 19ten Jahrhundert?

⁴ [Röhr's *Historico-geographical Account of Palestine in the time of Christ* has been translated by Esdaile in Clark's Biblical Cabinet, vol. xliii, 1843.]

but still more in consequence of the polemic of Hase against Röhr. In addition to certain writings on the philosophy of Kant and its applications to theology, as well as a series of exegetical works, his best known production is his *Institutiones theologicæ dogmaticæ* (1815), which passed through a great number of editions, and which may be considered as the official Dogmatics of rationalism. This volume, however, is of value only from the numerous quotations which it contains, and which are skilfully chosen from among the most diverse authors. Wegscheider passes in review each dogma in turn. He first expounds the Biblical ideas which serve as its basis, interpreting according to the rationalistic exegesis; he then cites the ecclesiastical formulæ, and finally gives forth his own judgment in name of the so-called good sense. The ideas of Wegscheider, which are often heterogeneous enough, are borrowed, sometimes textually, in the *Lineamenta* of Henke and the *Summa* of Ammon. We find in these works the troublesome confusion between the philosophic reason and common sense, as well as the affirmation devoid of proof, that reason cultivated by philosophy (which philosophy?) alone creates ideas, while the authors do not attempt to show us by what process this is done.

But the true patriarch of rationalism was HEINRICH EBERHARD GOTTLÖB PAULUS (1761–1851).¹ He was born in Würtemberg. His father, after the death of his wife, gave himself up to belief in visions, and carried mysticism very far; he was even deposed on this account from his office as a pastor. Warned by this example, Paulus learned to distrust everything that was in contradiction with his reason, and desiderated the rigour of mathematical demonstration for all theological truths. Imbued with an eager desire of knowledge, and possessed of a well-cultivated mind, after having terminated his studies at Tübingen, he travelled in various countries, and visited a great number of notabilities connected with all the branches of human knowledge. He then began his public

¹ Cf. Reichlin-Meldegg: Paulus und seine Zeit, 1853.

career at Jena in 1789 by teaching the Oriental languages at a time when the taste for these studies was not yet widely spread. Called to Würzburg in 1803, and to Heidelberg in 1811, Paulus displayed an indefatigable activity, and wrote a prodigious number of works during his long career as a professor.¹ He laboured with zeal for the diffusion of education among the people, declared himself a partisan of all liberal reforms in political and ecclesiastical matters, and under the lash of incessant denunciations, let no opportunity pass for defending the principles of toleration and free inquiry.

We cannot enumerate here all the literary productions of Paulus. Among them we find an Arabic Grammar, a multitude of writings relating to the East, an Anthology from the principal books of travel in the Holy Land, and numerous articles in the *Halle Literary Gazette* and in the *Heidelberg Annals*. But the lectures and the works of Paulus which have created most sensation are those in which he treats of the *Life of Jesus*² and of the Synoptic Gospels.³ Along with solid philological and critical observations, we find in these works the application of one of the most singular methods of exegesis. The author announces to us at the outset that what he proposes is to propagate a truly moral conception of Jesus and of Christianity. According to this principle, he admits as having really taken place only what is possible from the point of view of the philosophy of Kant. Whatever has been, should be able to be explained by a natural cause. In regard to every miraculous narrative, the author addresses to himself two questions: "Has the fact narrated been really produced, and how could it have been naturally produced?" Thereupon applying himself to distinguish the objective or real fact from the subjective or legendary narrative, Paulus proceeds by the aid of his brilliant erudition to imagine the most ingenious

¹ Neues Repertorium für biblische und morgenländische Literatur. Published afterwards under the title of "Memorabilien."

² Leben Jesu, 1823, 2 vols.

³ Exegetisches Handbuch zu den drei ersten Evangelien, 1830-33. Paulus had already developed the same ideas under a more aggressive form in his Philologisch-kritischer Commentar über das N. T. 1800.

and peculiar combinations, and to invent the most uncouth and absurd hypotheses. It is thus that the being with child of Mary by the Holy Ghost, is in his view a pious hallucination. The angels at the moment of the birth of Christ may have been phosphorescent appearances, such as are found at night in pastoral countries. The miracles of healing are explained by a constant historical ellipsis: the evangelists have omitted mentioning the natural remedies that Jesus employed. When Jesus is reputed to have driven out demons, He manifested His power over poor lunatics; and the raising of the dead took place only in the case of men who had fallen into lethargy. The miracle at Cana of Galilee is the narrative of a good marriage pleasantry. The walking of Jesus upon the sea is explained by the single word ἐπὶ, which in this passage does not signify "on," but "near," or by the shore of the sea. The transfiguration of Christ was born of the confused recollections of the disciples, who had been sunk in sleep, and who saw Jesus conversing with two unknown ones during a beautiful sunset. What remains of all this mass of exaggeration, error, and fable which the author discovers in the Gospels, is the image of Jesus as a man absolutely pure, a teacher of doctrine charged with promulgating the new code of spiritual rectitude in view of the true well-being of humanity.

It is unnecessary to point out all the arbitrariness involved in the procedure of Paulus. What is absolutely lacking in him is the sense of the divine, or, in a word, the religious sense. He cannot admit the possibility of man communicating directly with God, and possessing an organ capable of perceiving divine things. In his eyes this would be to open the gate to all the abuses and all the excesses of mysticism. It is, however, just to say, to the praise of Paulus, that he lived in conformity with his principles. Sober-minded, economical, laborious, honest, he knew how to ally profound convictions with great suavity towards his adversaries. He heartily hated hypocrisy, and was animated with a holy indignation against those whom he suspected of working to overturn religious liberty. Paulus had a sincere faith in the

future of rationalism. He had the rare courage, or let us rather say, the unenviable obstinacy that led him to change none of his opinions. He looked on impassively at the rapid and fruitful development of an epoch which he ended by no longer comprehending.

II.

We find the Supranaturalistic School side by side with the Rationalistic School, and separated from it by shades that are often hardly perceptible. The theologians of this tendency, out of respect for the beliefs of the past, profess a sincere attachment to revealed truth. Not that they are not themselves influenced and drawn away by the spirit of the age; but they confine themselves for the most part of this period to combining and grouping conscientiously the historical materials bequeathed to them by their predecessors, while trying as well as they can to rejuvenize and accommodate them to the taste of the theories of the day. (In opposition to Rationalism, which expects all progress in theological matters from the religious organ, that is to say, from reason, Supranaturalism attaches particular importance to the form in which the truth is communicated to us, that is to say, to revelation.) Supranaturalism also teaches that the Bible, at bottom, contains nothing which goes beyond the limits of our reason, or which is contrary to its affirmations; but it maintains that reason without revelation would never have reached the results to which it has come, that the Biblical forms are the divine supports, and, as it were, the divine teachers of the human mind. In other words, supranaturalism is in accord with rationalism in that it considers Christianity as a kind of teaching, a collection of truths and doctrines which it is necessary to engrave in the spirit of man; and if it separates itself from rationalism, it is less by a reference to the nature of this teaching than to the manner in which it has been communicated to men.

The University of Tübingen was the centre of this supra-

naturalistic theology, and its principal organ was the *Tübingen Review*, published from 1796 to 1840 by an association of Württemberg theologians. It is mainly occupied with discussions on exegesis and apologetics.

Among the most important representatives of this supranaturalism, we shall mention, in the first place, FRANZ VOLKMAR REINHARD (1753-1812).¹ He was born in a village near Nürnberg, where his father was pastor, and by whom he was instructed in the Bible and in the classic authors. He studied at the University of Wittenberg, where he became professor of theology in 1782. Ten years later he was appointed Court Preacher and General Superintendent of the Church at Dresden, and thus he became the head of the Church of the kingdom of Saxony. He was a man of upright, benevolent, dignified character, of a just and elevated spirit, full of moderation in his ideas and of urbanity in his language. More of a moralist than a philosopher, and more of an orator than a moralist, Reinhard at first shared the ideas of Wolf and of Kant; but at length this philosophy did not satisfy him, and he returned to the evangelical doctrines.

In his *Essay on the Plan of Jesus*,² he sketches in broad outline his apologetic point of view. He combines the internal proof with the external proof. In the foreground he places the penetrating spirit and the purity of the character of Jesus, and deduces, from the originality and the elevation of the plan which He had formed for the happiness of humanity, the exceptional place which He occupies in history. Reinhard has also written an extensive systematic work on *Christian Ethics*,³ a true mine of just and fine psychological observations. The principle from which the author makes all morality flow is the idea of the perfection of ourselves in the

¹ Cf. Politz: Reinhard nach seinem Leben und Wirken dargestellt, 1813-15, 2 vols. Idem: Darstellung der philosophischen und theologischen Lehrsätze Reinhard's, 1801, 4 vols.

² Versuch über den Plan Jesu, 1798. (French translation by Dumas, 1799.) Cf. Stapfer's excellent discussion in his "Mélanges," i. 218 et seq.

³ System der christlichen Moral, Wittenb. 1788, 5 vols.

view of reaching resemblance with God. He divides his book into four chapters, destined to answer the four following questions: What is man? What ought he to become? By what means can he reach his end? And in what manner can he do so? In the treatment of his subject, Reinhard gives proof of a firm and judicious moral sense, and of varied and extensive culture. Nevertheless the method which he follows is hardly scientific, and it is too alien from the true principles of Christian morality. The ideal which he traces out for us is rather that of true humanity than that of Christian perfection. Nor should we forget to mention a little treatise on the *Spirit of Minuteness in Morals*,¹ which is full of ingenious sketches.—Reinhard's *Lectures on Dogmatic Theology*,² composed in short Latin paragraphs with explanations in German, are less original. The work has no systematic character, and it is completely lacking in rigour of thought. Reinhard strives to prove the truth of his propositions both by Scripture and by reason, which, according to him, are in agreement at all points. However, it is too evident that this agreement is obtained only by artificial compromises which have the double inconvenience of not resolving the real difficulties and of weakening the character of the Biblical and ecclesiastical ideas.

But it was mainly as a preacher that Reinhard exercised great influence upon his contemporaries. He had an astonishing memory, a happy dialectical talent, and great impressiveness in delivery. His sermons form not less than thirty-five volumes, and they are elegant developments of Christian philosophy. The author has himself expounded his homiletical principles in his *Confessions*, a sort of Autobiography.³ It is very curious in itself, and it also contains his theory of supranaturalism. He confesses that he confined himself to the ordinary rules of rhetoric, and that he had

¹ Ueber den Kleinigkeitsgeist in der Sittenlehre, Meissen 1801.

² Vorlesungen über die Dogmatik, Wittenb. 1801.

³ Geständnisse, meine Predigten und meine Bildung zum Prediger betreffend, 1810.

formed his oratorical art on the classical models, such as Demosthenes and Cicero. He had no wish to have recourse to the oratorical means usually employed in the Christian pulpit, being desirous to present Christianity under a form accessible to modern thought. He never appeals to an external authority; and he disdains the artifices of mysticism, and wishes to act only by persuasion. According to his view, it is by the way of the intelligence that Christian truths should penetrate into the heart and produce there their salutary effects.

The best known dogmatic theologian of this school is JOHANN CHRISTOPH FRIEDRICH STEUDEL (1779-1837). He was born at Esslingen in Würtemberg, and was the youngest grandson of Bengel. Reared in the principles of a healthy piety by his mother, he studied at Tübingen, showed a marked aptitude for the Oriental languages, attended the lectures of de Sacy at Paris on Arabic and Persian, and on his return to Germany was appointed deacon and then professor at Tübingen in 1815. He won general esteem by his serious spirit, the indefatigable ardour and the scrupulous conscientiousness which he carried into his work, no less than by the constant calmness which he was able to maintain, along with an obstinate tenacity which made him feared by his adversaries. His writings are unfortunately heavy and undigested. The most remarkable among them turn on the Old Testament, its history, its exegesis, and its theology.¹

Steu del had much less aptitude for dogmatic theology, which he cultivated, however, with predilection, believing it his duty to defend his point of view against all those who did not share it. This point of view is that of a supra-naturalistic intellectualism. His *Protestant Dogmatics*² reveals to us exactly the state of indecision in which the theologians of his party found themselves in presence of the changes

¹ Theologie des Alten Testaments, 1840.

² Glaubenslehre der evangelisch-protestantischen Kirche, 1834.

which had been produced in the minds of men during the Eighteenth Century. He does not wish so much to combat these innovations as to protest against them. Instead of refuting the objections advanced against Christianity, it seems to him more useful to attack the adversaries on their own ground, and to unveil the weaknesses and the inconsequences of the new theology. He opposes the grand simplicity of Christianity to what he calls the taste for refinement in spiritual things. The Christianity which he recommends is, however, somewhat colourless, and it moves in an intangible vagueness. Its tendency may be summed up in this somewhat insignificant adage: "The essential point is to believe that Christ is more than we are, that He is better than we are, that He is not what we are." Steudel remained greatly isolated with his theology. It should not be forgotten to be mentioned that in 1828 he founded the *Tübingen Review*, and inserted in it some very excellent Articles on the Old Testament.

The historian GOTTIEB JAKOB PLANCK (1751-1833)¹ may likewise be ranked in this school. A Wurtemberger by birth, he had been trained in the principles of the University of Tübingen, and after having lectured some time in the Academy of Stuttgart, he was called to succeed Walch the historian, in the University of Göttingen. There he found his friend Spittler, a historian like himself.² Planck continued to lecture for nearly fifty years, beloved on account of

¹ Cf. Lücke: G. J. Planck, Ein biographischer Versuch, 1838.

² Ludwig Timotheus von Spittler (1752-1810) was one of the modern creators of Church History. His "Outline of the History of the Christian Church" (Grundriss der Geschichte der christl. Kirche, 1782) is distinguished by conscientious and solid investigations, by a mature and always moderate judgment, and by an easy and concise exposition. Like Planck, Spittler seeks in the motive interests, and especially in the ambition of men, the cause of events; and he applies himself to justify the ways of Providence by showing how good is always brought out of evil. He dispassionately opposes absolutism in Church and in State. Spittler's works recommend themselves by the serenity of his views, the ability with which he dominates the mass of his material, and the classical simplicity of his style. It has been said of him, and not without reason, that he applied the spirit of Lessing to the study and exposition of history.

his modest and conciliatory character, renowned for his scientific works, and edifying those who approached him by his serene piety and grateful optimism. It may be said that his whole life and science were a hymn of adoration which he made to ascend to his Creator.

It would be difficult to say what were his dogmatic opinions. Perhaps the truth is that he had none; at least he attached little importance to them. Abnegation of self, confident abandonment to the will of God, and inquiry into His plans and ways in history, seemed to him the most important duties of his particular calling. With what joy, with what piety, did he descend into the least luminous parts of his subject! He surrounded the past with an unequalled veneration, showed a respectful toleration for the opinions of others, and applied his unquestionable talent of psychological divination and penetration to revivify again the heroes who have played a part in history, as well as the events in which they had a share. All these qualities naturally removed him from the rationalism which affected a superb disdain of the past, and which showed itself really intolerant in its judgments, and incapable of entering into the thought of others, or of comprehending it. Yet, on another side, Planck reveals his relationship with rationalism in the arbitrary procedure by means of which he explains the organism of history, seeking for the origin of events almost exclusively in the personal motives—often petty enough—of those who have been the actors of them. One would like to find a larger insight, embracing views of the whole and marking out the great features of the subject. The manner in which Planck conceives of history is absolutely wanting in elevation and poetry. It is a pragmatism of the driest and most limited kind. One cannot but regret this, for by his character and his scientific attitude, Planck was more than any other theologian of his time capable of tracing out the way for a sound theory of the relations of individual faith with Christian tradition.

Among the principal works of Planck, we may mention

his *History of the origin, changes, and formation of our Protestant Doctrines*.¹ This history is told at great length, with infinite care and erudition, and comes down to the Formula of Concord. The continuation of it down to the middle of the Eighteenth Century is, on the contrary, very much abridged.—We may also name as the complement of this work his *History of the Constitution of the Church*.² It stops unfortunately at the epoch of the Reformation.—Finally, his *Sketch of a historical and comparative Exposition of the Dogmatic Systems of our different Christian Sects* is still a work of some value.³

III.

It remains to speak of two theologians who are usually considered as occupying a position intermediate between these two schools of rationalism and supranaturalism, and as reuniting them by fusing them in some sort together. They are Bretschneider and Tzschirner.

Bretschneider CARL GOTTLIEB BRETSCHNEIDER (1776–1848)⁴ was the son of a simple country pastor in Saxony. He passed through his course of study at Leipsic, occupied himself more with literature than theology, and undertook the functions of a teacher, not feeling in himself a pronounced call to the holy ministry. The reading of Reinhard's *System of Christian Ethics* removed his scruples. He resumed his studies, passed his examinations, and lectured for some years at Wittenberg. In 1816 he was appointed General Superintendent at Gotha, and was for more than thirty years the head of the Church of

¹ Geschichte der Entstehung, der Veränderungen u. der Bildung unsres protestantischen Lehrbegriffs bis zur Concordienformel, Leipz. 1781–1800, 6 vols. Geschichte der protestantischen Theologie von der Concordienformel bis in die Mitte des 18ten Jahrhunderts, Gött. 1831.

² Geschichte der christlich-kirchlichen Gesellschaftsverfassung, Hannover 1803–1809, 5 vols.

³ Abriss einer historischen u. vergleichenden Darstellung der dogmatischen Systeme unserer verschiedenen christlichen Hauptparteien, Gött. 1796.

[Planck's *Introduction to Sacred Philology and Interpretation* is translated by Turner in Clark's Bib. Cabinet, vol. vii. 1834.]

⁴ Cf. Aus meinem Leben, Selbstbiographie, 1851.

this little country. Of a clear, firm, and sober mind, an enemy of all extremes either in the sense of mysticism or in that of neology, he showed himself particularly hostile to the attempts to form a speculative reconstruction of Christianity which he saw being carried out before his eyes. Possessed of a peculiar penetration for finding their weakness and insufficiency, he accused those who, like Schleiermacher, Marheineke, and Hase, pretended to reconcile the faith of the past with modern thought, of wishing to throw dust in the eyes of their contemporaries, and of being charlatans.¹ Bretschneider, with the historical sense which he possessed to a high degree, had a profound instinct for discerning the difference between the dogmatic forms which the various periods have produced. In his works, written with the most conscientious application and care, he has brought together all the historical materials necessary for understanding the evangelical doctrines, without attempting to contribute to them himself, despairing of reaching success in this gigantic task. The example which he has given is an accusing testimony against those who, trusting too much to their imagination or their dialectical power, have essayed to reconstruct the system of Christian doctrine without taking account of the historical elements which it contains.

Besides the two principal works of Bretschneider on dogmatic theology,² we may also refer to his labours devoted to the translation of the LXX., and the Apocryphal books of the Old Testament,³ his *Lexicon of the New Testament*,⁴ his treatise on the *Gospel and Epistles of St. John*, in which he was among the first to raise serious doubts as to the authen-

¹ Ueber die Grundaussichten der theologischen Systeme in den Lehrbüchern von Schleiermacher, Marheineke und Hase, 1828.

² Handbuch der Dogmatik der evang.-luther. Kirche, Leipz. 1814–18, 2 vols. Systematische Entwicklung aller in der Dogmatik vorkommenden Begriffe nach den symbolischen Schriften der evang.-luther. u. reform. Kirche u. den wichtigsten dogmatischen Lehrbüchern ihrer Theologen, Leipz. 1805.

³ Dogmatik u. Moral der Apocryphen, Leipz. 1805.

⁴ Lexicon manuale Græco-Latinum in libros N. T., Lips. 1824.

ticity of the fourth Gospel,¹ his edition of the works of Melancthon in the *Corpus Reformatorum*, and the numerous Articles which he inserted in the *Ecclesiastical Gazette* of Darmstadt, of which he was one of the founders.

Tzschirner HEINRICH GOTTLIEB TZSCHIRNER (1778-1825)² was without contradiction one of the most distinguished representatives of that intermediate view which attempted to safeguard at once the liberty of thought and the principles of the evangelical faith. The son of a pious pastor of Saxony, he studied at the gymnasium of Chemnitz and at the University of Leipsic. He then came under the influence of Reinhard, and lectured, not without success, at Wittenberg and at Leipsic. Stirred with enthusiasm for the Wars of Independence, he acted as a chaplain in the army which in 1813 crossed the frontier of the Rhine. In religion as well as in politics, Tzschirner has always been the adversary of the reaction, and the defender of a wise and moderate liberalism. He excelled in the art of preaching. "He who respects the public," he said, "and who knows the difficulties of the oratorical art, will brand with the name of impudence the rash confidence with which many ascend the pulpit after a most hasty preparation." Of his Sermons, the most remarkable are those which he delivered in 1817 on the occasion of the tercentenary of the Reformation. They are animated with the breath of a masculine and generous spirit.

Attentive to the movement of the contemporary minds both in his own country and abroad, Tzschirner in his sermons, pamphlets, and other more extensive works, occupied himself chiefly with apologetic questions. Besides his *History of Apologetics*,³ which unfortunately extends only over the first

¹ Probabilia de evangelii et epistolarum Johannis Apostoli indole et origine eruditorum judiciis modeste subiecit C. Th. Bretschneider, Lips. 1820.

² Cf. Pölit: H. G. Tzschirner, Kurzer Abriss seines Lebens und Wirkens, 1828.

³ Geschichte der Apologetik oder historische Darstellung der Art u. Weise wie das Christenthum in jedem Zeitalter bewiesen, angegriffen u. vertheidigt ward, Leipz. 1805.

three centuries of the Church, we may refer to his book on the *Fall of Paganism*,¹ which has likewise remained incomplete; his comparative study of *Protestantism and Catholicism viewed from the standpoint of Politics*,² which has been translated into several languages; his *Dogmatic Theology*,³ which contains fine surveys of the distinctive doctrines of the Lutheran Church and the Reformed Church; his *Letters occasioned by Reinhard's Confessions*,⁴ and his *Letters of a German to Chateaubriand, Lamennais, Montlosier, and Benjamin Constant*.⁵

Tzschirner had followed with interest the manner in which these writers had attempted in France to defend the cause of Christianity, and to justify it to the age. But he had not been satisfied with their views, and he justly reproached them with neglecting the essence, that is to say, the ethical element of Christianity for its external manifestations, its æsthetic side, its institutions, its ceremonies, etc. He believed that the best means of getting the Christian truth accepted was to present it in its august simplicity before the conscience. It was in the alteration of the moral sentiment and in the weakening of the testimony of conscience, that he especially saw the cause of the discredit into which Christianity had fallen as well as the cause of the triumphs of unbelief.

Tzschirner had thus outstripped his time. He anticipated and foretold the revolution which was about to be effected in German theology; he was its John the Baptist. More than any other theologian of this period, he widened the horizon in which his thought moved. None of the political and religious questions which were agitated before his eyes remained strange to him. He applied himself without intermission to make the solution of them turn to the advancement of the kingdom of God, and to the logical

¹ Der Fall des Heidenthums, herausgegeben von Niedner, Leipz. 1829.

² Protestantismus u. Catholicismus aus dem Standpunkt der Politik betrachtet, Leipz. 1822.

³ Vorlesungen über die christliche Glaubenslehre, herausgegeben von Hase, Leipz. 1829.

⁴ Briefe, veranlasst durch Reinhard's Geständnisse, Leipz. 1811.

⁵ Briefe eines Deutschen an Chateaubriand, Lamennais, Montlosier u. Benjamin Constant, herausgegeben von Krug, Leipz. 1828.

development of the principle of Protestantism. More of a historian than a dogmatist, more of a popularizer than a creator, he too apprehends Christianity only as the religion of reason, introduced into the world by a supernatural revelation, according to the principle that man comes to have a consciousness of what he bears in himself only by a stimulus which comes to him from without. It should also be added that the form in which Tzschirner expresses himself is more careful, more elegant, more artistic than what is usually found among the German theologians. His writings are animated with the noblest enthusiasm, and deserve to become classical.

IV.

Having thus passed in review the principal theological rationalists and supranaturalists, we have yet to name the one who represents the synthesis of these two tendencies in what is legitimate and true in them, without, however, having succeeded in passing beyond them and creating a new system. We refer to DE WETTE, who is the most complete expression of the philosophical movement of the Eighteenth Century applied to theology. He has summed up its results under the most scientific and most religious form, while demonstrating by their very imperfection the necessity of a transformation. He is the most distinguished representative of the criticism of that period which is at once sceptical and confident, which is doubtless more negative than positive, yet which is so from conscience and as if with regret. Viewed both as a man of science and in relation to his character, the personality of De Wette is one of those of which the study is most instructive and attractive. He has been surnamed the Nathanael of the modern theology. And, in fact, the purity of his character, the sincerity of his convictions, and the scrupulous conscientiousness which he exhibited in his work, have deservedly procured him this name; and these qualities recommend him to our attention as in some sort the ideal type of the German theologian.

WILHELM MARTIN LEBERECHE DE WETTE¹ was born in Thuringia in 1780, in a simple village manse. He passed his infancy at Weimar, which was adorned by the residence of the great leaders of the German literature. He studied at the University of Jena, then the arena, at the meeting point of two centuries, where the old and new systems of philosophy were clashing in the shock of a first and decisive combat. The young student, who had begun by yielding to the influence of Herder and Griesbach, felt himself specially drawn towards the philosopher Fries, who had cut out for himself an original path in the midst of the movement that issued from the idealism of Kant, and who was not long in becoming the centre of a special group. This philosopher applied himself mainly to develop the psychological data of Kant as the founder of criticism. He taught that, along with the source of knowledge which is open to man in his understanding, there is also a source of knowledge proceeding from the heart or from sentiment. According to Fries, man possesses an organ by means of which he is not only able to discern the subjective side of objects by means of reasoning, but also to divine and to conceive, in some measure, their objective reality by means of presentiment. These two ways of investigation mutually complete each other, although it is not possible to resolve the contradictions which their results may present.

Along with the teaching of Fries, De Wette followed that of Paulus. The explanation of the miracles of the New Testament given by this bold critic, appears to have made a lively impression upon him. In proportion as he saw his faith in the Biblical supernatural shaken by the far from natural interpretation which Paulus made of it, he felt the need of putting his religious sentiments under shelter from the attacks of the destructive criticism of rationalism. He

¹ Cf. Schenkel: De Wette u. die Bedeutung seiner Theologie für unsere Zeit, Schaffh. 1849. Hagenbach: De Wette, Leichenrede u. academische Gedächtnissfeier, Basel 1849-50. Lücke: De Wette, Zu freundschaftlicher Erinnerung, Hamb. 1850. Colani: Revue de théologie, 1re série, i. pp. 87, 129. Wiegand: De Wette, 1879. Stähelin: De Wette nach seiner theol. Wirksamkeit u. Bedeutung, Bas. 1880.

believed that he had succeeded in relegating them to that sphere of presentiment which the psychology of Fries had showed him. This was not a return to the old supranaturalism, whose theories seemed to him far from reconcilable with the exigences of modern science, but it was at least a protestation against the procedure of rationalism, which submitted all the phenomena of the domain of religion to the decrees of its incompetent tribunal. The essentially æsthetic aspiration by which De Wette thus rose above the domain of reason, seems to him the only possible form under which supranaturalism could maintain itself. It is just to add that the rationalistic theologians denounced it as a grave concession made to mysticism.

Assured that he had thus in appearance at least safeguarded his faith, De Wette threw himself resolutely into the field of criticism, and did not allow himself to be frightened by the negative character of the results at which he arrived. In 1806, he published his views on a part of the Old Testament in two volumes, which produced a lively sensation.¹ They may be considered as his manifesto in those questions of sacred criticism to the examination of which he was going particularly to devote himself. He entertains no illusion as to the special nature of the difficulties which criticism encounters on its way in the study of the sacred books. We have in fact no means of otherwise determining the truth or the historical exactness of their contents than by the attentive examination of these books themselves, all other sources of information and of verification failing us. The historical criticism of the Old Testament, according to De Wette, can hardly give itself up to discussing questions of authenticity, as we have not in our hands the means of arriving at certain results. It should limit itself to the comparative study of these books themselves, seeking to recompose the history of the Jews according to their contents. Their agreement or disagreement will enable the critic to form a judgment as to the period to which the theocratical institutions, as well as

¹ Beiträge zur Einleitung in das A. T., Jena 1806-7, 2 vols.

the documents which mention them, ought to be referred, and as to the manner in which it is necessary to understand certain historical events which appear surrounded with the transparent veil of fable.

Such is the method which De Wette applied first to the Pentateuch, which he decomposed into a series of fragments very different in age, origin, and character, while he brought down Deuteronomy, the last in date of the five books, to the time of King Josias. He then showed that the author of the Chronicles has on his side utilized the much older books of Samuel and Kings, and has transformed them in a Levitical and hierarchical interest. Later on he devoted himself to a similar work on the Psalms,¹ in which he attacked the Levitical origin and the Messianic character of a number of these national songs. De Wette successively extended his investigations to all the books of the Old Testament, and summarized them in a *Historical and Critical Introduction to the Canonical and Apocryphal Books of the Old Testament*.² This work rapidly passed through a large number of editions. He everywhere forcibly opposes the natural explanation of the miracles which the rationalistic exegesis had put in fashion; he maintains the moral character of the personages of the sacred history which are often strongly compromised by it; and even while declaring himself in favour of the legendary and mythical character of most of the miraculous narratives contained in the books of the Old Testament (and especially in those of the Pentateuch, that national epopee of the Hebrew people), he eloquently defends their astonishing grandeur and the powerful poetic inspiration in them.

It is in place to mention here, in addition to the works already mentioned, his *Text-book of Jewish Archaeology*,³ which

¹ Commentar über die Psalmen, 1811. Ueber die erbauliche Erklärung der Psalmen, 1837.

² Lehrbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung in die canonischen und apocryphischen Bücher des A.T., 1817. [Translated from the German, by Theodore Parker, 2 vols., Boston 1843.]

³ Lehrbuch der hebräisch-jüdischen Archæologie nebst einem Grundriss der hebräisch-jüdischen Geschichte, 1814.

is full throughout of facts laboriously collected, as well as his translation of the Bible, which was published in 1809, —a work remarkable in every respect, not only from its marvellous exactness, but also from the classical nobleness and purity of its style. De Wette's version of the Bible may be justly considered as one of the best of those produced in modern times, although it lacks the sustained inspiration which animates Luther's translation.

The work which De Wette has done in connection with the Old Testament has been compared to that of Wolff on Homer. (In fact, one of the striking characteristics of the method of De Wette is to apply to the study of the Hebrew literature exactly the same critical rules as are applied to the study of the literary products of other nations. As the primitive history of all peoples reveal the traces of the work of legend, De Wette does not see why we should refuse to admit a similar process in the history of the Jewish people.)

In 1807, De Wette was appointed to a professorship at Heidelberg, and in 1810 he was called to the University of Berlin, which had just been reorganized and which soon possessed a galaxy of professors in all its Faculties. Almost all those who occupied the chairs of theology belonged to the new tendencies of thought. Marheineke represented the Hegelian party, and Schleiermacher the important school which attaches to his name. It is not surprising that De Wette felt himself isolated and in a manner expatriated in the midst of this Berlin movement, so stirring in some respects, yet so factitious at times, and so little in harmony with his tastes and habits. During this period of his literary activity he published his first works on dogmatic theology.¹ The premises of his speculation are borrowed from the philosophy of Fries; and the theory of presentiment plays a considerable part in it. According to De Wette, the religious sentiment is the means by which man rises from the finite to the infinite.

¹ Ueber Religion und Theologie, Berlin 1805. See the remarkable criticisms of this work by Elwert and Dorner in the *Tabinger Zeitschrift*, 1835, pp. 23, 137. — *Lehrbuch der Christlichen Dogmatik*, Berl. 1813-16, 2 vols.

Participating in the nature of the æsthetic sentiments, it is independent of the sphere in which reasoning moves. It is not necessary to apply to it the ideas of the true and the false. It is not therefore well founded to say that the religious sentiment procures for man the knowledge of the truth. It reveals nothing to him, but by the *elan* or flight which it communicates to him, by the emotions and by the enthusiasm which it awakens in him, it exercises a beneficent influence upon his heart. As the marvellous mainspring of our moral life, it transports and calms us by turns. As regards dogma, or the visible form which the religious sentiment puts on and in which it incarnates itself, it is that of symbol, legend, or myth. The dogmatic language is no other than that of sacred poetry; all the sentiments which make the chords of the religious harp vibrate, come to make their ineffable melody heard in turns. In order to interpret the dogmatic monuments of the past, it suffices to strip them of their symbolical envelope, and to decipher the religious and æsthetic sentiments which gave them birth. Owing to this theory, De Wette naturally found himself in opposition to the theologians who affirmed the reality of revelation, and what might be called the objectivity of Christianity, because in his view everything is confined to subjective impressions expressed in the poetical language of the symbol.

The political events which followed the German Wars of Independence brought about an important turn in the career of De Wette. He was the declared adversary of those reactionary efforts which so unfortunately wrought upon the effervescent minds of the time. By his alleged negative criticism, he was himself marked out for the hostility of those who wished to restore the past in all spheres of life. Carl Sand, a student of Erlangen, in his political fanaticism, assassinated at Mannheim the famous Kotzebue, the agent of the Emperor Alexander of Russia. De Wette had made the acquaintance of Sand during an excursion in the Fichtelgebirg; and a letter which he addressed to Sand's mother was used as a pretext for the proceedings directed against him.

In this letter, De Wette pities the poor widow, and seeks to comfort her: he represents the act committed by her son as immoral, for "evil can never be overcome by evil, the end never sanctifies the means." But he adds: "Taken in itself this act, performed by a pure and pious young man with the conviction and the confidence which animated it, is a beautiful sign of the time." These were imprudent words and by no means carefully weighed, especially in the mouth of a professor of Morals. De Wette was dismissed from his professorship. He withdrew to Weimar, nobly refusing the retiring pension which he was offered.

The three years which followed his dismissal (1819-21) were to De Wette years of trial and crisis. Deprived of his academic chair, and in a sort under the ban of the German Universities, he felt the more bitterly his theological isolation and the void of his beliefs. His theory of presentiment, or of æsthetic aspiration towards the infinite, left him without support, and he keenly experienced the need of bringing his faith into accordance with that of simple believers. He likewise longed to find a sphere of practical activity which would bring him close to the people and permit him to labour for their elevation. We accordingly see De Wette now preaching more frequently than in the past. He collects the voluminous and substantial correspondence of Luther,¹ and publishes it; and he writes a religious romance, called *Theodore; or the Doubter's Consecration*, the faithful mirror of the religious crisis which he was passing through.² But what acted most powerfully on his development was the sermons of Schleiermacher, which he had heard at Berlin. De Wette, too, wished to discover the means of attaching his faith to that of the faithful, in order to feel the reacting benefit of Christian communion; and he strives to find again the expression of it in the dogmas of the Church. He kept ardently pursuing such a conciliation, the object of the research of all the believing thinkers of the time.

¹ Kritische Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke Luther's. Luther's Briefe, Sendschreiben und Bedenken, 1825-28, 5 vols.

² *Theodor oder die Weile des Zweiflers*, 1822.

V.

De Wette refused a call as preacher to Brunswick, but he was immediately thereafter appointed to a professorship at Bâle, where he remained till the end of his life, giving his energy to his studies, to the publication of his works, and to his public lectures, which were partly delivered before assemblies of laymen, whom he had at heart to initiate into the religious questions of the time. Thenceforth he preserved that calm serenity which appears to have been the dominating disposition of his character, although the struggles which he had just passed through had ploughed their painful furrows in his soul, and although he could not cease to sigh after a loftier serenity and a profounder peace, with the melancholy certainty that he would never be able fully to realize them here below.

In his great work on *Christian Ethics*,¹ the insufficiency of his theological point of view makes itself felt very distinctly. De Wette rejects the principle of duty, which had been consecrated by the philosophy of Kant, rightly finding it too abstract. But is the principle of life which he substitutes for it less so? Is everything indeed said when we recommend man to develop the life that is in him and in his fellows under all its forms? It is necessary at least to define this life. And of what other life can there be a question here, if not of the life eternal, that life which has its principle in God, which is communicated to us by Him, and which leads us to Him? The life in God is alone capable of making man understand the problem of his destiny, and enabling him to realize it. This work is composed of three parts, of which the second is consecrated to the History of Christian Ethics. This was a very happy innovation, only one does not understand why De Wette placed this historical sketch between General Ethics and Special Ethics — a division which is otherwise arbitrary enough, and which has now had its time.

During his professorship at Bâle, De Wette gave his atten-

¹ *Christliche Sittenlehre*, 1819-23, 3 vols.

tion with predilection to the New Testament. The *Concise Exegetical Handbook to the New Testament*,¹ which he published as the fruit of these studies, had a rapid and great success. The method and the principles of criticism which he puts into operation are the same as those which he used in dealing with the Old Testament, although by the very nature of the new field to which he applies them, he should have been led to proceed somewhat differently. (In fact, all the evidence shows that the same critical processes cannot be applied to the New Testament as to the Old. The New Testament times are nearer us; myth and legend no longer flourish with the same exuberance as on the soil of the ancient East; we know in a positive manner the authors of some of the writings which have come down to us as the documentary history of the apostolic age. Not only may questions of authenticity be raised, but they may, up to a certain point at least, receive a satisfactory solution. It is proper, therefore, to approach the discussion of the critical problems which are raised by examination of the Books of the New Testament with much circumspection, and by surrounding ourselves with all necessary precautions. It is true, however, that the difficulties which present themselves are by no means inconsiderable.)

The marvellous plays a great part in the gospel narratives; we come in contact with it continually. It not only forms—as has been long believed—the commencement and the end of the history of Jesus, where De Wette believes that he discovers unmistakeable traces of legend, but it is mingled with the whole career of the Saviour. His discourses themselves are all enveloped and, as it were, impregnated by it. It is not possible to separate the discourses of Jesus from the facts which accompany them, and which give them motive, without tearing the warp and woof of them asunder. The expedients to which recourse has been had in order to explain these facts in a natural manner are so forced that the solution of the problem is in no way advanced by them. And, moreover, there are still other difficulties. The narratives which

¹ Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum N.T., Berlin 1836-38, 3 vols.

we possess of the events which constitute the basis of the history of Jesus are far from being in accord. They contradict each other on more than one point, and often their accordance is even more embarrassing than their divergences, for their authors seem to have sometimes copied each other even literally. Instead of having three or four original sources at our disposal, it is found that we have perhaps no more than one or two. Furthermore, what is the relation between the written Gospels and oral tradition? What interval elapsed between the events and the writings which relate them to us? What was the mode in which our Gospels were formed? What is their degree of dependence or of co-ordination? What is the value which may be attributed to their testimony? What is the nature of the authority which they ought to enjoy in the Church? Such are the numerous and delicate questions which De Wette sees breaking on the horizon of sacred criticism, and which he indicates with much sagacity, without being able to give replies to them.

And this is precisely what distinguishes De Wette from Strauss and Baur. He refuses Strauss the right of having recourse to the processes of legend and myth in order to explain events which took place in the first century of our era at an epoch which was already perfectly historical; and he denies Baur the possibility of affirming, with so much certainty as he does, that things must have taken place in a certain way and not in another, considering that we do not possess sufficient elements of information. Accordingly, De Wette does not draw final conclusions; he confines himself to enunciating doubts; he weighs with impartiality the reasons for and against, and declares that criticism ought not to go farther. Thus he despairs of being able to write a Life of Jesus; he believes that the history of the Founder of Christianity is destined to remain eternally shrouded, and plunged in a *chiaroscuro* by the will of Providence. De Wette consoles himself for this by thinking that God has judged it good that it should be so. A little less historical certainty, far from shaking our faith, should only incite it the more to penetrate

from the visible world into the invisible world, where are found its true objects, and the sources of life from which it may acquire new strength.

The last work published by De Wette was on the *Essence of the Christian Faith*.¹ It gives evidence of a perceptible progress towards Christian ideas. It is an exposition of the essence of Christianity, from the apologetic point of view, designed principally for laymen. The definitions which the author gives, the developments into which he enters, and the whole disposition of the book, mark a great divergence from his first works on dogmatic theology. De Wette no longer considers faith so much as an exaltation of the sentiment which clothes the eternal ideas which it presents with a symbolical form, but rather as a spiritual force which fills and animates us, and it is the result of the work accomplished on earth by Christ, which was the reconciliation of man with God. De Wette likewise assigns particular importance to the ideas of sin and salvation, such as is almost completely foreign to his first works. It is thus that he pursued the labour to which he had consecrated his whole life, as a work of conciliation between the needs of reason and those of sentiment. But the successful termination of it has always escaped him, because the language of both seemed to him contradictory, reason using the language of philosophy, the heart adopting that of the symbol. De Wette bequeathed to others the task of finding the solution of this antinomy between science and religious sentiment. He himself, after having valiantly fought the good fight, laid down his arms on the 16th June 1849, when called by God to contemplate face to face what till then he had seen but vaguely, and as in a glass darkly.

Among the manuscripts of De Wette there was found a poem which paints him admirably. It runs thus: "I have sowed the seed, but where is the harvest now ripening? How rare it is that one understands and applies well what one has learned! I lived in a troubled time; the union of the believers was broken. I mixed with the struggle, but it

was in vain; I have not succeeded in making it cease. For liberty and justice men have fought, and will still fight. To me it was a matter of the heart; for them I would gladly have suffered even more."

To sum up our judgment on De Wette, we shall say that his merits are much greater in the department of criticism than in that of dogmatics. He is the type of the impartial, calm, exact critic. What undoubtedly characterizes his work is the absence of precise results, of positive conclusions. His criticism does not know how to conquer doubt; it is often satisfied with arguments that are too subjective, with reasons of taste, of sentiment, of style. It does not rest sufficiently upon the basis of history, which remains veiled, vague, and fugitive. In the domain of speculation, De Wette lands in a dualism between reason which destroys the ancient dogma, and the æsthetic need which tends to restore it in favour of sentiment. But this restoration remains inadequate and purely figurative; and the conflict between science and the religious symbolism remains unappeased.

¹ Das Wesen des christlichen Glaubens, 1846.

CHAPTER II.

SCHLEIERMACHER

I.

THE renovation of modern German theology is pre-eminently connected with the name of Schleiermacher.

What made Schleiermacher an initiator and a creator much more than even the head of a school properly so called, was his individuality. No one has exerted so much care and fidelity to understand, to develop, and to respect individuality, whether in himself or in others. Universal and individual himself to the highest degree, his mind was able at once to penetrate into objects and to assimilate them perfectly. But his thought could not lay hold of things without creating them anew, by transforming them in some sort and depositing in them the impress of his individuality. This organizing power of thought accompanied him continually; and in the midst of the great number of interests which solicited him, it kept him from dissipating his energies, and scattering them in regions too remote from each other. Thus it was that erudition properly so called and researches purely historical, only suited him to a moderate degree. Schleiermacher united religious warmth with scientific clearness. "Reason and feeling," he said, in writing to Jacobi, "are separated in me, but they touch each other and form a galvanic pile. The most inward life of the spirit consists, in my case, in that galvanic process which is called the feeling of reason and the reason of feeling." If it has been said that there was something feminine in the genius of Schleiermacher, this is only half true. It would be more exact to say that he united in a

superior degree the gifts and the capacities of the two sexes.

(A theologian by vocation and taste, Schleiermacher embraces and rules all the branches of human knowledge: philosophy, philology, and even poetry. He is at once a writer, an orator, a man of learning, a thinker, a politician, and a man of action. He is especially a pastor and a professor; but one never feels in him the theologian by profession. No human interest remains alien to him: all the duties and all the joys of life are embraced by him with an equal love. This activity is the realization of the precept of St. Paul: "All things are yours!")

The influence which Schleiermacher has exercised on the ideas of his time is immense. In the midst of an age inclined to incredulity and indifference in matters of religion, he restored the forgotten and misunderstood truths of the gospel to honour. He loved and made men love the person of Christ, that luminous hearth of the Christian faith and life. He showed that the true humanity is found only in Him who called Himself the Son of man. But in order to make the men of his time accept Christianity, he had recourse to a new method, which he put into practice and applied in the various spheres of his activity. (He substituted the principle of liberty for the principle of authority. In theology, Schleiermacher has founded the method of Christian individualism.) He has given to the idea of the Protestant faith its veritable expression and definition, while at the same time he has illuminated with the light of a new day all the questions which relate to morals. In the ecclesiastical discussions of his time, he was seized with a holy indignation at the sight of unskilful and compromising efforts of restoration, and he defended the manifestation of individual convictions, without ever falling into the errors of the sectarian spirit.

The importance of Schleiermacher is attested by the almost unequalled veneration with which his name and his memory are enshrined in Germany. All the religious parties, whatever reserves they may make otherwise on particular points of his

teaching, almost without exception now declare that they have sprung from Schleiermacher. Even those who separate themselves most ostentatiously from his doctrines, have not been able to withdraw themselves entirely from his influence. His works are in the hands of every one. The impressions received from his lectures and his sermons have remained living in the souls of his hearers. But even more than by his books, his lectures, and his sermons, Schleiermacher has worked on men by his personal intercourse, by that individuality of his from contact with which so many souls have been refreshed and strengthened, and which so many have loved. The missionary Zarenba refers his conversion to Schleiermacher's *Discourses on Religion*, which he read when he was still a diplomatist at St. Petersburg. Harms, in his Autobiography, declares that he received from Schleiermacher the impulse of an eternal movement. Rothe and Hofmann, and many others, are beholden to him for no small part of their originality and their speculative power.

Schleiermacher's point of view is undoubtedly overpassed to-day. (He was too much a man of his own time not to share in some measure its errors, whether they were those of rationalism or of romanticism. His idea of religion is incomplete; his doctrine of God is infected with Spinozism; his exegesis, and in particular his knowledge of the Old Testament, leaves somewhat to be desired.) We shall see farther on what were the defects and the vices of his dogmatic theology. Nevertheless, the very errors of Schleiermacher have been fruitful, and no theologian since has presented a more profound or more complete system of Christian truth.¹

¹ Cf. Schleiermacher's Selbstbiographie im 26ten Jahr mitgetheilt von Lommatzsch, in Niedner's *Zeitschr. für hist. Theol.* 1851, H. 1. Briefwechsel mit J. Chr. Gass, herausgegeben von W. Gass, Berl. 1852. Aus Schl.'s Leben. In Briefen. herausgeg. von Jonas u. Dilthey, Berl. 1858-63, 4 vols. Auberlen: Schl., ein Charakterbild, Basel 1859. Schenkel: Schl. Ein Lebens- u. Charakterbild, Elberf. 1868. Dilthey: Leben Schl.'s, Bd. I., Berl. 1867. Kosack: Schl.'s Jugendleben. Vorträge für das gebildete Publicum, Elberf. 1861. Baxmann: Schl.'s Anfänge im Schriftstellern, Bonn 1864 (1787-99); id., Schl., sein Leben u. Wirken, für das deutsche Volk dargestellt, Elberf. 1868. Kittlitz: Schl.'s Bildungsgang, Leipz. 1867. Schaller: Vorlesungen über Schl., Halle 1844. Gess: Uebersicht über das theol. System Schl.'s, Reutl. 1837.

II.

FRIEDRICH DANIEL ERNST SCHLEIERMACHER was born at Breslau on the 21st November 1768. He belonged to a family of pastors of the Reformed Church, who were descended from old emigrants of Salzburg. His grandfather had been an eloquent and esteemed preacher in Elberfeld, but he allowed himself to be drawn away by millenarian sectaries, and he was involved in a process for sorcery. His father, after having passed through a rather long period of doubt, had attached himself to the orthodox faith, and he was engaged as a chaplain to the Prussian troops stationed in Silesia. His mother, by birth a Stubenrauch, and related to the Sack and Spalding families, was a pious woman, endowed with great good sense and with a noble heart. Schleiermacher himself appears to have early displayed fine gifts and great aptitude for study. He was the eldest of four children. After having received a rather irregular and incomplete course of instruction, at the age of twelve he entered the gymnasium of Pless. His thirst for truth manifested itself in the doubts suggested to him by ancient history, which he regarded as interpolated without daring to confide his suspicions to any one. During a journey in Lusatia, his parents had learned to know the educational house which the Moravian Brethren had at Niesky; and the good order and piety which reigned in it decided them to send to it their two sons. Certain religious doubts which Schleiermacher had manifested regarding the dogmas of eternal punishment and the expiatory sacrifice of Christ, and which had cost him many nights of sleeplessness in trying to solve, were not without an influence on this determination of his parents.

P. Schmidt: Spinoza u. Schl. Die Geschichte ihrer Systeme u. ihr gegenseitiges Verhältniss, Berl. 1868. Plitt: Das Verhältniss der Theologie Schl.'s zu derjenigen Zinzendorf's *Stud. u. Krit.* 1872, H. 2. Goy: Schl., sa vie et ses ouvrages, *Revue de théologie*, 1867. Bender: Schleiermacher's Theologie mit ihren philosophischen Grundlagen, Nord. 1876-78, 2 vols. O. Ritschl: Studien über Schleiermacher in *Studien und Kritiken*, 1838, H. 2. 4. [Schleiermacher's Life and Letters, translated by Rowan, 2 vols., London 1859.]

Schleiermacher spent four years at Niesky and at the seminary of Barby (1783-87). Shortly after his entry at Niesky, he had to pass through the grief of losing his mother. For a time he was greatly pleased with Niesky. He formed a close friendship with Albertini, who became afterwards a Moravian bishop. We are able to follow the traces of his spiritual development in the letters which he exchanged with his father, with his sister Charlotte, and with his uncle Stubenrauch, a zealous and benevolent pastor of moderate views. Schleiermacher at first completely assimilated the modes of feeling and expression characteristic of the Moravian Brethren. His ideal was absolute repose in Jesus. He gave himself passionately to the study of the Greek poets, and also of the Old Testament. But soon his doubts revived. He came into collision with the doctrine of the radical corruption of human nature and the supernatural effects of grace, which were taught at Niesky under the most repulsive form. It seemed to him that these doctrines destroyed his belief in the moral nature of man; and he felt himself like a ship without ballast. In vain did he struggle to experience those feelings of contrition or of ecstasy which were described to him with so much complacency. His doubts, far from vanishing as he had been assured, went on increasing and extending to other objects. He complains of the few books that were confided to him, of the insufficient proofs with which his teachers accompanied their exposition of dogma, and of the silence in which they enveloped all objections. None of the discussions of the day penetrated fully into his retreat, although their carefully deadened echo whetted his curiosity. He suspects that many of the objections raised against Christianity must be well founded, since so much trouble was taken to conceal them. Soon his difficulties multiplied, and they came from all sides to darken the serene perspectives of the faith. The doctrine officially taught does not appear to him to be in accord either with the cry of his conscience or with the testimony of the gospel. How could He who called Himself the Son of Man be the God who exists from eternity to

eternity, and who possesses all the attributes of the heavenly majesty? How can the death of Christ have the effects attributed to it, when the Saviour Himself never speaks of them? How could an eternity of punishment inflicted upon sinful men be in accordance with the goodness of God and with the nature of their fault?

It was not without the greatest sadness that Schleiermacher discovered these doubts in himself; and it was with the keenest anguish that he resolved to avow them to his father. The poignant grief that he experienced, and the tears he shed over his letter, hindered him from enumerating the arguments which he believed that he could invoke for his defence. He implores the indulgence of his father in consideration of his sincerity. He reminds him that he also had passed through his period of doubt, and that he too may, in like manner, come out of it victorious. In order to this, it is necessary that he should study to the bottom the problems which embarrass him. Perhaps if he had the means of examining everything, the result might be that the arguments on which he was leaning would no longer appear to him so strong as he thought; that, on the contrary, other arguments which he had too quickly neglected, might seem to him more solid. This crisis of faith, accompanied by painful collisions with those around him, who exaggerated the evil and sought his conversion by all imaginable means, plunged Schleiermacher into deep depression. The letters of his uncle Stubenrauch came to him as true balm. This excellent friend treated him with a sweetness and a goodness that were quite paternal. "To expect absolute certitude," he writes, "is to prepare for oneself a cruel deception. Let us be satisfied when it is given to us to approach the truth as far as it is necessary to our progress and wellbeing, and to our internal tranquillity. Be of good courage, and seek your best consolations in prayer. Let it be humble, ardent, and sincere. God never refuses the truth to those who demand it from Him with a right heart." In spite of these profound and insuperable differences in opinion, however, Schleiermacher did not remain less

attached in heart to the community of the Brethren by the tie of his gratitude, as well as through his relation to his sister Charlotte, who settled afterwards at Gnadenfrei.

It was owing to the intervention and the good offices of his uncle that Schleiermacher was able to go to the University of Halle in 1787, in order to study theology. Halle was then at the height of its prosperity; it counted not less than eleven hundred students, of whom eight hundred were students of theology. Rationalism was reigning there as absolute master, under the direction of the aged Semler and his colleagues Nösselt, Niemeyer, and others. It is not astonishing that Schleiermacher had no taste either for the lectures or the theological tendency of his professors. Rationalism, with its theory of accommodation and its religious aridity, could not suit him. He occupied himself more with the study of philosophy and philology than with that of theology. He attended the lectures of Eberhardt, a disciple of Wolf, and those of Wolff, the translator of Homer; he worked at modern languages and mathematics; and studied with marked predilection the history of human opinions, observing them and classifying them with care before pronouncing himself upon them. He sought to avoid two dangers: sensibility, "that phthisis of the mind which carries away from us all our strength, and which seeks its glory in a certain weakness, owing to which we never attain to the domination of our first impressions," and the spirit of system, which throws us into the errors and the ridiculous mistakes of dogmatism. It seemed to Schleiermacher that the more he advanced in his readings and meditations, the more did he persuade himself that it is impossible to arrive at a system, the parts of which shall hold together with such a rigorous harmony, that whatever objection be raised it shall be always possible to answer it in a peremptory and irrefutable manner. It belongs to patient research, with a kindly examination of all the testimonies, to collect a sufficient fund of truth surrounded with the light of certainty, and to trace a precise limit between those points, "with regard to which it is altogether necessary

to take a side here below, and those which may be left unresolved without prejudice to our repose and eternal happiness." In these words the youth reveals the spirit of the mature man. His aim is not to reach a system of knowledge finished at all points, and which would be shut against all ulterior development, but he aspires with all the critical penetration and the indefatigable activity of his mind at attaining a sufficient measure of certainty and knowledge of the limits of science.

During the two years of his sojourn as a student at Halle, Schleiermacher lived in considerable retirement in the house of his uncle. His exterior was neglected, and his person did not make much impression. On the other hand, he was enthusiastic in his friendships. At this period the intimate friend of his heart was Gustavus Brinckmann, who afterwards embraced the career of the diplomatist, and with whom he continued to be bound in friendship during his whole life. He worked with ardour but irregularly, and gave little attendance on the lectures. In 1789 he went to live in the little town of Drossen, where his uncle had just been appointed pastor. He studied ardently the Greek authors, the philosophers as well as the poets, and felt himself drawn by preference to Lucian. At this period, also, he relished and defended the ideas of Kant, and in particular his repugnance to determining the idea of God. His head was filled with literary projects, and he completed a considerable number of compositions, but without being able to resolve to publish any of them, so severe was he in his judgment of himself.

Having successfully passed his examination in theology at Berlin, Schleiermacher had to put himself in quest of a situation in order that he might not remain longer chargeable to his father. In 1790, owing to the recommendation of Sack, the Court preacher, he obtained a place as tutor in the family of Count von Dohna, at Schlobitten, in Western Prussia. The correspondence of Schleiermacher depicts the pleasure which he enjoyed in the bosom of this aristocratic

family, which united to that elegance which was the fruit of a refined education, solid principles and education. His tutorship, however, became somewhat painful to him in spite of the leisure which it gave him. He profited by the opportunity which he now had for preaching, and he found great attraction in doing so, along with an extreme difficulty in expressing what was passing within him. He submitted his sermons to the kindly criticism of his father and his uncle, who gave him excellent counsels. Two excursions to Königsberg, where he saw Kant, contributed to make him regret his absence from a great city, and the precious resources which it offers to minds eager for self-cultivation. His departure from Schlobitten was occasioned by disagreement on a question of teaching, but it left him certain regrets. It coincided with the death of his father, which filled him with the deepest sorrow; his whole being was shaken by it, and his wounded heart found a bitter satisfaction in pouring forth its feelings to his sister, whom he tenderly loved.

Having to choose between the exhausting work of a teacher in a gymnasium at Berlin and the post of an assistant in a country parish, Schleiermacher decided for the latter. He spent two years at Landsberg on the Wartha, under conditions that were by no means happy. The bad state of his chest, the difficulties which he encountered in the exercise of his pastoral functions, as well as those which his literary efforts continued to cause him, and finally the uncertainty of the future weighed heavily upon him, and threw him into a profound discouragement. His sermons at this time were distinguished by nobleness of form, absence of rhetoric, and precision and logical sequence of ideas; but they were neither popular nor animated by any great warmth of sentiment, and the text was too often but a pretext. Schleiermacher was hardly satisfied with them. They appeared to him so heavy. He complains about his always wishing to exhaust his subject, about always seeking to find new sides in it, and of allowing himself to be influenced beyond measure by what preoccupies him at the moment. "Oh, how particularly

unintelligible are my ideas!" he cries. In their tendency these sermons are related to the ideas of Herder. Schleiermacher already preached sometimes without having written anything, but after a prolonged preparation which cost him much labour. It was at this time also that he commenced, in concert with Sack, a translation from the English of the sermons of Blair and Fawcett, which his father had recommended to him as models for imitation.

III.

In 1796, Schleiermacher was called as preacher or chaplain to the Hospital of the Charité at Berlin. It was a very precarious position, but it brought him residence in the capital. Schleiermacher was now twenty-eight years old; he had not yet published anything, and nothing presaged the part which he was to be called to play. A close friendship soon united him with Friedrich Schlegel, whom he had met in a literary weekly Union. Lodging under the same roof and sharing their meals, he found in Schlegel the confidential friend to whom he could communicate all the ideas which were working in him. Schleiermacher depicts his friend with a juvenile enthusiasm; he is happy to occupy a modest place beside one whom he proclaims to be infinitely his superior in talent, in genius, in gifts of every kind. He admires in Schlegel the ease and rapidity with which he seized the inner nature, value, and range of every science, of every system, of every author. What strikes him chiefly in his friend is a new way of regarding and treating the sciences, —the organic method, abandonment to the object, substituted for the scholastic method. Science is no longer a thing abstract, inanimate, drily didactic. Life circulates in it, flowing to the full, and it demands the sympathies and the co-operation of all the faculties of our being. The Sciences are no longer isolated from each other, nor are they to treat each other any longer as mistresses and servants, or as rivals; they are to approach each other, to complete each other, and

to mutually fertilize each other. Criticism especially, this queen of the modern sciences, is to receive an importance completely unknown to the ancients. She now quits the martial war-paths of polemics to pronounce her calm and grave oracles from on high. Schleiermacher, with that intuitiveness which genius gives, understands the revolution which this renovation of science will necessarily effect in theology. Criticism has been till now the enemy of Christianity; it has taken pleasure in unveiling her weaknesses, in sneering at her miracles and her dogmas; but in the future it will be the guardian of the sanctuary, the most faithful and the most valiant auxiliary of the faith. What different perspectives from those which he found in the rationalistic school; and, as regards form, what a part is now accorded to the lyrical element and to the imagination!

Schleiermacher was introduced by Schlegel into the social circles of the rising romanticism. Equally impressionable to truth and to error as romanticism was, Schleiermacher owes to it what is most original and most erroneous in his ideas. In any case, the clearness of the moral consciousness of Schleiermacher was troubled for a time in those circles from which the breath of piety was banished. It was thus that he became acquainted with Schlegel's mistress, the clever Dorothea Veit, the daughter of Moses Mendelssohn, and the wife of a banker at Berlin, from whom she lived separated. This was not the only Jewish circle which Schleiermacher frequented. He had been introduced by Count Alexis von Dohna into the drawing-room of Henriette Herz, the daughter of a Jewish physician of Portuguese origin, who had married at fifteen Doctor Marcus Herz. Beautiful, intellectual, and endowed with great moral force of character, she exercised a powerful influence over Schleiermacher. She taught him Italian, and he read Shakespeare with her, and they studied natural philosophy together. In winter, he visited her with a little lantern fixed to his button-hole; in summer, he went to see her in her garden in the Thiergarten. The house of Marcus Herz was the meeting-place of all the illustrious men

in the capital. It was visited by the poet Ramler, the painter Schadow, Spalding, Gentz, Scharnhorst, the brothers Schlegel, and the brothers Humboldt. The literary and moral questions of the day were discussed in this society with that seriousness mingled with ease, which arises from the presence of women, and the first productions of the Romantic School received in this circle a gracious and enthusiastic patronage. Henriette Herz became a widow in 1803, and in 1818 she embraced Christianity, which had always been the religion of her heart.¹

Another circle still more brilliant and more animated likewise opened at this period to receive Schleiermacher, that of Rachel Levin, who became afterwards the wife of Varnhagen von Ense. In her drawing-room, princes, authors, and actresses met, and it was for a long time one of the hearths at which the intellects of Berlin nourished themselves, and which gave tone to the society of Berlin. Of a nervous and impressionable nature, and of a paradoxical turn of mind, Rachel excelled in a lively and satirical criticism called forth to fill the place of the happiness which the romance hidden in her heart denied. In her *Aphorisms and Letters* she reveals the tendency of the Romantic School to observe itself with complacency, to refine on sentiment, to poetize the most insignificant details of life, as well as to treat passionately the actions or the judgments of others so as to find them either divine or monstrous. This perpetual worship of self issues fatally in that sort of sophistry of the heart by which the individual persuades himself that nothing is true, beautiful, and just but what he loves and desires.²

We may here mention in passing a publication of Schleiermacher which is connected with his Jewish relationships. It is a number of Letters written on the occasion of the Address which the fathers of certain Jewish families had sent to

¹ J. Fürst: H. Herz, ihr Leben und ihre Erinnerungen, Berl. 1850.

² Rahel, Ein Buch des Andenkens für ihre Freunde, Berl. 1834, 3 vols. — Galerie von Bildnisse aus Rahel's Umgang und Briefwechsel, herausgegeben von Varnhagen von Ense, Leipz. 1836, 2 vols.

Toller to ask him to facilitate their entrance into the Christian Church.¹ Schleiermacher expresses himself in opposition to the conversion of the Jews to Christianity. He fears that they would bring into it their prejudices and their legal spirit, but he pleads the cause of civil equality and liberty for the marriage of Israelites with Christians.

It is easy to conceive the alarm and apprehension which these social relationships of Schleiermacher caused to his sister Charlotte, as well as to the ecclesiastical authorities. Schleiermacher seeks to do all he can to reassure his sister, who is disturbed at seeing him drawn away towards unknown shores, and who had opened up her mind to him with a solicitude that is full of charm and candour. He replied with suavity and firmness to his guardians in the ministry, who feared that this intercourse with these literary people and his friendship with these intellectual women who belonged to another communion, would prove prejudicial to his reputation and advancement. He repudiates the accusation of pantheism and Spinozism, and informs them of the approaching publication of a work which was of a nature to dissipate all malicious rumours and to calm all anxieties. In fact, Schleiermacher was then engaged in writing his celebrated *Discourses on Religion*.

It was at the instigation of Schlegel that Schleiermacher decided to write. For himself he always experienced a singular repugnance and difficulty in giving his thoughts a finished form, and sending them into the public domain of criticism. "Everything with me," he writes, "remains sunk in the depths of my soul: my letters, my idyls, my sermons, my philosophy." It was always a dominant characteristic of the mental habit of Schleiermacher, less to write than to act directly upon his fellows, to develop in them good sentiments, to shed around him a beneficent influence, to awaken, as he loved to express himself, in every man "his better self." It seemed to him that preaching has more than one advantage

¹ Briefe bei Gelegenheit der politisch-theologischen Aufgabe und des Sendeschreibens jüdischer Hausväter, Berl. 1797.

over books, yet nothing can take the place of direct and personal action on souls. It was an imperious need in the nature of Schleiermacher to give himself to others, to communicate to them the emotions which made his heart beat. But Schlegel gave him no rest. "There are a thousand things," he continually repeated to Schleiermacher, "which ought to be said, and which no one can say better than you." He had already obtained Schleiermacher's help for the *Athenæum*, and had engaged him for the projected translation of the works of Plato,—that genius with whom Schleiermacher was so much in sympathy, and for whom he preserved during his whole life the most lively admiration. Plato, as Schleiermacher said, is the writer "who best teaches us how to make our thought intelligible to others." The zeal of Schlegel in this latter work relaxed after a little time, and Schleiermacher alone carried out this translation, which is a masterpiece of literary fidelity and perfection. One cannot but regret that he was not able to complete it.¹

Friedrich Schlegel appears to have also wished that his friend should write a romance specially consecrated to the exposition of his ideas on love, marriage, and friendship. This suggestion appears to have had attraction for Schleiermacher, who thought for some time of realizing it. He would have introduced into this composition his views regarding the destiny of man and the end of life; but more serious labours turned him from it. His *Confidential Letters on Schlegel's Lucinde*,² published under the veil of anonymity, gives a glimpse of what such a work would have been if composed under the intoxicating influence of romanticism. Schleiermacher did not afterwards disavow this apology for the

¹ The undertaking having been abandoned by the Jena publisher Frommann, was taken up by Reimer of Berlin. The first volume of the translation appeared in 1804 and the sixth in 1823. This was the first work of Schleiermacher for which he received any adequate remuneration; Reimer paid him from 10 to 15 Thalers per printed sheet for it. For the *Discourses on Religion* he got only 5 Thalers. For the *Monologues* he got nothing at all. [Schleiermacher's *Introduction to Plato's Dialogues* have been translated into English by Dodson, Lond. 1827.]

² Vertraute Briefe über Schlegel's *Lucinde*, Berl. 1800.

unwholesome romance of his friend, but he has effaced the impression of it by his later works. These Letters have been called "a fine commentary on a bad text." They were extracted from Schleiermacher by Schlegel and Dorothea Veit, who were desirous to shield themselves with the name of Schleiermacher, and to dissipate the deplorable effect produced by the *Lucinde*. The tone of these nine letters, which are addressed for the most part to women, is lyrical and mystical. It is a rhetorical work overflowing with images. Its spirit and purport are moral, if you will, but they are in audacious contradiction with the received views and traditions.

The *Lucinde* of Schlegel, of which the first part alone appeared, and which turned out a conspicuous failure, preaches the religion of sensual enjoyment. It is an unhappy attempt to poetize pleasure, and to erect the pursuit of idleness into a science. The more man approaches the divinity, the more does he resemble a plant. "I worship fire," said Schlegel, "as the marvellous symbol of the divinity. Is there a more beautiful fire than that which nature has kindled in the gentle bosom of women?" Schleiermacher praises this romance as an artistic masterpiece and as a very moral work. He extols the utility of such conversations on love between men and women. There is nothing more elevated than the sanctity of the mysteries of love. The woman who can speak of them is liberated from the false shame which springs from impure desires which she is forced to conceal. Schleiermacher combats the prudery which is in morals what hypocrisy is in religion. The theme of *Lucinde* is the resurrection of love, or the painting of love in its reality. A new life ought to animate its scattered members. The author of *Lucinde* wishes to make us see "that divine plant of love in its entirety, in all its parts, and in its essence at once spiritual and sensual." For the sensual has a place in love; but it ought to unite itself to the spiritual, and to melt into it. Hitherto men have not known well what to make of it. It was regarded either as a necessary evil, or as an unworthy libertinage. The two elements of love ought to permeate

each other. In the opinion of Schleiermacher, only those who are subject to the traditional prejudices can find this theory scandalous. The principle of all intellectual culture consists in raising oneself in a conscious manner above conventional laws. It is only when one has recognised how little rational these laws are, that one no longer runs the risk of falling again under their empire. Schleiermacher defines love as "the perfect symmetry of the individual, the permanent union of each of the elements of our being in what is most holy and most beautiful." True love demands in those who love each other the most pronounced individuality no less than the most intimate union. In the liveliest feeling of union, there persists the feeling of individuality as an essential element of love. Schleiermacher likewise desiderates in true love a harmonious permeation of the spiritual element and the carnal element. It is wrong, according to him, to consider this last element as barbarous and animal. If the same rights are not granted to the carnal element as to the spiritual, we run the risk that all the pretended spiritualization of love shall issue only in a more refined carnal love. The absence of blame or criticism proves how much Schleiermacher inclined towards the ideas of Schlegel. Nevertheless, he signalizes the great vice of his romance. The love represented in it is selfish and sterile: it produces nothing great or useful in the world. In the work we also find "too much enjoyment in enjoyment."

IV.

Religion was the good genius which preserved Schleiermacher from the fall to which his relations with romanticism and Friedrich Schlegel might have brought him. Religion is described by him as "the maternal bosom in the mysterious depths of which my young life was nourished and prepared for the world which was still closed to it." Never from that time, he continues, had she abandoned him, even when the beliefs of his childhood in God and in the immortality of the soul became dimmed. To her then shall his first work

be given. He chooses the oratorical form as the most appropriate for attaining the end which he proposed to himself. He wrote his celebrated *Discourses on Religion* at Potsdam, where he was temporarily filling the place of a Court preacher on leave, and he wrote them in the midst of extreme internal agitation.

What struggles and difficulties he experienced in labouring to express what he felt! He mourns over his spiritual isolation. "Alas!" he cries in accents of real pain, "I am the most dependent being that exists. I stretch out all my roots and all my leaves to find sympathy, and if I cannot absorb and inhale it at length, I immediately become parched and wither. It is the foundation of my nature. I know of no remedy which could heal me; and if there were one, I would not wish it. My religion is entirely religion of the heart; there is no place in me for any other." He now separated himself more and more from Schlegel, who at that time admitted only a religion of nature. He deplores his own caustic spirit, his irritability, and his propensity to suspicion and distrust. His heart wants uprightness and loyalty. "I love no man," he says, "only for his intellect. Schelling and Goethe are two powerful spirits, but I would never feel tempted to love them." He feels keenly the void which the kind of life he was leading had left in him. He regrets the absence of profound and delicate sentiments among his friends, not less than the want of sympathy for the amiable details of life and for the modest joys of the family circle. We believe that we do not err in adding to these expressed regrets a regret of a still more elevated kind. There are many passages in the correspondence of Schleiermacher in which we feel as if a breath of the piety of Niesky and Barby was returning, for the development of which the atmosphere of Berlin was anything but favourable. It was in this disposition of mind that he put the last touch to his *Discourses on Religion*. He sent them to Henriette Herz in order to have her opinion. His feeling toward himself was that of extreme distrust.

Joy, however, succeeds the pains of child-birth. It was

on the 15th April 1799, at half-past nine in the morning, that he sent the manuscript to his publisher Unger. The work appeared without the name of the author on the title page. It was entitled *Of Religion, Discourses to the Cultivated among its Despisers*.¹ Six editions appeared during the lifetime of the author, although in the interval the times became much changed. In the third edition (1821), Schleiermacher already says, "that it would now be more opportune to address discourses to devotees and slaves of the letter among the cultivated classes." He added to this edition certain elucidations under the form of notes in order to avoid misunderstandings, and to indicate the changes which his point of view had undergone. These notes have been keenly criticized by Strauss and other theologians.

The plan which is followed in these five discourses is admirably simple and luminous. I. The author begins by a Justification of his design, which is to show the relation of religion to the general culture of the human mind. II. He then defines the Essence of Religion. III. He next proceeds to determine the Genesis of Religion in our consciousness, and its connection with our various faculties. IV. He then treats of the Social Element in Religion, or of the Church and the Priesthood. V. And, finally, he examines the different Forms which Religion has assumed in history. We shall try to give as complete and as exact an analysis as possible of the ideas contained in these five *Discourses*; and in doing so we shall not hesitate taking in such details of the development as the capital importance of the subject may demand.

I. *Justification of the Author's design.*—What strikes us at

¹ Ueber die Religion. Reden an die Gebildeten unter ihren Verächtern, Berl. 1799. I. Rechtfertigung. II. Ueber das Wesen der Religion. III. Ueber die Bildung zur Religion. IV. Ueber das Gesellige in der Religion, oder über Kirche u. Priesterthum. V. Ueber die Religionen. Cf. Lisco: Schleiermacher's Reden über die Religion u. Chateaubriand's Geist des Christenthums, Berl. 1870. Schürer: Schl.'s Religionsbegriff u. die philosophischen Voraussetzungen desselben, Leipz. 1868. Bender: Schl.'s Lehre vom schlechthinigen Abhängigkeitsgefühl im Zusammenhang seiner Wissenschaft, Jahrbücher für deutsche Theol. 1871, H. 1. Ritschl: Schleiermacher's Reden über die Religion und ihre Nachwirkungen auf die evang. Kirche Deutschlands, Bonn 1875.

once is the novelty of Schleiermacher's point of view. He does not start from a particular theological or philosophical system regarding religion, but makes his appeal to the personal experience and the religious capacities which every one can discover within himself. Religion is a hidden treasure which each man possesses in his own bosom. The auditory which the author has chosen to address is composed of enlightened and cultivated men, who, finding themselves in possession of a whole world of human things which they have appropriated or created for themselves, believe that they have no longer any need of heaven, and hence reject religion as useless. All that can be said in its favour has been presented to them by politicians or by priests, and especially by the latter, whom they suspect the most. The author wishes to speak to them as a man who knows Religion from having experienced it, and not from having only heard men speak of it. He does not come forth to raise up again the antiquated forms or dogmas of the ecclesiastical faith, but to awaken the need of Religion, and to show that a culture which holds itself apart from religion is an incomplete and fictitious culture, and that the true culture seeks religion, since it forms a part of our very nature. He speaks as one who is able to reckon himself among the number of those who have received the call to be mediators between God and men until the times shall have come when the universal priesthood will reign. He can bear testimony of himself that he belongs to those who have known equally to yield obedience to the two contradictory instincts which are found at the basis of human nature: one of which tells us to assert, defend, and fix our individuality, to assimilate everything to ourselves, and to put our impress upon all things; and the other of which, on the contrary, commands us to give or surrender ourselves to the universe in order to our own completion, and to escape from our isolation and impotence. It is only men who are mediocre and superficial in thought as well as in action who can take up the position of ignoring this contradiction, or try to make it disappear by suppressing or blunting one of these two instincts which are

destined, on the contrary, to complete and permeate each other. It is in Germany, and within the highest circles of intellectual culture, that the orator has sought for his hearers, because he proposes to penetrate with them into the profoundest mysteries of human nature. Such hearers he believes to be alone fit and worthy to make this voyage of discovery, provided always that they are perfectly cultivated even in their contempt for religion.

But before seeking the solution of his problem, Schleiermacher asks himself what is the source of this contempt for religion. It arises from the fact that men do not know religion, and that it is confounded with ceremonies or dogmatic systems. Let these disdainful critics then not hasten to judge and condemn what they do not know; let them not give regard merely to all that in the world is called religion; let them rather enter into themselves and listen to the voice of their own consciousness!

Here comes in a preliminary polemic against rationalism and supranaturalism. The representative of the first was decrying Schleiermacher as a dreamer, and that of the second as an unbeliever. Both points of view rest, in his judgment, on an error. Rationalism, in rising to the knowledge of religion by a method which is rather historical than psychological, and which in any case is very superficial, has erroneously summed it up as consisting in acceptance of these two truths: Providence and Immortality. Supranaturalism professes to recognise religion only under the envelope of the traditional system; it confounds at pleasure Theology and Religion. Now there is nothing less admissible than this procedure. Religious revelations have always been the enemies of systems, although they have accommodated themselves to the dogmatic expression, because this expression is a necessary evil. But in order to discover all the riches and all the depths of religion, it is the religious life in the privileged phenomena in which it has manifested itself that it is necessary to observe; and the external forms must be judged by the inward essence.

Religion has suffered a further injury at the hands of men.

Again and again they have invoked its necessity as a prop of the State and of the established order, or as a powerful support and motive of morality, or, finally, as a necessary form of belief for the people. All these opinions start from the utilitarian point of view, according to which religion is an instrument, a means, much more than an end; and they have not understood anything of the true nature of piety. Piety moves in a sphere completely separated from that in which the notions of right and of duty are at work. In order better to show the proper essence of religion, Schleiermacher separates it clearly from morality, which, according to his view, can exist without it. The value of religion results from what it is in itself, and not from what it subserves. It is chiefly from seeing the purposes for which it is brought forward that cultivated men have turned themselves away from it. In order to restore it to its place, it is necessary then, first of all, to show its proper dignity and independence. Religion has an absolute value, and not a transitory value only, for all men; but she wishes neither to serve nor command in a sphere which may not be her own.

II. *The Essence of Religion.*—In order to facilitate the examination to which he invites his auditors, Schleiermacher clears the idea of Religion from all the accretions which disfigure it. The veil with which it has been covered is made to fall in order that it may itself appear in its original beauty. But in order to determine rightly the rank of religion when viewed scientifically, in its object, its character, its limits and its method, it is necessary to give a complete and exact definition of it. Now in similar matters to define is to describe; it is to exhibit or give an account of the inward experiences which have been realized. It is impossible to exhibit religion in the external world, that is to say, in its phenomena, or to point it out, as it were, with the finger. It is necessary to find and contemplate it in one's own heart.

In order to give a satisfactory definition of Religion, Schleiermacher begins by saying what it is not. Religion is considered either from the theoretical point of view as a

certain mode of thinking and believing, or from the practical point of view as a certain mode of acting. But at bottom it is neither the one nor the other. It does not consist in a confused mixture of metaphysical and moral data. It is neither a particular virtue beside other virtues, nor a new method of arriving at science applicable to beginners. Men of culture, who have believed that they were combating it in waging a polemic against certain so-called religious cognitions or acts, have fought against a shadow, a phantom. Religion as such is independent of knowing, since it is not an investigation of the essence of finite objects in their relationship with other finite objects, nor even an investigation of the Supreme Cause in His relations with other things; but it is the immediate and living consciousness of the existence of finite and transient being in the bosom of the infinite and eternal being. It is the revelation of the Infinite in the finite. Religion, in like manner, is independent of morality and of activity, because it is not an investigation of the relations of different acts to each other, or as they stand in reference to their objects, but it is the immediate activity of God, that is to say, of the infinite and the eternal in man. Religion is therefore primarily a feeling, a sentiment, an intuition; it is the sense of the infinite. To seek and find the infinite in all that lives and moves, in all that becomes and changes: this is to be religious. Here then in a few words is the solution of the mystery. Religion has to be sought neither in books nor in traditions, but in the human heart. Schleiermacher has discovered in man a new spiritual world, and he has described it under the very imperfect forms of romanticism and Moravian mysticism. His *Discourses*, as has been said, are a true Declaration of the independence of Religion. Man carries in himself the consciousness of the eternal and the infinite; he does not receive it from without; it constitutes the foundation of his being. What the despisers of religion despise, is their own proper sanctuary.

But this consciousness of the infinite cannot remain without influence on thought and on activity. It is just as

false to separate science and morality from religion as it is impossible in real life to separate thought and action from feeling. More than this, religion as feeling or sentiment, is necessary to prevent an abstract and sterile isolation of knowledge and activity. Knowledge and activity cannot fruitfully permeate each other, nor can they be living and true, but when we have a consciousness of the existence of the finite in the infinite. There is therefore no true science or true morality without religion.

In order to discover the true seat of religion, we must descend into the inmost sanctuary of the human soul, so as to find there the primitive unity of thought and action, by attentive observation of the birth of the consciousness of ourselves. Now in observing life in general, as well as every act and each moment of life in particular, we perceive that we obey a double tendency, and make a double effort: namely, to constitute a being for ourselves, that is to say, an individuality, and to absorb ourselves into the whole, or give ourselves to the universe. To live for oneself, and to live in the whole, or to conquer a place for our personality in the midst of the universal dependence of the world: this is what we apply ourselves to without intermission. Now it is in this effort to become one with the universe through the intermediation of every object, that the unity of thought and action is found implicitly contained. How this is so has to be explained. The subject, that is to say, man, is incessantly tending towards objects; objects, that is to say, the universe, is incessantly tending towards the subject; and this mutual attraction determines the meeting of the universal life with the individual life, the holy union of the universe and of reason, the fruitful embrace of the subject and the object. Consciousness, which would seize and assimilate the effects produced by this union, divides itself, or bifurcates itself; and what it puts forth is either Contemplation, which is the result of the preponderating influence of objects, that is, of the universe, the objective world, upon the Ego; or it is Action, which is the result of the preponderating influence of

the Ego upon objects. But we see that the factor common to the two, the element which unites and fertilizes them both, is the emotion produced by their meeting, or in simpler terms, it is feeling or sentiment. It is feeling which, as the centre of existence, and the meeting point of the individual and the universe, constitutes the religious sphere of man. The confusion of religion with knowledge and with action, is born from a confounding of the relations that subsist between these different functions of the soul.

Religion is not dogma, or theology; that is to say, it is not the description of the feeling or sentiment itself, by means of elements borrowed from the different sphere of the conceptions of reason. In order that these conceptions may have a value, it is at least necessary that they be the product of a feeling personally experienced, and not the product of memory or of cold reflection. It is necessary that every one should make his own religion for himself. Religion sees in every object of the universe which appeals to our consciousness, a representation and a fragment of the infinite; what goes beyond this belongs to the domain of knowledge. Religion has a feeling of all things as living in God and by God, without its being necessary to conceive of God as a personality, or to make Him the object of a metaphysical cognition. Is religion a system? Yes; inasmuch as it has an internal and organic unity, and in that it is rooted in every man with the original impress which his individuality gives it. But it is not necessary to arrest its free unfolding in order to submit it to rules, and to impose formulas upon it. Every man is not conscious of this organism. The theological systems are wrong in using arbitrary designations taken from outside the sphere whose manifestations they have to describe; and they are also wrong in wishing to subordinate these manifestations to those designations, and to derive them from them, while immediateness or spontaneity is the essential characteristic of the religious feelings. (In like manner, it is erroneous to speak of a universal religion, to be regarded as alone true to the exclusion of all other religions. In the

religious sphere, it is in general not quite exact to speak of true and false; for whatever is immediate, that is to say, every feeling or sentiment born of the contact of the Ego and the universe, is true. All religious feeling therefore is true.) Is its rational expression also true? That is another question. The man who is truly religious feels that the range of religion is infinite; his own religiousness is but a part of the whole; others manifest another part of it. The content of religion being infinite, it can only be expressed by the totality of the forms employed by men. Hence the necessity of toleration which is innate in religion. Quarrels and persecutions do not come from religion, but from the spirit of system which men have confounded with it. Nor is this all. Religion is not only tolerant in regard to all its forms, it even overthrows the bounds set up for man by every science or art which he cultivates in an exclusive manner, by bringing him back into the sphere of the infinite. It is religion alone which can produce the true freedom which springs from the life and contemplation of the infinite.

Religion is not action. Yet it is never prejudicial to action. At the most it may seem useless, since it removes man from the world and makes him desire isolation. But in reality, religion is useful to action, inasmuch as it animates action, warming it and communicating to it the heat of feeling. Directly, however, religion, far from carrying man to engage in action, impels him, on the contrary, to enjoy inwardly the emotion which he has felt from contact with the universe, and to fuse the sensation he has experienced with the inmost essence of his mind, in order to arrive at that internal unity which is the aim of the aspirations of his whole life. There results from it indeed a state which determines the whole of his actions, but it is false to pretend that every action is the product of a religious feeling. It may be said, as a general thesis, that man has not to engage in action from religion, but with religion. Religion ought to accompany all the acts of our life, like a holy music which our ear catches in the midst of the noisy dissonances of the world. It puts into the heart

the presentiment and promise of seeing all the contradictions with which we are surrounded here below one day resolved. It is almost superfluous to observe that ascetic exercises have only an indirect value for man, and that it is quite as false to confound them with religion as it is to identify religion with dogma. Without examining up to what point man can himself nourish and develop his religious feeling, it may be said that the exercises which he creates for himself, without taking those which others employ, as his rule, are alone of value to him. It is only hypocrisy or superstition which can attach an absolute and regulative value to such exercises. Those who have no religion are often those who affect them most.

Religion, then, must be sought where the vivifying meeting of man with the universe occurs under the form of feeling. It seems at the first glance that nature and man's contact with her ought to be the source of all religion; but she is only the vestibule to it. In the first place, it is not the oppressive feeling of terror before the mysterious phenomena of nature, or before its inevitable catastrophes, that has given birth to religion. What man has conquered, or what he aspires to conquer, he can measure; and from that moment the idea of the infinite has disappeared. Fear has never made men religious; it is rather the love of nature that has done so. Men have worshipped nature as the preserving and protecting power, or as a beneficent and amiable mother. In the second place, all the feelings born of the contemplation of nature cannot be called religious. We must distinguish between those feelings which are inspired in us by what is in nature, and what appears in it. The oppressive, stupefying admiration which is excited in us by the arithmetical greatness of its manifestations ought not to be called religious. There is no life in the logical contemplation of the infinite, or in the ideas of space and time. What fills us with religious emotion is the eternal immutability of the laws of nature which we as yet only know in part, but they already allow us to divine the beauty and harmony of the whole, and they make us search with a holy concentration for the superior and divine

unity from which they flow. We also adore what is unknown to us in these phenomena or what appears to us arbitrary, because we know that these shades and dissonances will resolve themselves in the light and the harmony of the whole. To be religious is to seek the universal life in all its manifestations; it is to have from them those mysterious presentiments which excite in us pious thrillings. To be religious is to adore the fulness of life which we perceive diffused everywhere, and which we see permeating and animating the least of the creations. It is to feel ourselves one with nature and rooted in it; it is to expect with calmness and love, in all the changing phenomena of life, the accomplishment of nature's eternal laws.

But before seeking God in nature, man must have found Him in himself. It has already been said that it is consciousness or feeling which is the primitive hearth of religion, and in which all the impressions caused in us by the universe are reflected and take form and colour. It is in virtue of our spiritual nature that we understand and love the corporeal nature. In order to seize the principle of the universal life, man must have first found in his aspirations of love, other men, humanity. Humanity, in short, is ultimately the universe. But instead of experiencing the feeling of a sweet and beneficent dependence on humanity, the individual usually feels himself disunited from humanity at large; the reality does not correspond to the ideal which he had formed. Hence his discouragement and his hostile isolation, which, however, rest on error. Instead of isolating ourselves, we ought, on the contrary, to seek to act on every man with whom we meet, and to bring to light the ideal which he carries in him. It is the work of religion to find the genius of humanity again in each of its members, to discover the place which each of them occupies in the whole, and to build itself up in the contemplation of the grand and beautiful image which history presents to us. Every aspect of history, in fact, is a manifestation of the infinite work of humanity, which from the bosom of its obscure and mysterious existence aspires to the light,

and strives more and more to walk in it. The attentive study of history teaches us to love even the most contemptible form of this expansion of life, because it also concurs to realize the designs of the whole, because, in the course of its existence, it also reveals the end, "the divine moment" (however short it be), for which it has been created. This consciousness of the intimate union of all the members of humanity forbids us from isolating and, as it were, crystallizing our personality. Each one lives, thinks, feels, acts for all the others; and in this harmonious whole, everything is good, all is divine.

What soul is there that, in consequence of this contact with the universe in nature or in humanity, has not experienced a keen feeling of its littleness and profound humility, mingled with sincere repentance for the past and burning wishes for the future? At the same time we also feel the need of communion with the great human family, as well as the recognition which flows from it when we see that it is owing to it that we can do what we do. In this reflective contemplation of oneself the soul recognises that all the manifestations of the universe are only pulsations of its own life, which have, so to speak, become fixed and crystallized, and that the universe is a sort of summary and miniature of humanity. It is only in this sense that the love of self is legitimate, since it may be said that Humanity, God, the Infinite lives in us.

This meditation, when perpetually nourished by the spectacle of history, may be considered as a permanent revelation and as the richest source of religion. And, when so considered, it engenders another feeling, which is this, that the earth in its turn depends on other worlds with which it gravitates around a common centre. It will now be better understood how religion, which is founded on these feelings of affectionate communion and dependence, differs from morality, whose sole moving power is the cold and strict idea of duty. It will also be understood, at the same time, how exclusiveness, that almost inevitable danger of all human occupation and aspira-

tion, is conquered by religion, which applies itself without intermission to mingle the feeling of the infinite with that of the finite.

Although dogmas are of secondary and derivative origin, and indicate only the conventional expressions which certain sentiments have put on, they ought not to be rejected *a priori*. A true sense is concealed under most of the dogmatic expressions which are regarded as constitutive for religion. This gives Schleiermacher occasion to explain himself regarding revelation, miracle, prophecy, the means of grace and faith, the traditional sense of which he abandons in order to give them instead a new meaning. Revelation is the name which every new view deserves; every original communication made by the universe to man is to be so designated. Miracle is only the announcement of the immediate relation of a phenomenon or fact with the infinite; it is the religious name for an event, and in this sense everything is miraculous. The more religious a man is, the more miracles does he see. Inspiration is the true expression for the inward feeling of true morality and true liberty. Prophecy is the anticipation or *a priori* construction of the second half of a religious event, the first being already realized. The Means of Grace are the religious feelings produced in an immediate manner by the universe; every effect of grace is a common expression for revelation and inspiration. He who experiences none of these things is not religious. To know oneself, to be in real possession of all these sentiments, is to have faith. Revelation, inspiration, prophecy, faith: these are all subjective acts common to all religious men. Far from consisting in a tacit adhesion to what another has said, thought, or felt, religion repudiates any such slavery. More than all the other branches of human education, it regards the state of pupilage as a transitory state, and demands in an imperious manner that man shall belong to himself, and that he shall see everything with his own eyes. It is not he who believes in a holy book who is religious, but he who has no need of it, and who could at need write one himself.)

In terminating his discussion of the Essence of Religion, Schleiermacher feels it necessary to justify himself for having said nothing of the immortality of the soul, and almost nothing of God: ideas in which it was the custom of his time to sum up all religion. He observes that their existence is everywhere presupposed and understood, but that as ideas—not as immediate products of consciousness—they are not essential. God is the unique and highest unity. The world being a whole, can exist only in Him who alone possesses an immediate and eternal existence. To this feeling there correspond two ideas which represent the two most spiritual modes—or the least imperfect modes—in which the finite imagination has conceived the infinite. The one, more anthropomorphic and hostile to the obscurity which reigns in indetermination, insists on the element of personality; the other, more scientific and dreading the appearance even of contradiction, insists on the element of necessity. Neither of these two conceptions answers in an absolute manner to its object, but neither of them ought on that account to be rejected as irreligious. In general, the divine, as it is in feeling or sentiment, is better than exactness of idea regarding God. What is of importance is the mode in which the divine exists in feeling, and not the mode in which the idea of God is derived from it. A religion without a personal God may be better than a religion with a personal God. Faith in God depends on the direction of the imagination. Truly religious men have always regarded those who are called atheists with the greatest calmness. In their eyes, there has always been something which has appeared more irreligious. The idea which one has of God is not yet religion. And now we can understand the enthusiastic eulogy which Schleiermacher has been able to give of Spinoza in this second discourse.

As to the immortality of the soul, it is already contained in principle in the religious life. To be one with the universe is to participate in the infinite. The idea of immortality is irreligious if it springs from anxious care for the preservation of our personality. The consciousness of losing little in losing

oneself, is the most beautiful expression of the religious life. He who holds in an anxious way to his personality, proves that he has really felt nothing of religion. Our personality ought to efface itself, and to melt away insensibly in communion with the whole of the universe. Here below we already ought to aspire at living in others, in humanity. To feel oneself eternal in every moment that passes; that is the immortality which is assured to us by religion.

III. *Of Education and Culture in Religion.*—After having shown what religion is, Schleiermacher wishes to show how it ought to be presented to his generation, which had become estranged from it. He feels the deepest pain at seeing his generation so little receptive for all that is religious. "How many times," he says, "have I made the music of my religion be heard by the men of my time, without finding an echo among them!" It was the misfortune of a time of general overthrow in which the concentration so necessary for religious contemplation was lacking to the soul; but it was also the fault of the supranaturalists and rationalists, these unintelligent conservatives and demolishers.

Be that as it may, there should be no question of imposing religion, of inculcating it, or of inoculating it by force on men. Religion knows no other mode of propagandism and proselytism than that which consists in manifesting ourselves and giving ourselves freely to others, in order to awaken in them feelings similar to those which we experience. A false idea is generally entertained regarding the religious relations which exist among men. We can well enough communicate to others our opinions and our dogmas; we can make their minds the receptacle of our thoughts, but it is only the shadows and empty forms of our feelings that they receive; it is not possible for us to make these feelings themselves be born in them. We cannot teach them to contemplate God. It is the universe itself which must thus instruct them. The world, in fact, is like a gallery of religious pictures in the midst of which we find ourselves placed. It forms itself its own observers and its admirers. We can act on the

mechanism, not on the organism of the spirit. To speak the truth, religious instruction is an absurdity; for it is reduced to making the subject of it seize the shadows of religious impressions, and those who possess the talent of producing in others the art of imitating the manifestations of the piety which they regard as essential, deceive themselves when they take this artifice for religion. It is very possible to attach oneself to a master; but to imitate him is not religion. Religion is free. She chooses her own climate; she creates for herself the centre around which she gravitates; she lays down her own limits, and spontaneously elects her masters.

Man is born with religious dispositions and capacities. It is society that must bear the blame if these capacities are not developed in a normal manner, and if the religious sentiment is choked in its germ. The greatest obstacle to the development of piety in the present time lies not in the scorers and sceptics, whom it suits to seek an obstacle to it, nor even in immoral men; it is rather found in the "rationalizing and practical" men, who in their ardent desire to calculate everything, and to explain everything, strive to banish the infinite from the world. Schleiermacher makes a lively assault upon the utilitarianism and ratiocination of his age, which knew not the riches and the warmth of the life of feeling. He raises his voice forcibly against those unskillful pædagogues who condemn and shake the infantine belief in the marvellous and the supernatural. They do not see that it is the first symptom of the religious life, the confused presentiment of the infinite. They forget that the poetic illusion as to superhuman beings in contact with us, is founded in the very nature of the child, and that religion willingly attaches itself to these simple representations. At present the charm of these mythological figures is replaced by the tediousness of moralizing histories. Under the pretext of inculcating early upon the child true notions of things, the poetic sense and imagination in him are slain. His nature is thus mutilated. Everything in him is, as it were, straightened by a plumb-line. All the openings that are turned to the infinite are

stopped up, because, it is said, there is no time to be lost, and it is necessary to introduce the young child as quickly as possible into practical life, and to initiate him into the secrets of the place which he is called to occupy, and of the career which he has to fulfil. Concentration and contemplation are thus rendered impossible, and ratiocination can in no way replace them. The utilitarian system, if applied however little in all its rigour, will lead straight to barbarism. This is the system which reigns supreme to-day, and it is in opposition to it that religion at once and strongly takes its stand. The cardinal condition is to reconquer the internal world. But the opposition to the system in question presents itself under a double form, in which unfortunately the whole religious ardour of the time in some sort exhausts itself. It is represented either by fantastic souls or by mystical souls. The former do not succeed in seizing the infinite by their arbitrary combinations; they nourish themselves only with fugitive and superficial religious impressions. The objects of piety are wanting to the second class. Folded back upon themselves, they are satisfied with enjoying impressions that are entirely subjective. In their heroic resignation they close their eyes to all that is not of the Ego, and they soon vegetate into a sickly state, being imprisoned in too narrow boundaries.

Religion in these times is too disjointed, too scattered to produce true representatives, holy souls, or heroes. It brings forth a great number of phenomena of less value, the subjects of which in their struggle with the world, and sometimes in their fall, reveal the extreme diversity of their points of view. A revolution is therefore necessary. It must end with a "rational and practical" form of training, the defects of which are almost already equal to those of the old scholastic education. The rights of the freedom and simple holiness of childhood must be energetically claimed. The sense of contemplation must be strengthened; each of our organs will have to open itself up to fruitful contact with the universe. In possession of this full and entire freedom, owing to which

objects can be brought into relation with man, he will lay down for himself his own limits. He will apply himself to become something determinate and special; or, in a word, he will become an individuality, which is the surest way of attaining the infinite and reopening at the same time the door for the feeling of communion.

To effect this revolution, Schleiermacher reckons on the aid of art as destined to exercise a beneficent influence on religion. Religion and Art are two sisters, who are still ignorant of their intimate relationship, and who see each other suffer with sympathy, but without love. Religion will rise again when she will unite herself anew with Art, and inspire her to masterpieces fit to be offered to the contemplation of men. But the greatest masterpiece of art will always be that of which the matter is humanity itself. O that morality, clothed with its chaste and divine beauty, and a wise philosophy would teach man to descend into himself, and to recognise that everything outside of him is but the reflection of his own mind, just as his mind is but the reflection of the universe! There lies in this an inexhaustible source of contemplation, for we carry the infinite in us. "Cultivate yourselves," exclaims Schleiermacher, "with the powers which you will discover in the depths of your being, and in communion with the universe which develops and fertilizes them; and render yourselves independent of all that is external, frivolous, fugitive, and finite."

IV. *The Social Element in Religion. Church and Priesthood.*
—The feeling of distrust and repugnance with which cultivated men are in the habit of regarding religion increases still more when the question turns upon the Church. By its nature religion is essentially social. The need of manifesting itself and of communicating itself to others is inborn in it. Man cannot keep to himself the emotions which contact with the universe makes him feel; he wishes to escape from the feeling of his impotence by throwing himself on others, and seeking in them what is lacking to himself. But all the means of communication are not equally good for religion.

Neither books nor the conversation of ordinary life appears fitted for this purpose. Religion buries life in the dead letter only when she sees herself chased from the society of the living; she cannot crumb down the views and impressions which she awakened so as to make them subjects of trivial talk. When objects so holy are in question, it would be an outrage to religion rather than a mark of ability to have a reply ready for every question. Divine things cannot be treated so ingeniously. Religious communications must be made in a grander style. A stranger to the conversations of common life, religion prefers the intimate effusions of friendship or a holy silence. If she has to express herself in a vaster circle, she prefers to choose the poetical or oratorical form, and demands the co-operation of the arts. Her true, enthusiastic worship is celebrated by her in the Communion of Saints in an ideal place where each one speaks and hears in turn, where every one is a priest and a layman, or attracts others and is attracted by them. This community of saints is essentially one. The religious contrasts which it shelters even concur to realize this unity better; for it is by these contrasts that religious souls seek each other, and they are otherwise connected among themselves by intermediate links. The tendency to isolation and the need of making a sect, are manifest proofs of imperfection.

Religious society having for its object the mutual exchange of impressions, can exist only between those who already have religion. The true Church is not where several hundreds of persons are assembled in vast temples. Seek it not in our crowded churches, composed of men who as yet are only putting themselves in quest of religion, where the layman is passive, and is on that very account deprived of religion; for, were it otherwise, he would seek at all costs to manifest it. The true religious society cannot suffer that all should receive and only one give. The Church in its traditional form becomes to us more indifferent in proportion as we become more religious. We go out from its worship negatively filled with religion, bearing away a profound feeling of emptiness, or

recollections and impressions which the occupations and pre-occupations of life soon weaken and dispel. We nourish ourselves on the illusion of possessing the strength and the essence of the sentiments which another has announced, and the moment of our awakening to religion becomes that of our separation from the Church. Those who are at the head of the Churches as they are actually organized, are extremely little concerned about religion. They put barriers in the way of those who, as being most apt to manifest the religious feelings, might be called to be by preference the organs of religion. They are not asked to give their own impressions, but to hold to what tradition teaches. They are asked to have opinions, dogmas, that is to say, abstractions, instead of the realities on which piety nourishes itself. To acquire dead ideas and fugitive emotions, is the whole religion of those who believe that they can obtain it by external means. And these means, to which the actual leaders of the Church have their chief recourse, are symbolical acts, the nature of which is that they are the most imperfect form of religious communication.

In its actual form, the Church is a political institution. Nevertheless Schleiermacher does not wish to destroy it. Its function is to be a school of preparation for the true Church, a bond between those who already possess religion, and those who still seek it. But the School-church ought at least to choose its leaders and priests in the true Church. This unhappily is not always the case; and if this choice were excellent, yet the results obtained would not be those which are expected. According to Schleiermacher, this holds true of the origin of our actual churches. From the time that religious souls have discovered a new relation with the universe, their enthusiastic ardour carries them to exaggerate its importance; nay, even to proclaim it as the only possible way of salvation. They strive by all possible means to manifest their new views and to make proselytes. But the thousands of souls thus added to the young Church in such unreflecting transports, are its ruin. The first enthusiasm dies out; and

the mass of the believers are far from having seized, or from being able to express the new life. Thenceforward the higher souls must lower and sink themselves to the level of the weaker. To help one another is a condition of the existence of the Church; but imperfection, that human leprosy, is not slow in impressing its seal on the new work. The Church thus transformed is no more than the caricature of the true Church as primitively conceived.

This movement of generous irreflection which has presided over the constitution of the Churches, would not have fatal consequences if the heterogeneous elements thus united could segregate themselves, and reform themselves in homogeneous groups. But this separation is not possible. The State opposes invincible obstacles to it. Princes load the Church with secular privileges; they exclude religious men from its government by the very nature of the functions which they impose upon them; they attract intruders, and thus consolidate the evil. (Would that it had pleased God that the least presentiment of what religion is, had for ever remained strange to the heads of the States, to the experts and artists of politics! You wish that the hem of a priestly robe had never swept the floor of a royal apartment; be it so; but let us also wish that the imperial purple had never kissed the dust before the altar. Never should a prince have been allowed to cross the threshold of the temple until he had laid off his royal adornments and the symbols of his power.) The concordats concluded between princes and the Church, always produce the effect of the head of Medusa; they petrify everything. The State has charged the Church with three important offices: the education of the young, the moral instruction of the people, and the duty of inculcating veracity and fidelity on the citizens by the sanctity of the oath. To reward her for these services, the State has deprived the Church of her liberty; it has treated her as an institution established and created by itself; and it wishes to be present at all those acts. Yes; in return for the alleged advantages with which it endows the Church, and the interested protec-

tion which it accords to her, the State exacts from her, and imposes upon her, services incompatible with the pure manifestation of the religious feeling, such as the task of inculcating on the citizens duties which can be promulgated under the form of laws, and the fusion of the symbolical acts of the Church with the civil acts of the State. Thus as a docile servant, the Church has accepted with humility benefits that hurt her; and with a servile readiness, she has accommodated herself to the discharge of functions which operate her own destruction.

In order to preserve to the Church, in spite of these imperfections, the character of a preparatory school for the ideal religious community, it would be requisite that the preacher should limit himself to giving as far as he can a faithful testimony of religion in order that his auditors might feel a taste for it. But with a view to this, it would be necessary that he and they should be able to seek each other, and to group themselves freely according to their natural affinities. The Priest should in general be nothing but an orator; and he ought not to mingle the functions of the orator with those that the State imposes upon him. (The complete separation of the Church and the State is indispensable to the renovation of the Church. Let there be no official bonds between the Master and His disciples; let there be no constraint imposed by creeds! The Church should be a fluid mass without settled contours, without a fixed organization.)

However it may be with those reforms which in any case will only be able to be effected slowly, the Priest has a consolation and a duty; his life has to be a permanent manifestation of religion. The *prestige* of his individuality has to replace all borrowed kinds of prestige. The layman as a religious man will exercise the priesthood on his own part in his family. He will make a sanctuary of his household till the day when there will be no other, when the domestic hearth will be the only place of preparation for the true communion. In the present day, the burden of professional and servile labours makes us our own slaves. Schleiermacher expects from the united progress of science and the arts a

notable amelioration of our condition. They will subject matter more and more to humanity, and will transform this world, now so heavy and oppressive, into a true fairy palace. In the meantime, the true Church, as the Academy of Priests, the Choir of Friends, and the Union of Brethren, is forming herself slowly and acting in silence; and she procures ineffable transports for those who make a part of her.

V. *The Religions.*—If Schleiermacher rejects a plurality of Churches, he everywhere presupposes a plurality of religions, and an essentially individual character as belonging to them. No one can have the whole of religion; for man is finite and religion is infinite. It is in the nature of religion to individualize itself and to reveal itself in an infinite multiplicity of particular forms; and hence the origin of the positive religions. In the time of Schleiermacher, the positive religions had lost all credit, while the religion called "Natural Religion" enjoyed a certain consideration. It is this false prestige which our author seeks to destroy. This alleged Natural Religion is usually so well polished and so transparent, and it has such philosophical and moral adornments, that it exhibits but very little of the proper character of religion. Besides, it is so pliant and accommodating that it is tolerated everywhere. The Positive Religions, on the contrary, have striking features and a well-marked physiognomy; they recall what they are by every step they make and every glance we cast upon them. Schleiermacher does not deny that at bottom they are but faint copies, and sometimes real caricatures of true religion. But in looking more closely at them, we are not slow in perceiving that all these forms are scoriae which were of yore flaming irruptions thrown up from the internal fire; whereas Natural Religion is but a vague idea, meagre, poor, and without consistence.

In thus carrying his readers back to the Positive Religions, Schleiermacher exhorts them not to stop at the mere external forms, which have shone during centuries and ruled the life of great nations. It is the spirit of these religions which it is necessary to discover; and with a view to this we must seek for

their fundamental conception, and explain all their isolated parts by their central principle.—Among all the positive religions there is only one that merits our pausing at it. Schleiermacher considers Judaism itself as a religion already long since dead; nor does he grant to it any value as the precursor of Christianity. Schleiermacher attaches no importance to the historical relationships of the religions; there exists for them a higher necessity, an eternal necessity. Every new religion rests upon a new intuition of the universe, which was not determined, it seems, by those which preceded it.

The distinctive character of Christianity is to make religion itself the matter of religion; that is to say, to see the universe in religion and in its history. It discerns in all things a divine element; but as it also presupposes an irreligious principle everywhere in the world, it is essentially polemical. Infinite holiness is its end. It wishes to make the world pass from darkness to light, from death to life. Christianity first demanded that religiousness should be something continuous in man, a principle always active, to which there should be nothing so heterogeneous or so opposed that it would not succeed in assimilating it. It sees the infinite in all finite things. It mingles religious views and sentiments with all the affections of the heart, and with all acts, whatever be their objects.

From Christianity Schleiermacher passes to its author. What constitutes the prerogative of Jesus Christ is neither the purity of His morality nor the originality of His character, that mingling of power and gentleness which is admired in Him. What is truly divine in Christ is the admirable clearness with which He has developed this great idea, that all that is finite has need of the consecration of the infinite in order to be united to the Divine. He saw the universe in its true light. The consciousness of the absolute superiority of His piety, of the immediateness of His views and of their communicative power: that is what constituted His Messianic character and His divinity. (Further, Schleiermacher remarks that Jesus Christ never pretended to be the sole mediator;

that He never confounded His school with His religion; that He permitted men to deny His Messianic dignity provided they did not blaspheme against His Spirit, that is, against the very principle of His religion. He never gave forth His views and His sentiments as embracing the whole extent of religion; on the contrary, He has said that after Him would come the Spirit, who would lead men into all truth.)

This remark brings Schleiermacher to speak of the authority of the Holy Scriptures. They have been erected into an absolutely closed code of religion by those who have taken the sleep of the Spirit for its death, and in whose hearts religion itself was dead. Those, on the contrary, who have felt religion living in them and in others, have always stood up against so antichristian an undertaking. (The Holy Books have become the Bible in virtue of their own power, but they do not forbid any other book from being or becoming a Bible in its turn. They willingly admit into their number whatever is written with the same power. The future will reveal Christian points of view and sentiments of which there is no mention in the Holy Books; for Christianity will yet have a long history, and there are large domains in religion which are not yet prepared to be embraced by it.) Schleiermacher is persuaded that Christianity itself will not disappear. Its spirit may sleep often and long, but it will always end by awakening again. (Nevertheless it is not the absolute religion, for the absolute does not exist in religion.) Jesus Christ Himself has recognised what is transitory in His doctrine. There will come a time when humanity shall have no more need of a Mediator. The work of salvation as attached to the person of Christ will last till all men have come through Him to the religious consciousness which He Himself had. Until that moment He remains the realized type and model of true piety in the bosom of humanity. (Schleiermacher expresses the wish, which will appear very rash, to see himself placed on the ruins of the religion which he adores: but he doubts if this wish can possibly be realized so soon. In any case, Christianity will not reign upon the earth as the sole form of

religion. It disdains this kind of despotism; it loves to see younger forms of piety springing up around it; for there is nothing less Christian than to seek uniformity in the matter of religion.)

These *Discourses* were the work of a mind in which the greatest intellectual freedom was united with unquestionable religious depth, and they contain a whole new world of ideas. In proclaiming that God is immediately present in consciousness, that we carry the treasure of the infinite in our bosom, that religion is the consciousness of the finite as part of the infinite, and that the consciousness of time is an element of eternity, Schleiermacher rises with a bound above the opposition of the natural and the supernatural in which the wisdom of his age was exhausted. With one stroke he overthrew the card-castle of rationalism and the old fortress of orthodoxy. Some accordingly saw in this work only a slightly disguised return to superstition, and others a brilliant confession of unbelief. More impartial judges will recognise in the *Discourses* something like the birth-pains of a new era. They will not ask themselves whether these *Discourses* are Christian and ecclesiastical in the ordinary sense of the term; for they bear manifestly in their language, as in their ideas, the imprint of romanticism. It is necessary to comprehend aright the revolutionary breath which animates them. Schleiermacher takes a pleasure in shocking the received ideas and in scandalizing false devotees. He designedly adopts a provoking tone, and multiplies paradoxes in order to awaken indifferent or indolent minds. It would be a great mistake to take literally every one of his assertions, and to press the sense of every expression. But who does not feel that the indignation against the abuses committed in the name of religion, and against the travesties of which it has been the subject, conceals at bottom a true homage and a living love for religion?

With all this, Schleiermacher was the first to admit the lacunæ and defects of his book, the point of view of which is

more æsthetical than ethical. The definition of religion as the contemplation of the universe is vague and incomplete, and it gives occasion to inevitable misunderstandings. Schleiermacher himself afterwards completed and rectified it. The same remarks apply to the idea of God, to that of Christ, and to many others besides. Schleiermacher knows well that our religious consciousness is troubled by sin, and that the normal order does not reign in it; but in the midst of this dimmed splendour he finds again the scattered fragments of the image of God, and the traces of our royal nature and our royal destiny. He sweeps off the dust which covers the broken fragments of the altar, in order to read upon them the dedication to the Unknown God whom the Gospel has come to declare to us.

Even under their imperfect form the ideas of Schleiermacher powerfully contributed to prepare for the revival of religion. In claiming for the religious consciousness the primacy over the other faculties of man in the questions which concern piety, and in assigning a special sphere to religion, Schleiermacher has reduced the pretensions of rationalism and dogmatism to their true limits. On the ruins of the old apologetics, with its *a priori* arguments, its halting affirmations, and its appeals to authority, he has set up the powerful assize of modern apologetics, which makes appeal, above all, to the testimony of consciousness, and believes that it has gained a victory only when it has carried conviction to the very centre of our individuality. And by this very fact the inalienable rights of the individual in matters of religion find themselves established and consecrated in a decisive manner.

It is difficult to imagine the lively surprise which was caused by the appearance of these Discourses of Schleiermacher. Those to whom they were properly addressed lent them but a superficial attention. Goethe obtained a splendid copy of the book, praised the cultured spirit of the author, and found that the style was neglected, that the religion recommended was too Christian, and that "the whole ends in a wholesome serene repulsion." Schelling sent his compli-

ments to the author, declaring that he postponed the study of the *Discourses* for a more convenient time. Fichte also observed an attitude full of reserve. Novalis, on the contrary, showed himself "all penetrated, roused to enthusiasm, and on flame." Jean Paul Richter found that Schleiermacher had given religion a new meaning—poetic, vague, and destined to conceal the old theological meaning. The general public saw in the Discourses a new assault of romanticism upon religion. The clergy, in particular, were painfully aroused, and did not dissemble their irritation. Spalding himself could not restrain his anger. But the most hostile was Sack, who had read without displeasure the first Discourses in manuscript, but who now appeared frightened by their revolutionary contents. He wrote a long epistle to Schleiermacher, in which he reproached him for his suspected social relations, for his separation of religion from morality, and for his abandonment of the idea of God and immortality. The work he declared to be only an ingenious apology for pantheism, an oratorical exposition of Spinozism. How could one with such ideas honestly teach Christianity? How could such a one be other than a hypocrite in the pulpit? The source of all these errors Sack found in the unbounded vanity of the author, and his desire to shine by giving forth something new. He expressed the general sentiment by blaming the author for having produced a work that was "too original."

Schleiermacher replied to Sack, saying that it was his duty to stand up for his calumniated friends; that the aim of his Discourses had been to show that religion is independent of all metaphysics; that he had not spoken with contempt of the personal God, but that he had confined himself to show that religion does not depend on any particular rational conception. If it is possible to remain Christian while suppressing the infinite in God, can one not also do so while denying His transcendence and His personality? He persists in believing that religion ought not to be turned to account for the profit of morality; but from the bosom of the Church, as an institution at once religious and moral, he will speak of religion

to his auditors as to men who should also be moral, and of morality as to men who profess at the same to be religious. He defends himself against the reproach of hypocrisy and cowardice. He will never choose any other career than that of the preacher, and no one will be able to accuse him of remaining in it only from interested motives. As to the source of his conception, it must be sought only in his individuality, his natural mysticism, his internal development. Schleiermacher is himself astonished that he has been able to speak as he has done to a public indifferent about religious questions. And, as if to excuse himself, he adds that "Christianity is itself such an original thing!" He laments that he had expressed himself so badly; the execution corresponds so little to the will, the form has so often betrayed his thought. He calls God to witness that he had struggled with an unknown adversary, who had hindered him from saying what he wished and what he ought. That struggle seemed to him to be the only positive advantage that he had derived from his labour. And then, in addition to the difficulty which he had met in himself,—for the adversary referred to was no other than himself,—there had also been the difficulty of his subject: "how to treat it with the splendour that it deserves, seeing that this splendour should be infinite, like the subject itself."

V.

Soon after publishing the Discourses on Religion, Schleiermacher wrote his *Monologues*,¹ which were likewise published anonymously in the beginning of the year 1800. Up to a certain point they complete the Discourses. In the Monologues, Schleiermacher no longer studies man only in face of the universe, but he considers him in himself, in his individuality, and proceeds to lay down certain directions on the subject of his moral culture. What the author has said to himself in the inmost depths of his soul on the occasion of

¹ Monologen, Eine Neujahrsgabe, Berl. 1800; 2te Aufl. 1818; 3te Aufl. 1829.

the return of the New Year, is presented to his readers as the best gift that he can offer them. These few pages, composed, so to speak, by chance, without deliberate intention, and solely from the insuperable need of pouring himself forth, contain passages that are full of suavity and elevation. All religious souls, provided they are not repelled by the somewhat rough husk in which the views of the author are enveloped, will find in this little book diamonds and pearls. The form is indeed very defective. It takes an effort to become accustomed to its continual lyrical style, to the fatiguing rhythm of its language, to its far-fetched images, and to its overstrained pathos.

In spite of apparent divergences, the point of view of the Monologues is fundamentally the same as that of the Discourses. It has been admirably said that the Discourses are a hymn to our feeling of dependence, and the Monologues are a hymn to freedom. But there is nothing to authorize the supposition of a modification in the views of the author. Schleiermacher is as little a disciple of Fichte in the Monologues as he is a disciple of Spinoza in the Discourses. The idea of individuality with the ingenious and striking developments which he gives it, would suffice to prove his own individuality. We cannot subscribe to all the ideas contained in the Monologues; but no one can read without a salutary emotion those pages which reveal so profound an aspiration towards moral superiority, such an ardent thirst for holiness, such a vigorous striving towards the good. Yes; we feel that whoever has the noble ambition of the author of the Monologues, also knows to be truly humble, although this feeling is not specially expressed here. Schleiermacher has summarized in these pages the principles which guided him in his own moral culture,—principles to which he believed he could hold, after many hesitations and many deviations from them. And if there is no trace in the Monologues of the struggle between these principles and his indocile nature, that struggle did not the less exist. It formed the very basis of his life; for it is only progressively that it is given to man to realize the ideal

which he has set to himself. In short, it is his own ideal portrait that Schleiermacher has traced out in the Monologues. "Ah," he groans, "why does this ideal being appear only truncated and mutilated in reality? why does it only show itself troubled in this miserable life?" In pleading the cause of individuality, Schleiermacher does not mean to plead that of sin; he does not justify all the weaknesses and all the vices with which the human individuality is infected. He recognises in it a value only in so far as it responds to the image of God which every one carries in himself, and which it ought to realize according to the special character and capacities which it has received as its share.

The Monologues are divided under five headings, as follows:—I. Contemplation; II. Examination; III. The World; IV. Prospect of the Future; V. Youth and Old Age.—We shall give a succinct analysis of them.

I. *Contemplation*.—The author at the outset raises his voice against those who, allowing themselves to be drawn away by the whirl of business or pleasure, dissipate and use up their strength in a barren activity. Man loses himself, if his activity is directed only upon isolated and external objects, if he is a slave of time, of circumstances, and of himself. Those whose life depends on the judgment of others, on the soil on which they move, on the matter upon which they work, are bowed under the sceptre of necessity, and they groan under the curse of time, which lets nothing subsist. It is in vain that they examine themselves; their examination is forced to remain superficial. They measure and appreciate time according to the sum of the enjoyments and pains which it brings them, according to the works which they accomplish, and according to the mass of knowledge which they gather. Such an examination has for its result only a mixture of useless regrets and vain hopes, and it does not teach us to know ourselves. In order to obtain this knowledge, it is necessary to be liberated from the trouble of the passions and from the tumult of the fugitive phenomena which belong to time, to circumstances, to what is external and finite, or to what

passes away. It is necessary for us to rise to that ideal region, or rather to descend to those mysterious depths, in which we truly find ourselves.

The essence of man resides in his internal activity; there the solid ground of liberty lies. It is with the consciousness of our individuality that the seriousness of life and our enfranchisement from the external world begins. If our look is always fixed on ourselves, we shall then allow no moment to flow past unreflectingly as a part of the time which flies, but we will seize it as an element of eternity, and we will convert into higher free life. In order to possess oneself wholly, and in order to be truly free, it is necessary to be able to distinguish with care what in our existence belongs to us as our own and what is foreign to us. What the crowd first sees and what it runs after, is the world,—a world empty and void of spirit. In their eyes, the spirit is a stranger of little importance on the earth. When, on the contrary, we descend into ourselves and affirm our being within us, we boldly oppose the internal world which we carry in ourselves to the external world, that world of matter and of things which is but its pale reflection. For we carry in ourselves the eternal forms of things. What is foreign to us is necessity: those laws and obstacles to which our activity in the world is subjected. "Within myself," cries Schleiermacher, "I feel myself free, I am conscious of my creative power. What a consolation is it to feel myself liberated from all the unfavourable circumstances which check or chain my activity in the world! Thus the contemplation of myself never leaves me sad. Never do I give way to lamentation over my broken will and my abortive resolutions, like those who are unable to enter into themselves, and who recognise themselves only in their isolated and external actions."

From the point of view where Schleiermacher places himself there are no isolated acts. Every one of his acts takes him back to the centre, to the hearth where his individuality dwells, to the freedom of the spirit, which the entire world could not enchain nor time destroy. Why may he not without

interruption lead this divine life? "Let your external activity be always accompanied by the silent contemplation of yourself and of your internal activity." That is the true immortality. Men are wrong in seeking it outside of time. It is in time and above time; and we can conquer it even here below. "Take no thought for what will come; weep not for what perishes; but take care not to lose thyself; and shed tears if thou allowest thyself to be drawn away by the river of time without carrying heaven within thee."

II. *Examination.*—In the first Monologue Schleiermacher has placed himself on the ideal heights of freedom where the Ego dominates the world; in the second he descends into the domain of reality. Man hardly ever corresponds to his ideal, because he is afraid to examine himself. We can know our neighbour only by his acts. Shame to him who views himself as if he were regarding a stranger. The repugnance to know ourselves is explained by the fear of not finding our internal activity conformable to reason, and of seeing the moral law gravely violated. To contemplate humanity, or the ideal human type in itself, and when we have found it never to turn our look away from it, is the only assured means of never going astray or losing one's self-respect. In order to be a man, one single free resolution is necessary. He who has once taken it, will always remain free; any one who has ceased to be free, has never really been so. "Since I found in myself the consciousness of humanity," says Schleiermacher, "I have never more lost myself. What men commonly call conscience, I know it no more. No feeling condemns me, none any longer forewarns me. I bear in myself, uninterruptedly and without trouble or effort, the consciousness of the whole of humanity."

But this is not all. It is not sufficient that the Ego should have affirmed itself in face of the objective world which aspires to dominate it; it is further necessary to discover the character that is proper to each individual. Every individual man in fact ought to represent humanity in a particular way, in an original combination of its elements, in

order that it may reveal itself in all possible ways, and may realize in the fulness of space and time all that it contains within it. We thus see that Schleiermacher opposes the rights of individuality to the essential identity of all men, as maintained by Fichte. But man comes slowly and with difficulty to the full consciousness of the special character of his individuality. "If my image," says Schleiermacher, "was before my eyes already realized in all its features, I should know prophetically what I shall be, what I will yet be able to become."

In order to seize and develop the special character of one's individuality, there are two things necessary: understanding and love. By understanding we distinguish our individuality from that of others, and *vice versa*. By love we distinguish and respect the final cause of the individuality of others. The more we discern our own individuality, the more do we also tend to separate and isolate ourselves from others; but at the same time we feel the need of passing out of this isolation, of uniting ourselves to others, and of founding with them a community in which all individualities shall complete each other so as to form a living and harmonious whole. Without love there is no culture. Understanding and love are to Schleiermacher the two conditions of morality.

Schleiermacher has been reproached in turns for his polemical ardour and his equable disposition. Both of these reproaches have a certain justification. The first characteristic springs from the need of discovering the truth in everything, and of safeguarding individual liberty in the face of all that tends to compromise it. His spirit having tardily arrived at the consciousness of itself, remembers too well the foreign yoke that it has long borne; it fears to fall anew under the domination of opinions not its own. Arms in hand, he therefore defends his liberty against all the objects which represent unknown powers or theories. But from the time when he has formed a particular opinion with regard to them the combat ceases. He voluntarily allows all the other doctrines to subsist peacefully beside his own, and he confines

himself to penetrating into them and interpreting them. How often has this calmness and reserve in presence of the opinions of others been mistaken; how many times has he seen himself misunderstood and accused of coldness or of disdainful pride! If he has been less open, less expansive than could have been wished, it is from fear of profaning what he regards as the most elevated thing in the world.

His love is essentially distinguished from the vulgar and false love which attaches itself to the purely external and accessory qualities of men. For himself, he does not think that he ought to converse with his friend about his actions or his external destinies. He communicates to him only what he has most inward, what is his special property, that is, himself, his internal life, and the progress that he notes in it, in order that his friend may rejoice at it with him. In like manner, Schleiermacher takes but a moderate interest in the external actions and fates of his friends. If he knows their internal being, their actions are never unexpected by him. Whatever may be their destiny, he is sure that they will receive it and will make use of it in a manner worthy of themselves. His friendship proceeds from the noblest source; it knows nothing of the effeminacy, the cowardliness, the partiality of vulgar friendships; it is always the fruit of an act of liberty. It has in view not the outward success, but the weal of the inward being of his friend. Schleiermacher seeks the spiritual grandeur of man, his individual character, and his relation with the whole of humanity; he loves man in the measure in which he finds him and understands him. To be an individual and to develop his individuality, is therefore the supreme task of man. It is by individuality alone that man acquires value, and an absolute value. What Schleiermacher respects and loves, and what interests him in man, is only his individuality.

III. *The World*.—Schleiermacher cannot share the opinion of those who hold that the present state of humanity is very brilliant. He castigates the silly contentment of a generation proud of its progress. How proud is man for having put

under his dominion the world of matter! Be it so; yet it is but a little thing. It is perhaps only a victory of materialism over idealism. What good comes of this greater power over matter, if it does not favour the spiritual life? Schleiermacher grants to the apologists of the time that we are not occupied at present only with the well-being of certain individuals favoured by fortune, but that our cares are also applied to increase the well-being of the masses. This is the modern virtue, justice and love, so much boasted of; this is the triumph gained over vulgar selfishness, and the supreme end of all wisdom. But is there, indeed, occasion for triumphing so loudly? Man remains always enchained to his external condition. Every social sphere on the small scale—like the German Fatherland of the time on the large scale—is partitioned in a ridiculous manner. It is in vain that the individual, the isolated man, seeks relief or consolation in the society of his fellows in view of the interests which hold him most at heart. There are thousands who describe what the earth produces in the most diverse places. I can thus learn in the twinkling of an eye where the object I need is to be found, and in the twinkling of an eye I can be its happy possessor; but to discover hearts by whose affection my inner life might be developed, few are capable of this, and no one aids me in it.

No one has a care to bring men together who have need of each other. People are disposed to do each other a service only in regard to the things of the earth. Whatever belongs to the better world groans in sad slavery.

Modern society, far from favouring the development of individuality, seems to take pleasure in suppressing it. This holds true in all spheres. In friendship one meets only with hostility to the inner nature, the individual character. Every one sacrifices to the other a part of his individuality, until, in opposition to their proper nature, two friends, by force of compromise, perfectly resemble each other. Everywhere this unhealthy dream of uniformity is pursued. Every domestic circle, instead of being the admirable work of souls freely

unfolding their individuality, offers only a commonplace uniformity which covers the grave of liberty and true life. As to the State, instead of being the completest masterpiece through which man represents his being, it is generally considered only as a necessary evil, as a mechanism indispensable for arresting the flights of individual thought. Its presence is felt only by the trammels it imposes upon us, even when it ought to favour the development of life. The source of the evil, according to Schleiermacher, lies in the fact that men have a taste only for external communion, only for that of the senses. This is what they seek in friendship, in marriage, in their country, and not that aid and that complement of strength which they have need of for their own culture and for the growth of their inner life.

What then do we see? Everywhere rule and custom instead of free activity; everywhere the reign of dead formulas instead of life.

Yet Schleiermacher foresees a better future. The world of culture and of morality will disengage itself from the bosom of the actual barbarism. He belongs himself to this world which he is helping to bring forth. And so he feels himself in his thought and life as a stranger in the midst of his generation, as a prophetic citizen of the future world,—that world towards which he feels himself drawn by his ardent imagination and by an energetic faith, and to which he belongs by every act, by every thought. He remains indifferent as to what the actual world does and suffers. He sees it, indeed, below him, petty and paltry; and he embraces with a rapid glance the confused vagaries which it pursues. On the other hand, as men press eagerly around the loved ensigns of their distant fatherland, so does he hasten full of love and hope wherever he sees the leaping up of a spark of that hidden fire which soon or late will destroy what is old and will renew the world. On his own footsteps he wishes everywhere to kindle the holy flames whose strange light will be a warning to the superstitious worshippers of the present, and a witness to reasonable men. Let the men of the future

approach each other; let every one of their acts and words contribute to cement the free alliance of those who are sworn to hasten on its coming. These men of the future often pass along by the side of each other as strangers; let them look well, and there will be found more than one whom they misunderstand at the present hour. Impress courageously on every one of your actions the character of the spirit which animates you, that kindred souls may recognise you. Throw your speech boldly as the conviction of your heart into the world, that the sympathetic souls which are afar off may hear you. It is by the continuous and constant harmony of practice and of speech that men who think alike will rally to each other. But those alone are capable of it who, hating the old formulas, aspire to cultivate themselves, and who observe themselves with a free look, and lay hold of the inner essence of humanity in order to realize it in their own individuality.

IV. *Prospect of the Future.*—To await and salute the future with a calm and clear look, knowing well what it is and what it brings to us, to contemplate it not as about to dominate us, but as being our free property: such forms the true horizon of life. The mythical gods are dominated by destiny because they have not to act within themselves; the lowest of mortals and the worst are so also, because they will not act within themselves; but the man whose activity is directed in principle upon himself, is free. His power has limits only in what is in contradiction to his nature; and as regards these limits he has to accept them and bless them. To become always more what I am, ought to be my only will. Let what may, come at last, provided that our will controls our destiny and that it makes all that it brings, freely work together for its own ends. But some one may ask: Will not this feeling of freedom cause us some deception; does it not conceal our weakness? Schleiermacher pities those who, after having once felt themselves free, have allowed themselves to be bound by new chains. He pities those who in the strength of their age are weary of life, and who, having lost all but

the last recollection of their short dream of liberty, do not understand the youth who begins to rejoice in life, having decided that they shall remain subject to the old traditions. Schleiermacher can testify of himself that he draws from all that happens to him, be it joy or sorrow, the cares or the smiles of existence, new strength to enrich his being and to enlarge his inner life. Thus the past is indeed to him a sure guarantee of the future. The truth of his consciousness will only become strengthened by new conquests. He also knows what is still wanting to him. It remains for him still to study the sciences, without the knowledge of which the idea which he holds of the world will never be complete; he does not yet understand the series of phenomena and activities in the bosom of humanity, which are more or less strange to his own being. All this he will successively acquire. The end which he sets before himself he will assuredly attain. It is only by selling himself to the world that man becomes a slave. In truth, nothing that the world prizes attracts him, whether it be the gain of perishable goods or the allurements of sensual enjoyments. He has laboriously conquered the ground on which he has set his foot, and from which he aspires to make new conquests. What he yearns for in the first place, is the domestic hearth, union with a soul which will aid him to attain humanity in individuality.

Will it be given to him to realize this wish, or will the world take its revenge by refusing it to him for having been able to resist its laws? Ultimately it matters little. The imagination at need will supply the reality; she is rich enough for that. By her aid he takes possession of the entire world. He can enter in thought into the most diverse relations; he can let the most opposite individualities act upon him, and he can observe their special character in the rich variety of their manifestations; and all this with the view of better developing his own individuality. What the external life brings is but the confirmation of what he has already experienced within. And naturally they are his friends who render him this chief service; they are those in

whom he lives, whom he assimilates to himself by imagination as in reality. Doubtless their fidelity is not always unshakeable; for men often love only the appearance in men. But those who have recognised him in the essence of his being, are obliged to love him always; the more he displays and fixes his individuality before their eyes, the more they will be attached to it. He knows that death will not be able to snatch his friends from him, although their death kills him. But death is necessary because the equilibrium between the internal life and the external appearance is often broken, and because individuality cannot be fully completed here below. A being absolutely complete would be a God; he could not bear the weight of life; there is no place for such a one in this world of humanity.

V. *Youth and Old Age.*—The thought of death leads Schleiermacher to consider the difference between Youth and Old Age. In promising himself an immortal youth, he has kept his word. The disappearance of courage and of strength is an evil that one creates oneself. Old Age is a pure prejudice, the fruit of the melancholy error that the spirit depends on the body. What matters it to him that the body decays, that the senses and the memory grow feeble? The force of the will does not depend on that of the muscles, nor does the courage of the inner feeling depend on health. He undertakes to preserve always the force of his will and the vivacity of his imagination. Nothing will be able to wrest from him the magic which opens to him the mysterious gates of the higher world, and never shall the fire of love in him be quenched.

Schleiermacher utters himself forcibly against those who think that to inquire no longer becomes him who is near his end, that such a one has no more to do but to robe himself in a wise silence, the venerated symbol of achievement. Such silence is in his eyes but indolent immobility. Never will he lose the sense which drives man onwards, nor the insatiable desire of new things. He demands no other glory than that of having understood that his goal is infinite, and of having

never stopped in his course, of knowing that on this path which will engulf him there is a place where he can set his foot, and of changing nothing in or around him, nor slackening his step when he will perceive the goal. Yes; it belongs to man to advance towards the grave with the careless serenity of youth. "I shall think myself old," says Schleiermacher, "only when I shall have at last ended, because I know and wish what I ought." Youth is wanting to old men only when their youth has been wanting in manhood. It is the strength of age in a manly heart which preserves youth, that youth may later preserve the heart against the weaknesses of age. "Do not be troubled about what you may become by doing this or that," he adds. "Nothing will be but yourself; for all that you can will, makes a part of your life. Be not limited nor parsimonious in activity. Let your life flow fresh and active. No force is lost but that which you suppress in yourself without having used it."

VI.

In proportion as the sphere of our activity and influence on our neighbours extends, life receives a higher value; however obscure it may be according to the world, it surrounds itself with a certain halo that is entirely internal and wholly spiritual. Schleiermacher felt keenly the happiness of seeing that the principles which he enunciated gained him the esteem and the sympathies of truly religious souls, and that men of the world and even philosophers were not disinclined to adopt them. There is no sweeter feeling than that of being a source of blessing to many. And yet there was still in the life of Schleiermacher a grievous want. What are the petty satisfactions of a flattered self-love, the encouragements given to his works, and the brilliant perspectives opened up to the life of an author, compared with the calm and peaceful joys of the family which are refused to him? "All in the world is illusion," he cries; "the goods which we think to enjoy, and the action which we believe we

exercise. It is only in the silence and in the obscurity of the domestic life that it is possible to produce some durable good, and to obtain a result for which it is worth while to have lived." The sentiment expressed in these lines is perhaps exaggerated; but the more we see how high Schleiermacher placed the life of the family, the more sympathy do we feel for him amid the delays which retarded his realization of it.

There is a dark page in the inner history of Schleiermacher which it is impossible to pass over in silence, all the more that it explains to us the disposition of mind in which he wrote the Monologues. That freedom which he celebrates with so much enthusiasm was then for him a pressing need, so much were his moral strength and courage shaken. The Monologues were meant to procure for him the internal renovation after which he was sighing. But, alas! it happens very often that we describe better what we want than what we possess. The distractions which were brought to Schleiermacher by an unhappy and wrong passion felt from 1799, had reached a degree that was almost intolerable. The object of it, Eleonore Grünow, appears to have been well cultivated in mind, and of a noble and sympathetic soul. She was then living with her husband, a pastor at Berlin, in a union which was lacking in all the conditions of happiness. Schleiermacher was persuaded that his friend would infallibly be shipwrecked in body and soul if this marriage was not broken. He regarded this separation as the most imperative and most sacred of duties. At the same time, he did not seek to conceal his deep affection for her; he was convinced that she alone would be capable of making the happiness of his life. These dispositions, besides being favoured by the laws of his country relating to divorce, were in accordance at all points with the principles of the Romantic School. It is hardly necessary to add that in the sequel, Schleiermacher changed his mode of looking at this matter, and that it was not without the bitterest self-reproach that he afterwards viewed this phase of his life. Moreover, Eleonore did not

share his views, although she admired him, and could not prevent him from loving her; but after a violent struggle which Schleiermacher stigmatized as weakness, she triumphed, and broke for ever from relations which she could not have continued without remorse.

It was in great part to withdraw himself from these distractions that Schleiermacher quitted Berlin in 1802, in order to occupy the post of a preacher of the Court at Stolpe in Pomerania. His departure from Berlin was looked favourably upon by Sack and his sister Charlotte, and it had the advantage of breaking his friendship with Friedrich Schlegel, and withdrawing him for ever from his influence. His financial condition was so precarious, while supporting his sister and showing himself very generous to his friends, that he had to borrow money from Brinkmann for his journey and his settlement at Stolpe, which was of the most modest kind. The correspondence of Schleiermacher during his voluntary exile from 1802 to 1804, is all filled with the sadness and bitterness which was caused him by that "thorn in the flesh," which had all but broken his soul, and poisoned the joy which his intellectual works brought to him. Separated from his friends and from literary circles, deprived of his books, and withdrawn from that exchange of ideas which had become to him an indispensable need, Schleiermacher complains keenly of the weariness of his solitude. He devoted himself, however, with ardour to the exercise of his pastoral functions; and among them all, it was the religious instruction of the young that he preferred. He experienced a singular joy in preparing those youthful souls for religious emotions, and in awakening within them manly convictions. One likes to gather from his correspondence the passages in which Schleiermacher has revealed the secret of his beneficent action on his fellow-men, that "virtuosity" in which he excelled.

In order to understand and judge men rightly, it is necessary, according to him, to consider the whole of their individuality, and not to draw hasty conclusions from some

isolated act or some accidental assertion; and we ought to be so much the more tolerant in regard to their faults, their inconsequences, and their weaknesses, the better we know the source of them. To embrace with love the ideal or the image of God which is implanted in them, to remove as far as is in our power all that is opposed to its blossoming forth, to follow their undertakings with a sympathetic interest, to present to them with tender precautions the ideal image which we have formed of them, in order that they may put themselves before it in their turn, to open our heart to all their trials from our own experience, and while feeling theirs with them: such, according to Schleiermacher, is the royal rule of love. Whoever has discovered in his own heart but an atom of all the evil and all the errors which reign in the world, and a trace, however imperceptible, of all that is truly great and beautiful, and has ambition and courage enough to wish to establish the full image of it in himself and in his neighbour: such a one is alone authorized to say that he knows men. To act upon souls individually, is the condition of a blessed activity on earth.

The same tolerance and the same benevolence animate Schleiermacher in questions belonging to the domain of religion. He understands and accepts the divergences of opinion; the sects are far from inspiring in him the fears that they inspired around him. Sectarian phenomena are inseparable from the Christian individualism, which wishes that every one shall administer the common fund of truth according to the genius which is proper to him. No one is insignificant if he bears his individuality nobly, and if he represents human nature from the point of view that is special to him. In this sense human life ought to be an education, a continual development, and it cannot have either stop or rest. As to those souls that are misled and troubled by foolish disputes about words, and by the noise of empty reasonings, put them into contact with the Gospel in its august simplicity, and it would be wonderful if they did not feel reassured and regained.

The period of Schleiermacher's great moral struggles was at the same time a period of great intellectual activity. He pursued the labours he had begun, and he projected and executed others that were new. Among the latter ought to be mentioned his *Outlines of a Critique of Previous Systems of Ethics*.¹ The plan, the aim, the form, the tone, everything in this book, is different from his previous works. The tendency of his mind led him to study Christianity from the ethical point of view, and to regard it as the power of the moral life; but feeling himself still incapable of giving a systematic exposition of it, he wishes in the first place to submit the labours of his predecessors to a critical judgment. Before rearing the new edifice, it was necessary to clear away the rubbish of the old. The form of the book is not quite satisfactory. The exposition is obscure and embarrassed by the mass of material; the ideas combated are barely indicated. The author wishes to write only for those to whom the subject is already familiar. Schleiermacher complains of having to struggle with the matter which he has to mould. "What dead letters on the most holy, the most living of subjects!" The arrangement of the work weighs upon him; he compares it to a forest of Indian cactus. He begins to doubt of his vocation as a writer. Moreover, what is gained by writing and by being read? "All that I think and all that I write appears to me as the repetition of the old melody." Nevertheless, he displays an incisive force of judgment and a dialectical art of developing thoughts which is really out of the common line.

The various systems of Ethics are judged, not according to their results which are more or less accidental, nor according to a theory which is more or less arbitrary, but according to their own proper value. They are made to judge themselves. Schleiermacher shows with pitiless severity their weakness and their defects, that they rest on the principle of eudæmonism, or on the idea of perfection. He praises only Plato and, in part, Spinoza. He shows himself particularly severe towards

¹ Grundlinien einer Kritik der bisherigen Sittenlehre, 1803.

Kant and Fichte. This method has the advantage of preserving the author from prejudices and *a priori* positions; but it has the inconvenience of not giving positive results, and of not being always equitable towards labours which should be judged only by regard to the historical circumstances in connection with which they arose. The book is composed: 1. Of an introduction devoted to the examination of the fundamental principles of Ethics according to the various systems; 2. Of three books devoted to the examination of the three principal ethical ideas, those of duty, virtue, and the good; 3. Of an appendix designed to judge the systems of ethics according to their construction and their form.

According to Schleiermacher, Ethics can aspire to the title of science only on the condition of proceeding from a single fundamental principle and embracing the whole of human life. He shows that the modern moralists have been wrong in presenting this science from too subjective a point of view, as the science of duties or of virtues, instead of expounding the latter in their relations with the science of the good, which is the only means of neglecting nothing that concerns human activity. It is this procedure which explains the lacunæ which these systems contain. Thus, free communication between men is not viewed as an obligation; such goods as friendship, love, science, and art are almost entirely passed over in silence; and the idea of the State is mutilated and impoverished. It is only the knowledge of the higher laws which rule the universe and the consciousness of the true character of humanity that render us capable of creating a system of morals. Hence, moral science more even than any other is subject to the law of progress, and is fatally devoted to imperfection. Our view is too limited and too troubled for our formulæ to be perfect, and the culture of our generation is too incomplete or too unequal for our exposition not to be subject to many misunderstandings and mistakes.

It was also at Stolpe in the same year, 1803, and still

under the veil of anonymity, that Schleiermacher published two *Memoranda on the Ecclesiastical Question in Prussia*.¹

The first treats of the separation of the two Protestant Churches. Schleiermacher maintains that the dogmatic reasons which gave occasion to the separation between the Lutheran and the Reformed Churches no longer exist. It is only custom and financial motives that still maintain it. He sees in this separation a series of inconveniences. It is owing to it that the Holy Supper is considered as a sort of profession of faith, which it ought not to be; and families, in order to satisfy the religious needs, are obliged to separate from each other. The scission hinders the reform of worship in the Lutheran Church, and maintains the attachment to the mystical morality of the old books of edification. In the Reformed Church it is prejudicial to theological and philosophical culture, because those who belong to it do not find a career open before them, the professorships attached to their Church being exceedingly rare in the German Universities. And finally, it produces an undesirable division of strength, and it feeds the spirit of party. Nevertheless, Schleiermacher does not wish fusion; he respects the historical character of the two Churches, and desires to safeguard the rights of individuality which are sacrificed in a system of centralization. Neither does he wish a dogmatic or ritual union; what he demands is the union of consciences in a common religious sentiment. The practical means by which he recommends it are very simple. The State ought to promulgate the liberty of communicating and choosing pastors without distinction in each of the two communions. The parishes themselves as moral persons ought to remain Lutheran or Reformed, but the State ought no longer to know more than one Protestant Church.

The second Memorandum treats of the means of preventing the ruin of religion. The author examines the complaints

¹ Zwei Gutachten in Sachen des Kirchenwesens in Beziehung auf den preussischen Staat, 1803. H. Weiss: Schleiermacher's Darstellung vom Kirchenregiment, 1881.

which are making themselves heard on the subject of the increasing decline of the Church. He looks first at those complaints that come from the pastors, to which he attaches less importance as emanating from the representatives of the craft. He sees no great harm in the fact that the old prestige with which the clergy were surrounded has vanished. In the future, they will owe their authority only to personal merit. Schleiermacher indicates with rare penetration the miseries of the pastorate, and blames its vices with a blunt frankness. His memorial is a veritable declaration of war on the clerical spirit. The complaints of politicians and diplomatists do not disturb him more deeply. They consider Christianity as a means of making up for the insufficiency of the police, by helping to govern men, and imposing upon them a check so as to make them humble and resigned from fear of punishments and hope of future rewards. These men have no right to complain, for they are not interested in religion itself, but only in its external prestige.

Schleiermacher finds generally that the complaints as to the weakening of the religious sentiment are exaggerated. The only complaints he admits to be well founded are those which concern the abandonment of public worship; but worship is not religion itself. To speak truly, it might be better organized. Schleiermacher finds that the sermons and hymns are of too moralizing a character, that the language of the preacher is too different from that of his flock, that the audiences are too mixed, the prayers too mechanical, and the administration of the sacraments lowered to the level of a pure form. What he recommends the clergy to do is to shake off their homiletical and liturgical chains, to vary the choice of their subjects and the manner of treating them, to increase the number of festivals by the addition of national religious celebrations, and to awaken the interest attached to religious instruction.

But these reforms can only have complete success on condition that the pastors themselves rise to the task. Schleiermacher marks out grave defects in their education,

in their knowledge, and in their moral dispositions. How many pastors there are who discharge their duty badly! How many others are debauched and self-sufficient, absolutely without nobleness and delicacy, and without a true calling, who embrace the ministry only as a means of subsistence, and who represent the most consummate image of hypocrisy! The picture which Schleiermacher draws of the students and licentiates is not less gloomy. What are the remedies which he proposes? He would like that pastors should find means more readily available for escaping from the career which they have embraced when they have recognised that they have deceived themselves regarding the nature of their aptitudes or their vocation. (He further demands that, at the moment of entering into the ministry, every pastor should prove that he has the capacities fit for another career.) Their studies ought to be more severe as well as the duties that are imposed upon them as pastors. The position should be rendered so difficult that it would be inaccessible to those who seek in it for honours, idle leisure, or material profit. (Schleiermacher wishes that the false distinction between two systems of morals and a double law of proprieties, one for pastors and another for laymen, should also be given up. What religion forbids, it forbids to all.)

The correspondence of Schleiermacher at this time is filled with the sadness which the evils of the Church inspired in him. He suffers from his isolation in the midst of colleagues in whom he finds only vulgar sentiments. There remains to him only faith and the hope of seeing the rise of better times, with the consolation of contributing in some feeble measure to their coming.

VII.

Forced by the low state of his health and by his isolation to leave Stolpe, Schleiermacher was about to accept a chair in the new University of Würzburg; but at that moment offers were made to him on the part of Frederick William III., who was desirous to preserve to Prussia so eminent a preacher and

scholar. It was owing to the intervention of Sack, who kept up no bitterness against him as author of the Discourses, that (Schleiermacher was appointed Professor *extraordinarius* and Preacher to the University of Halle in 1804.) The career of a professor, which had always lively attractions for him, seemed to him, nevertheless, to bristle with difficulties. Schleiermacher, in order to discharge his new duties satisfactorily, applied himself with more ardour and method than in the past to theological studies properly so called. He was still far from being clear with himself; and, on his own avowal, the necessary special knowledge was almost wholly wanting to him.

It was to his friend Gass that Schleiermacher addressed himself in order to find his way in the thorny field of theological literature, the productions of which attracted him but very moderately. He complains that the theological sciences seemed to have been cultivated in preference by those who were entirely lacking in religious sense. A renovation of the Church would be possible only when, owing to its separation from the State, no one would any more enter the service of the Church or cultivate theological science without possessing religious feeling. The subject of his lectures absorbed him to the highest degree. He communicated their plan to his friends; he learned by teaching; he adopted and kept up the habit of speaking freely from notes. (Although received with kindness, his lectures at the outset were but little attended.) The reputation of the scholar had not preceded Schleiermacher, and he was dreaded as a heretic. He was not long, however, in finding pleasure in his new calling, and settling down to it. He regarded it as a particular privilege to see grouped around him a select number of young men who were devoting themselves to the holy ministry; it was "his little academic parish."

Schleiermacher takes up almost simultaneously the most diverse branches of theological science: Ethics (his favourite branch), Dogmatics, Encyclopædia, and the Exegesis and Hermeneutics of the New Testament. The study of sources

and the examination of historical and critical problems were his greatest difficulty. In familiarizing himself with the ideas of others and with the chaos of materials accumulated before him, he experienced the same pain that he had lately felt in collecting the inner facts of the field of consciousness. Schleiermacher brought to his scientific researches a spirit entirely new. He showed himself at once critically impartial, severe, and believing; or, as he puts it, mystical and convinced. It was principally the study of Dogmatics which forced Schleiermacher to define and rectify his ideas about Christianity, although he foresaw that they would be "to the Jews a stumbling-block and to the Greeks foolishness."

His colleagues at Halle, Niemeyer, Nösselt, Eberhardt, Knapp, and others, were men of the old schools, being either rationalists or supranaturalists, to whom the theology of Schleiermacher appeared infected at times with atheism, and at other times with pietism. He had, from the outset, resigned himself to bear this fate of being regarded as a dangerous innovator by some, and as a blind partisan of tradition by others. "It has happened to me," he says, "that I have been taken in the space of quarter of an hour and in the same room, for a mystic by one, for a materialist by another, and for a narrow orthodoxist by a third." At the same time, he cordially detested this mode of classifying Christians. The judgment of coteries was of little moment to him. "However pained I may be to see that souls whose faith rests on the same foundation as mine refuse to share my convictions, I have at least the inner assurance that I walk in the way that is traced out for me. I act as I am called to do so, and I will never compromise the blessing which rests upon my work by removing from the prescribed path under any pretext whatever. I learn to feel myself one in spirit with many of those who imagine that they are very far removed from me, and this experience brings to my life a singular force which consoles and strengthens me." The Christian philosopher Steffens, an enthusiastic disciple of Schelling, was the colleague with whom Schleiermacher bound himself most intimately at

Halle. He says that he had never met a man who appeared to him naturally more superior. The mixture of enthusiasm, simplicity, depth, and genius which Schleiermacher discovered in his friend, threw him into a real transport of delight. Unfortunately, the events which before long tended to separate the two colleagues materially, were only the prelude of a much greater separation. Schleiermacher could never approve of the reactionary tendency which Steffens thought it his duty afterwards to follow.

(After many obstacles on the part of jealous University authorities and hostile Lutheran pastors, Schleiermacher at last succeeded in obtaining from the Government the realization of the promise which had been made to him, namely, to establish in his favour a chair destined to deal specially with the subject of preaching for the students. The University Church was cleared of the storage of grain which encumbered it, and Schleiermacher was able to give himself regularly to preaching, which he had only been able to cultivate occasionally at Halle until now.) The double teaching of his scientific and ecclesiastical chair appeared to him eminently favourable for bringing into light the profound relationship and the superior unity which exists between speculation and piety, so as to warm and vivify the one by contact with the other.

In the beginning of the year 1806, Schleiermacher published a little Dialogue on the Festival of Christmas.¹ It was the fruit of sudden inspiration, and was rapidly written in a few weeks. Schleiermacher regretted that he had not joined to it analogous considerations on the two other great Christian festivals, as he had intended. For the first time he permitted his publisher to put his name on the title-page, except in the case of the copies destined for Berlin and Halle. This production contains a kindly parallel between the various conceptions of Christianity, or rather of the theology of his time, and not, as Strauss has alleged, an exposition of the various phases which Schleiermacher himself had passed through.

¹ Die Weihnachtsfeier, Berl. 1806.

The representatives of Rationalism, of the Theology of Feeling, which is the doctrine of the Moravian Brethren, and of the Speculative School, make themselves heard in turn; and, in the end, Schleiermacher develops his own point of view. Supra-naturalism alone is conspicuous by its absence. Schleiermacher finds that this grave and calm exposition of the dogmatic divergences of the time in presence of the peaceful Christmas tree, already of itself contains a kind of instruction. But it is to be regretted that the character of the various interlocutors is not sketched with sufficient clearness, and that the women presented in the Dialogue efface each other entirely.

Leonard, a jurist, is the representative of rationalism. He is the man of cold reflection, a dialectician sure of his cause, presumptuous, despising everything that approaches mysticism, and putting his auditors on guard at once against unbelief and superstition. His is the figure which is evidently traced out with most care. He represents the dominant spirit of the epoch. Leonard venerates religion as long as it remains purely internal; from the time that it wishes to produce itself without, it engenders spiritual pride and the spirit of dissent, especially among the laity, who are zealous in seeking distinction by their piety. Leonard does not wish the Bible to be put into the hands of children; it troubles their imagination and corrupts their good sense by favouring superstition and belief in the supernatural. He likewise would banish art from religion, on account of the abuses to which it gives rise. He admits that Christianity is a moral force in the bosom of European society, but this force is independent of the person of its founder. The festival of Christmas has contributed not a little to give to this person an exaggerated importance. Among the dogmas and the institutions of Christianity, how many can be carried back to Jesus Christ Himself? Was His intention really to found a Church such as time has made it? The belief in His supernatural birth, His resurrection, and His ascension, is not born of the Gospel narratives. It is the festival of Christmas which has produced it; this festival is what has introduced the romance into these narratives. The festival

of Christmas cannot have now more than a symbolical value. It preaches to us the sanctity of the domestic hearth, and recommends us to interest ourselves in infancy.

Edward is the representative of speculative theology. His thought is not always expressed with irreproachable clearness. He holds to St. John for his view of the person of Christ, in whom he sees the Word made flesh, that is to say, the manifestation of the eternal divine thought in the terrestrial and finite world. Man celebrates himself in the festival of Christmas; he proclaims the divine principle contained in human nature. In Jesus Christ, this identity of the divine and human has appeared for the first time. Salvation consists in the consciousness of this identity. To aspire at being no more than a thought of the eternal Being, to see, to judge, and to merge all things in this being, to lose and thus to find again one's own existence in that of humanity: that is what Christmas preaches to us in presenting to us in Christ the ideal type of humanity. Every one of us ought to see in the birth of Christ the image of his own spiritual birth. As to the Church, it is the collective consciousness of humanity in which the individual consciousness ought to lose itself. While Leonard symbolizes the letter of the Bible, Edward idealizes it.

Ernest represents the point of view of Schleiermacher himself. The appearance of the Saviour in the world is the foundation of the festival of Christmas. What is in question is really a veritable regeneration of humanity. It is this that explains the peculiar character and charm of the joy which we feel, and which is the source of all our other joys. The Saviour has come, and this Saviour must begin by being a child. Humanity required a Saviour. We can no longer feel the pagan joy of nature which knew no contradiction between the appearance and the essence of things, between time and eternity. We suffer grievously from those contradictions which we are unable to resolve. On this account there was needed the appearance in the world of a new force of life, of an untroubled religious consciousness, of a divine man who did not know this contradiction. This man, this

son of a King, is Jesus Christ. Schleiermacher heaps up epithets of honour to describe Him. It is possible that the historical proofs which surround His cradle and His life are insufficient, and that criticism may display all its dexterity in contesting them. Be it so. Yet the festival of Christmas itself will not suffer from this. The religious consciousness demands the necessity of a Saviour.—(This was the first writing in which Schleiermacher enunciated this essential idea of his theology.—Our Christian life cannot be referred to any other source. It cannot be carried back to any other beginning. The Christian world owes its existence to the attractive force displayed by Christ. What man ought to be, must have existed and really appeared in a living exemplar. Jesus Christ is a real but a unique man; He has perfectly represented collective humanity in His individuality. There is no salvation out of communion with Him.) The character of the festival of Christmas is, moreover, essentially religious, and excludes neither criticism nor speculation.

At last Joseph appears on the scene. He is the Moravian Christian, who is called in his turn to speak out his idea of the Festival. He finds it capricious and foolish for them to be holding long discourses upon subjects so elevated and so holy. All forms are stained with imperfection; all discourses are cold and tedious. A nameless object produces a nameless joy. Joseph asks leave to confine himself to being joyful and to exulting like a child.

It was in the midst of these labours which were intentionally multiplied that Schleiermacher sought to heal the wounds of his heart. He always lived isolated, he who appreciated domestic joys so much. Eleonore Grünow, when on the point of carrying out her divorce, had drawn back and broken for ever with Schleiermacher. He believed for a moment that this pain was going to crush his existence; but after all he arose from it strengthened and matured. Moreover, new bonds were not slow in binding him to life. The *Monologues* had brought the admiration and friendship of a young pastor

of Stralsund, Ahrenfried von Willich, whose acquaintance Schleiermacher had made in the island of Rugen, and who had married a young and charming wife, Henriette Mühlens, an orphan, and only sixteen years of age. The letters exchanged between Schleiermacher and this gracious couple are full of tenderness and suavity. Schleiermacher shares their happiness with a joy that was quite paternal; he knows that it is lasting and true, for it rests on a good foundation. He encourages the zeal of the young minister and the devotion of his companion in life, who was always eager to ask for Schleiermacher's counsel, and to listen to the advices full of wisdom which came from one for whom she manifested an almost filial affection. Henriette confides to him her joys and her anxieties; she is so convinced of her insufficiency, so frightened to love too much and to abandon herself too entirely to her happiness! Later her letters turn upon education, and many times she depicts in ingenuous lines the ravishing picture of the interior of a manse such as Schleiermacher had dreamed of for himself till the day when his hopes had vanished for ever. But the dream of Henriette and the felicity of the young couple were not to be of long duration. The wars of the Empire ploughed their furrow of blood and stretched a veil of mourning over peaceful Germany; and the shocks with which they were accompanied profoundly shattered the public life and the happiness of families. Willich died during the siege of Stralsund of typhoid fever caught while exercising his pastoral functions. He was not yet thirty years of age, and his widow was left at the age of eighteen, the mother of two children.

Schleiermacher had long foreseen the evils which the division of the Germans could not fail soon to let loose on their common country. In a series of patriotic sermons he had sought to awaken the public mind, and to form masculine and independent characters capable of giving their life for their country. His fears were but too well realized. In 1806, the city of Halle was surprised on the day after the battle of Jena and given up to pillage. The University

having been accused of anti-Napoleonic tendencies was dissolved, and after the peace of Tilsit it passed with Prussian Saxony to the new kingdom of Westphalia. Schleiermacher, deprived of his offices and of his income, reduced to a state bordering on want, and living only on the meagre product of his literary works, awaited the fate of the city and then took his resolution. Not wishing to become the vassal of King Jerome, in December 1807 he fixed his abode at Berlin, where he had already delivered lectures during the summer session. He opened private courses on philosophy and theology, and preached often, particularly in the Trinity Church, of which he was appointed pastor in the beginning of 1809. His patriotic sermons were very remarkable. To his hearers he recommended resignation in their misfortunes, but also emancipation from all false fear. He exhorted them to prepare for the supreme struggle for the national independence, which he saw approaching with great strides. In intimate relationship with such patriots as Stein, Scharnhorst, Gneisenau, and others, he discharged several political missions to confirm the courage of his contemporaries and to give counsel to the king. In 1807 he was in the island of Rugen, in 1808 at Königsberg, and in 1811 in Silesia, discharging these measures. His energetic attitude in the pulpit drew upon him a sharp reprimand from Marshal Davoust. He ardently desired the liberation of his country, and willingly subordinated his own happiness to that of the Prussian monarch, whom he did not wish to abandon notwithstanding the pressing calls which had come to him from other parts of Germany.

Schleiermacher pursued his literary labours in the midst of these distressing anxieties for the safety of his country. (In 1807, he published his discussion on the First Epistle to Timothy, which was dedicated to his friend Gass.¹ It was the first-fruit of his exegetical studies, and it is a monument of critical penetration.) We find in it no external scientific apparatus. With that solidity of mind which characterized

¹ Sendschreiben an Gass über den sogenannten Brief an Timotheus, 1807.

him, Schleiermacher treated familiarly the most complicated problems of criticism. (He does not understand how any one could wish to apply to the writings of the New Testament any other measure than that which is applied to profane writings. The divinity of Christianity does not depend on a question of authenticity.) The independence and novelty of the method of Schleiermacher are shown especially in this, that he resolutely subordinates the authority of external testimonies to the weight of internal arguments. (He points out the numerous linguistic peculiarities of the Epistle, the absence of any trace of intimate relationship between the author and Timothy, the not less striking absence of all connection of thought, and the needless digressions often brought about by a simple word. He recalls the literary habits of antiquity, which did not shrink from the employment of pious frauds. The results of this treatise caused a certain scandal, and they did not convince every one.) Some found that Schleiermacher had exaggerated the peculiarities of the Epistle, and that he inferred too rapidly its non-authenticity, when he maintained that it could neither be ranked among the private Epistles nor among the didactic Epistles of the Apostle Paul. (When this negative criticism was extended to the two other Pastoral Epistles, a conviction of their intimate relationship was formed, and the conclusion was drawn that all the three, or none of them, should be regarded as authentic.)

Along with these exegetical labours and the publication of several volumes of the translation of Plato, Schleiermacher occupied himself actively with the organization of the University of Berlin, which the king had decided in 1807 to establish.¹ He also occupied himself with organizing the Protestant Church, which had become necessary in consequence of the political disturbances. Let us add also that during a sojourn in the island of Rugen, Schleiermacher had become

¹ See his pamphlet entitled: *Gelehrte Gedanken über Universitäten im deutschen Sinn*, 1808. *Gutachten über Einrichtung der theologischen Facultät und über Ertheilung academischer Würden*.—Schleiermacher wishes the Universities, true seminaries of the German mind, to be independent of the State, but richly endowed by it.

engaged to Henriette von Willich, whom he brought a year after, in 1809, to Berlin as his wife. At first timid to excess, and as it were overpowered by the superiority of her husband, she unfolded and developed herself under his influence, and thus became such a helpmate to him as Schleiermacher had asked God to grant him. She brought him in abundant measure the domestic happiness for which he had so eagerly sighed, and which was to beautify and cast a serene radiance over the rest of his life.

VIII.

A new phase of the life of Schleiermacher began with his marriage and the foundation of the University of Berlin in 1810, to which he had powerfully contributed. He was not long in gathering around him a numerous circle of friends and disciples. His time was divided between his pastoral and his academic chair. His sermons, of which he continued to publish a number of collections, exercised an almost irresistible power of attraction over the congregation of Trinity Church, who heard him with a sympathetic receptiveness. The movement of his thought is often complicated enough, but it always reaches some affecting perspective, which does not fail to react happily on his whole manner of conceiving and regulating life. The sermons of Schleiermacher in a way gave rise to shorthand reporting. In spite of his numerous occupations, he guided with a very special care till the end of his life the instruction of his catechumens. He was a member of the central Committee of the Poor, and the remembrance of his unfailing charity long survived him.

Schleiermacher had more facility as a preacher than as a professor. In his academic Chair he did not accommodate himself to the intelligence of his hearers, but he obliged them to rise to his level, which was not always easy. (He spoke freely after solid preparation, and he feared nothing so much as becoming "a speaking book." He regularly delivered two or three lectures every day, usually from six to nine o'clock

in the morning. They treated the most diverse subjects, embracing in succession almost the whole circle of philosophy (Dialectic, Psychology, Logic, History of Philosophy, Ethics, Æsthetics, Politics, Pædagogics) as well as that of theology.) His lectures, while attracting a select auditory, were not so numerous as those of Neander, both on account of the difficulties in his form and of his heresies as a professor. Constantly dissatisfied with himself, Schleiermacher laboured without intermission to perfect himself. Few professors have had the talent which he had of stimulating his students, although he had never anything familiar in his intercourse with them. He maintained close friendly relations with his colleagues, among whom we find the most eminent men in the various branches of science, such as De Wette, Neander, Böckh, Buttman, Lachmann, Bekker, and Niebuhr. Marheineke and Hegel alone inspired in him no sympathy. Schleiermacher was a member and secretary of the Berlin Academy of Sciences; and he composed for it a series of most interesting papers on the most diverse subjects. In concert with De Wette and Lücke, he edited from 1811 to 1822 a *Theological Review*, which sought to rise above the divergences of rationalism and supranaturalism to a more solid religious and scientific point of view. He likewise contributed to the *Studien und Kritiken* from 1828.

In spite of his scientific activity, which became more extended from day to day, Schleiermacher did not become a stranger to politics. We have already spoken of his patriotic attitude during the days of the Empire. His sermons contributed powerfully to the awakening of the German mind in 1812 and 1813. He took an active part along with Stein and others in the measures which brought about the Wars of Independence. He even contributed to the political journal called the *Prussian Correspondent*, and drew upon himself the annoyances of a censure. In the hour of danger he enrolled himself in the militia, and even worked at plans for the defence of Berlin. Moreover, he continued his lectures, although the number of his hearers had fallen to two or

three. Remaining faithfully at his post, he confined himself to sending away his wife and children to Silesia. Being considered one of the heads of the Liberal Party, Schleiermacher was exposed to incessant accusations and denunciations from the time of the triumph of the reaction. He castigated the pamphleteer Schmalz, who had accused the whole German professoriate of revolutionary practices; and he strongly took the side of De Wette when he was removed from his office after the assassination of Kotzebue. He also defended Arndt, his brother-in-law, who was involved in a kindred trouble. He was himself excluded from the functions which he exercised in the department of Public Instruction by the Minister of Public Worship, and he was even summoned before the police. His attitude during the whole of this time was firm and independent. He consoled himself easily for not being in favour at the Court. It was only towards the end of his life that the king sent him a decoration; and he was even offered the General Superintendentship of the Churches of Silesia, in the hope that he would succeed in appeasing the conflicts which had arisen there on the subject of the union of the Churches.

Schleiermacher took an important part in the ecclesiastical questions which were agitating the public mind during this period.¹ From 1808, when the Prussian Government, under the instigation of Stein, decided for Liberal political reforms, the need of submitting the ecclesiastical institutions to analogous reform was also felt. Unfortunately they were not conceived in the interest of the independence of the Church. The higher ecclesiastical authorities and the consistories were dissolved and replaced by a Department of the Ministry of the Interior called that of Public Worship. On this occasion the Minister in charge of the administration had addressed Schleiermacher in order to ask from him a scheme of reorganization. In his *Memorandum*, Schleiermacher sketches a melancholy picture of the state of the Protestant Church. There was almost no attendance on

¹ See especially his Correspondence with Gass in his *Life and Letters*.

public worship. It was the same with regard to the influence of Christianity on the habits of the people. There was no longer any ecclesiastical discipline, and the clergy themselves had fallen into profound discredit. Schleiermacher saw the cause of this in certain errors which remounted even to the time of the Reformation; the Church had been sacrificed to the State, and was bound by enfeoffment to it. Simple reforms would not suffice; a new organization was necessary, based on an effective participation of the laity in the affairs of the Church, and on a regeneration of the pastorate by means of a more real piety and science.

Schleiermacher in this official Memorandum, the language of which is stamped with a courageous frankness, does not demand an immediate and absolute separation of the Church and the State. The State ought to preserve its right of control over the Church, especially in what concerns the administration of its goods, but the Church ought to be autonomous in all that concerns its spiritual interests; and the State, in order to assure its independence, ought to restore to it a part of its ancient possessions. Schleiermacher insisted on the necessity of proceeding to the organization of the parishes. No one should be forced to belong ecclesiastically to them. In order to become the member of a parish, it should suffice to be enrolled twice on the annual list of communicants. The elders were to be freely chosen by the community which was publicly to exercise discipline, not for heresies, but for scandals in regard to morals. The parish churches were to be open to all, and the pastors were to be appointed by the congregation from a list presented by the synod of the diocese. Civil marriage should precede religious marriage, and be alone obligatory. The diocesan and parochial synods were to be composed only of pastors; there was to be no regular general synod. At the head of each diocese was to be found a bishop and his chapter, composed of six members chosen from among the most distinguished representatives of theological science. This executive power ought to exercise no authority in matters

aith or doctrine; it should be strict only against pastors ty of frivolity or of irritating polemics. Finally, there old sit at Berlin a higher Ecclesiastical Council nominated he king, and invested with the right of surveillance over whole Church. Such was Schleiermacher's scheme, in ch we already find announced his principal views in lesiastical matters, but with some inconsequences or errors ich afterwards disappear.

This scheme remained buried among the papers of the partment. The political events caused the adjournment of y serious modification in the organization of the Church. vertheless in 1812, a liturgical commission was appointed the king to take up this matter. It was composed only men who were either incapable or known for their political rvility. Naturally Schleiermacher was excluded from the ommission; but he could not be prevented from intervening y the publication of an anonymous pamphlet, the authorship which was divined by the Attic salt of its style and the enetrating vigour of its argumentation.¹ Under the form f ironical eulogy, it contains a severe censure of the whole ndertaking. Such an undertaking could in no way be the work of the Government. The six members nominated had neither legal competency, nor the internal vocation requisite o bring it to a good end. A liturgy cannot be thus clinched ogether especially in an epoch of dogmatic crisis like ours. Schleiermacher wishes to persuade the Commissioners to do nothing, by showing that their work would be the sure prey of a pitiless criticism. The old liturgical forms have for the most part some value, because they were born of religious needs; one feels the life which produced them still palpi-tating in them. Those forms that have been substituted later for them bear the stamp that is characteristic of works of revision, in their calm reflection and in their prudent or pretentious corrections. In any case, it should not come into

the mind of any one to impose a new liturgical yoke on the Churches, or to bind the religious inspiration and emotion to an immutable dead letter. If the Commission did not shrink from such a delicate task, let it at least grant a large liturgical liberty limited by the right of surveillance exercised by the Church; let it establish a great variety of forms in order to satisfy all requirements; let it beware of prescribing uniform rubrics and of lessening the importance of the sermon. Furthermore, let it not indulge in an illusion; no real reform can be established except on the basis of a new parochial organization, towards which there was no advance being made.

In 1815 the old consistories were in fact re-established, and the bureaucratic system was again brought into force. It is true that some timid attempts were made to introduce the Presbyterian and Synodal form of Government, but with an evident feebleness and only for form's sake. Schleiermacher again expressed his dissatisfaction in a pamphlet.¹

As to the Liturgical Commission, nothing more came of it. From 1816 a Regulation drawn up by the king himself and his bishop Eglert, was declared obligatory for the garrison churches. This Regulation was elaborated and introduced without the least participation on the part of the Church, and it was only a disguised return to the Lutheran mass,—a return which was all the more serious that the Regulation was also to be imposed on the Reformed Churches. On its appearance, Schleiermacher raised his voice against it in a pamphlet which caused a lively sensation.² He was silent regarding the mode of its introduction, but he pointed out strongly its anti-Protestant and anti-Reformed character.

The undertaking was adjourned for several years, but it was resumed in 1821 in favour of the increasing reaction and at the instigation of the court clergy. A commencement was made with the Cathedral parish at Berlin in spite of

¹ Ueber die für die protest. Kirche des preussischen Staates einzurichtende Synodalverfassung, 1817.

² Ueber die neue Liturgie für die Hof- und Garnison-Gemeinden zu Potsdam u. in Berlin, 1816.

¹ Glückwünschungssreiben an die hochwürdigen Mitglieder der von Seiner Majestät dem König von Preussen zur Aufstellung neuer liturgischen Formen ernannten Commission, 1812.

the protests of its pastors. Received with suspicion at first, the Regulation soon received the adhesion of two-thirds of the pastors of the kingdom owing to the intimidating measures which the Government used in their regard. Schleiermacher could be silent no longer. He published his pamphlet on the *Liturgical Right of the Protestant Princes*, which is a masterpiece of religious polemics.¹ In a historical retrospect he establishes the position that in the Protestant Church the liturgical right was not derived from the political right of the princes; that if the Reformers from the force of circumstances, and in consequence of the necessities of their times, leaned upon the princes, the Protestant Church never gave them any power of delegation in liturgical or dogmatic matters. Schleiermacher addresses himself to the consciences of the princes, the pastors, and the laity, and shows them the dangers of personal government in ecclesiastical matters. The Church herself can alone regulate these questions, but for this purpose she must be organized. This manifesto drew forth a flood of pamphlets and of denunciations. Professor Augusti of Bonn went so far as to demand coercive measures against one who would not acknowledge that the King of Prussia had inherited the liturgical right of Constantine and Charlemagne. Marheineke accused Schleiermacher of republican leanings, and defended the necessity of the indissoluble union of Church and State. Ammon, the Superintendent of Dresden, adjured the prince to save the unity of the Church as now threatened by these new Gnostics and Arians.

A royal ordinance of 1825 ordered the pastors either to accept the new Regulation or to return strictly to the old ones. Schleiermacher declared that he would keep to the usages that had been hitherto followed, not being willing to renounce either his own liberty or the right of the Church to edify itself according to its own understanding of the matter. Eleven pastors of Berlin, including Hossbach, Pischon, and Lisco, joined him. They addressed a Memorial to the

¹ Ueber das liturgische Recht evangelischer Landesfürsten. Ein theologisches Bedenken von Pacificus Sincerus, 1821.

Consistory, in which they declared that they could not submit to the Regulation against the will or without the consent of their congregations.

The Government was not restrained by this opposition. All the newly appointed pastors and all the candidates in theology were obliged to promise adhesion to the new liturgy. In reply to a writing which invoked the testimony of Luther in favour of the Regulation, and which was attributed to the King himself, Schleiermacher published a *Dialogue*¹ in which he showed that the liturgical ordinances of Luther had no authoritative character, that out of accommodation the Reformer had preserved more Catholic elements in the worship than he had wished, that he would call us indolent Christians if we did not dare to make a step forward now, that the new Regulation was, moreover, but an instrument in the hands of the reactionary ecclesiastical policy, and, as regards himself, that he would leave the Church rather than submit to a new ecclesiastical yoke. The renewed Church that he foresaw, being founded on Scripture as the only rule of faith, would not have on her side the riches and honours of the world, but she would harbour fewer frivolous men. Liberty would carve out the way to truth. The National Church could not remain in the state of decrepitude in which she now was. Her divorce from the age would be consummated in a little while. You must either give her a synodal government and large representative institutions, or you will see her dissolving into a multitude of dissenting congregations. The more you assimilate the clergy to functionaries of the State, the more their authority will diminish. The Reformation must be always carried forward.

This controversy was terminated in 1829 by a compromise. Schleiermacher decided to adhere to the "small liturgy" with important reservations. He submitted as a matter of right, and remained free as a matter of fact. He accepted the minimum of the prescriptions of the new Regulation in the interest of peace, and in order to avoid a schism. This

¹ Gespräch zweier selbstüberlegener evangelischer Christen, 1827.

concession may be blamed as it gave advantage to the cause of his adversaries; and preference may be given to the conduct of Scheibel and the Lutherans of Silesia, who at that time separated from the Established Church rather than submit to use forms which were repugnant to their confessional consciousness. But we must remember that there was not in Schleiermacher the stuff for an ecclesiastical reformer. He was not fitted for acting directly upon the people; nor had he numerous and fervent congregations at his back.

Schleiermacher was also one of the most ardent promoters of the Union between the two Protestant Churches of Prussia, although he was not without apprehension on the subject from the way in which its introduction was effected. He blamed the Government for wishing to precipitate things, showing that the Union ought to be the fruit of liberty, and that it should spring only from the voluntary decisions of the parishes. In September 1817, being president of the Synod of Berlin, he published a pamphlet in which he established the position that the divergences of the opinions and usages in the two churches were no longer of a nature to justify their separation.¹ He does not wish these divergences to be effaced, nor that a compromise should take place between their different confessions of faith, but what he demands is that they should rise to the idea of a higher unity. The centre of Christianity is not dogma, but faith in Christ. Inevitable divergences may subsist among those who share in this faith without breaking their union. At this time the Theses of Harms appeared (of which we will speak farther on), which may be considered as the first manifesto directed against the Union. They found an unexpected defender in the person of Ammon, "the pope of Dresden," who published a very violent pamphlet to justify them. Schleiermacher, roused by the audacious hypocrisy of this old chief of rationalism, was

¹ Abhandlung bei Gelegenheit der ersten gemeinschaftlichen Abendmahlsfeier, 1818.

not slow in sending forth his reply.¹ He deplores the attempt of Harms to renew an untenable orthodoxy; he compares his Theses to rockets which do not go up, or which go off too soon; and he unveils the ignorance, the equivocal attitude, and the Catholic pronunciamientos of the prelate of Dresden.

Schleiermacher saw with pain the approach of the rising tide of confessionalism. He expresses himself on this subject in an article inserted in the *Almanac of the Reformation* of 1819, where he treats the question of the value and obligatory character of the symbolical books.² What folly, he says, it is to wish to resuscitate the past! In our quality of Protestants, we cannot be bound to the ecclesiastical traditions and to the dogmatic conceptions of former generations. And, moreover, what advantage could one draw from them? Are not the creeds themselves subject to different interpretations? They are therefore no sure barriers against unbelief. The best pastors and the most sincere would thus be turned away from the holy ministry and from the conscientious study of Scripture. To return to the ancient Creeds, is to break with the modern culture; it is to resuscitate the age of Scholasticism. Would you awaken the religious life: then interest the laity in the things of the Church, make them take a share in its affairs. The Symbolical Books or Creeds are only the first public expositions of the Protestant doctrines, the point of departure and not the point of arrival of the dogmatic movement. It is only those who knowingly desert the fundamental principles of Protestantism (Justification by faith and the Authority of Scripture) who are no longer Protestant. Schleiermacher does not wish to bind the pastors except against the aberrations of the Roman Church, not even against those of naturalism or of free thought. He believes that liberty would suffer from it.

¹ Sendschreiben an Ammon. Beantwortung seiner Schrift: Bittere Arznei für die Glaubensschwäche der Zeit, 1818.

² Ueber den eigenthümlichen Werth und das bindende Ansehen symbolischer Bücher, 1819.

Schleiermacher also raised his voice at a later date against the pretension of trying to set up a new creed, and against the attempt of Delbrück to substitute the authority of the Apostles' Creed for that of Scripture. He had more than once occasion to express himself with regard to the position he took up towards Confessions of Faith. He had been a member of the Committee which was engaged in 1828 and 1829 with forming a collection of hymns for the Churches of Berlin. He addressed an epistle to Dr. Ritschl on the principles that had guided this work of revision, which was generally received with favour.¹ But he drew upon himself the thunderbolts of the recently established *Evangelical Gazette*, which accused him of all the dogmatic alterations which the text of the new Hymnal had undergone. At the moment he was preparing the second edition of his *Dogmatics*, and Schleiermacher thought it necessary to insert in the *Studien und Kritiken* two Articles on the position that he had taken in opposition to his adversaries, or to those whom he was pleased to call his supranaturalistic and rationalistic coadjutors.² He complains that the most contradictory reproaches were addressed to him. Let those who oppose him first come to an understanding with each other, and then let them take the trouble to understand him. He singles out the persistent accusation of pantheism. He says that he had never been an adherent of Spinoza, but the received formulas regarding God have not satisfied him, and it is to them that he attributed the religious indifference of a great number of his contemporaries. He had desired to show the diverse aspects of the religious consciousness which we all carry in us. He has not ceased to labour at the reconciliation of Christianity and science, for a definitive divorce between them would bring in its train the most fatal consequences. Do you wish to entrench yourselves behind the external works of religion, such as miracles and prophecies, and allow yourselves to be blockaded by science? He does not fear for the Church from "the periodical bombardments

¹ Sendschreiben an Bischof Dr. Ritschl, 1829.

² Zwei Sendschreiben an Lücke, 1829.

of raillery," but he would not like that it should be in danger of being starved out for want of science. He dreads seeing Christianity ally itself with barbarism, and science giving its hand to unbelief. Schleiermacher points out the importance of the person of Christ as the centre of the Christian faith, and the necessity of making the advances of the historical sciences turn to the renovation of the Church.

On the occasion of the denunciations directed by Hengstenberg against Gesenius and Wegscheider, Schleiermacher published a *Letter to Messrs. Von Colln and Schultz*,¹ who, in name of the rationalism attacked, had sent forth a reply to the *Evangelical Gazette*. Schleiermacher raises his voice against the exaggerations of those controversialists who were wishing to impose their rationalistic creed on the Church. He declines for himself the designation of rationalist which was given to him, and he takes a stand in favour of the misappreciated historical rights of Christianity. But he does not less protest against every species of confessional yoke, and especially in reference to the Professors and the Universities; they also are reformers, and their works are not of less importance than those of our fathers. Let there be no infallible and immutable formulae from which salvation would be made to depend in our Protestant Church!

All these polemical writings of Schleiermacher are real masterpieces. Their prominent characteristics are a critical penetration, a calm vigour that is devoid of all passion, and a fine, piquant irony. Schleiermacher knew how to defend the position that he had taken among, or rather above the various parties, with a constant elevation of language and view.

IX.

Exegesis was not exactly the branch of theology which was cultivated with predilection by Schleiermacher, and yet his works in this department have not passed without appreciation. Exegesis, according to him, is nothing but

¹ Sendschreiben an die H. H. D. Von Colln und D. Schultz, 1831.

the art of understanding. Now Schleiermacher, as a good philologist and a good translator, could not but possess this art *par excellence*. He had in fact to a high degree the talent of reproducing the thought of an author in such a way that no word nor any shade of meaning should appear useless or be neglected. On this account he liked to choose the most difficult Epistles of the New Testament, as, for example, the Second Epistle to the Corinthians and the Epistle to the Galatians. He started likewise from the principle that every part of Scripture ought to be grasped in its own originality and interpreted by itself. Schleiermacher has been reproached for his reserve and his coldness towards the Old Testament. He understood neither its literary beauty nor its moral grandeur; and what appears stranger still, he has not apprehended its historical connection with the New Testament and the preparatory character of the old covenant in the divine economy of salvation.

We have already spoken of Schleiermacher's Essay on the First Epistle to Timothy. It was followed after a pretty long interval by a *Critical Essay on the Writings of Luke*.¹ This Essay was dedicated to De Wette, and unfortunately it was not finished. The second part, which was to be devoted to the Acts of the Apostles, is wanting. Schleiermacher declares himself against the unity of the composition of the third Gospel. According to his view, the author has only combined a series of fragments which already existed before him. Every time that a narrative is terminated by a general formula, the compiler draws from a new source. If this hypothesis has been abandoned by criticism, Schleiermacher's Essay has nevertheless contributed to make it better understood that the Synoptic Gospels are not literary products in the modern sense, but bear very visibly the impress of the tradition from which they flow. He has also recalled the fact that the third

¹ Kritischer Versuch über die Schriften des Lukas, 1821. [F. E. D. Schleiermacher: A Critical Essay on the Gospel of St. Luke. With an Introduction by the Translator, containing an Account of the Controversy respecting the origin of the first three Gospels since Bishop Marsh's Dissertation, London 1825.]

Gospel, according to its own avowal, is a work made up from various sources.—We may also mention a Treatise on the testimonies of Papias, in which Schleiermacher happily applies the word *λόγια* to the discourses of our Lord contained in Matthew. His Lectures on Introduction to the New Testament, and on Hermeneutics and Sacred Criticism, were published after his death, but they did not come up to the expectation of the theological public.

Among these posthumous publications produced from MS. Lectures, the most important is that which treats of the *Life of Jesus*.¹ Schleiermacher often lectured on this subject from 1819 to 1832; but his Life of Jesus is rather a dogmatic than a historical work. His aim is to grasp the consciousness of Jesus with such precision that we may be able to say: Whatever were the external circumstances of His life, we know how He would have acted. He proposes to trace out the image of Christ while avoiding the double danger of Ebionitism (Rationalism) and of Docetism (Orthodoxy); but accentuating the human side of the life of Jesus more than orthodoxy has done. Schleiermacher's starting-point is the absolute holiness of Christ, flowing from the perfect union of the divine nature and the human nature in His person. He does not conceal the fact that he brings his faith in Jesus to the study of His life. Now this faith attributes to the Lord a special dignity, a rank apart in humanity. What Schleiermacher wishes to do, is to show how the holiness of Christ is possible, and how it manifested itself in the conditions which are made for the development of man on this earth where sin reigns. The examination of the sources is treated somewhat summarily. Schleiermacher complains, not without reason, that the documents to be consulted do not contain all the elements which would be necessary for a complete biography. At the first brunt he renounces the attempt to carry out a rigorous chronology.

The book is divided into three parts. The first part treats of the life of Jesus before His public ministry. Schleier-

¹ Das Leben Jesu. Herausgegeben von Rüttenick, 1864.

macher does not admit the miraculous birth of Jesus. A chapter deserving to be specially indicated is that which is devoted to the analysis of the consciousness which Jesus had of Himself, of His nature, of His relation to God, and of His mission. Schleiermacher shows victoriously that Jesus has not had to assimilate laboriously the Messianic idea, seeing that it rested naturally in the depths of His being, and formed one of its constitutive elements. In His case the development did not consist in a violent conquest of His own ideal, but in the normal and progressive passage from perfect innocence to the entire possession of Himself. (The perfect holiness of Christ implies His infallibility, which was also progressive, but restricted to the purely religious domain.) Schleiermacher does not admit that Jesus had conceived a plan properly so called.—The second part is consecrated to the public life of Jesus. Schleiermacher does not even attempt to sketch His activity in a chronological order. He prefers to found on the Gospel according to John, the authenticity of which he admits, and which, without pretending to give a biography, is more homogeneous in all its parts, and less fragmentary in the discourses. Schleiermacher accepts the idea of miracle, or rather of the *σημεῖον*, but he modifies it profoundly, and brings it into relation with the spiritual power of Jesus, the effects of which, whether on persons or even on nature, are not yet well known. In another part, however, Schleiermacher does not understand that Jesus performed any other miracles than miracles of charity on living and believing persons. The exposition of the doctrine of Jesus occupies a large place, but it departs too much from the texts, and is wanting both in clearness and simplicity. Schleiermacher does not admit any fundamental difference between the preaching of the Master and that of His disciples; but he distinguishes between the positive teaching of Christ and the starting-point to which He attaches Himself, and which is usually a general idea accepted by his contemporaries. This idea, accidentally admitted by the Saviour, ought to be eliminated whenever it is recognised.

Schleiermacher in this regard still holds too much to the theory of accommodation, as it was set up in the rationalistic school.—The third part of the book treats of the passion of Jesus. It is the weakest part of it. Schleiermacher does not take into account the greatness of the drama; and his hypotheses, advanced to explain the supernatural facts which it presents, are either little to the point or not very happy. (Thus, to explain the resurrection he has recourse to the hypothesis of a lethargy from which Jesus awoke on the third day. In like manner, he preferred the idea of a second death rather than His ascension.)

X.

Schleiermacher published in 1810 an encyclopædic Outline of the theological Sciences. It was entitled a *Short Exhibition of Theological Study*,¹ and it was composed in the form of short paragraphs. It is a model of logical sketching traced out with a firm and vigorous hand. Schleiermacher seems to be only sketching out the form of the theological system; but in reality this form, this method, already implies the fundamental basis of the science. It is a first splendid attempt to present theology as a complete scientific organism, and to conquer definitively for it the rank of a science.

Theology, according to Schleiermacher, is a positive science, in the sense that it includes the whole of the scientific elements necessary for the accomplishment of a particular task. This task is the government of the Church. Theology is, therefore, the Science of the Church; an admirable definition which secures to theology its character as both scientific and practical. Two conditions, according to Schleiermacher, are indispensable to the theologian: the religious interest and the scientific spirit.

¹ Kurze Darstellung des theologischen Studiums, 1810. 2nd edition with explanatory Notes in 1830. [Brief Outline of the Study of Theology, drawn up to serve as the basis of introductory Lectures. To which are prefixed Reminiscences of Schleiermacher by Dr. Friedrich Lücke. Translated from the German by William Farrar, LL.B., Edin. 1850.]

Schleiermacher divides Theology into three principal branches: Philosophical Theology, Historical Theology, and Practical Theology. 1. Philosophical Theology exhibits the essence of Christianity as a particular mode of belief, in opposition to other modes of belief, and the form of Christian community, as well as their necessary relations. 2. Historical Theology describes Christianity in its real appearance. In order to govern the Church, it is necessary to know it as it is disclosed by the documentary records of the past. 3. Practical Theology traces out the particular rules of the art of governing the Church with its varied applications. Schleiermacher places Historical Theology in the centre as the principal object of theological study, linked on to Science by Philosophical Theology, and to the Christian life by Practical Theology. In thus raising Theology to the rank of science, Schleiermacher secures for it an imperishable value for the development of the piety and life of the Church.

I. PHILOSOPHICAL THEOLOGY starts from a point above Christianity in the general idea of the religious community. Every theology ought to begin by a critical examination of the essence of Christianity, and should thereafter take up the examination of the essence of Protestantism. From such examination, theology draws the principles necessary, either for the defence of Christianity against its adversaries without, which gives *Apologetics*, or for the preservation of Christianity against possible aberrations within, which gives *Polemics*. Apologetics defends the rights of Christianity as a particular historical religion; and in this connection it gives account of its origin, dealing with the ideas of Revelation, Miracle, and Inspiration. This origin is not absolutely supernatural. There exists an historical connection between Christianity and Judaism as well as Paganism. In its quality as a historical phenomenon, Christianity is subject to the law of development, and it presents variations. This gives the ideas of the Canon and of the Sacraments. Schleiermacher shows that the divergences which these ideas have undergone do not put

the essential unity of Christianity into danger. As to Polemics, it describes and repels the unhealthy manifestations of Christian piety: Indifferentism and Separatism, Heresy and Schism. In all this part of the subject, Schleiermacher insists on the necessity for the theologian of fixing rightly the principles according to which he defines the essence of Christianity.

II. HISTORICAL THEOLOGY ought to be treated as a branch of Modern History. The historical knowledge of Christianity is indispensable to those who wish to act in an intelligent manner upon its development. It embraces three subdivisions.

1. *The knowledge of primitive Christianity.* By this Schleiermacher understands the period of the formation of the Christian doctrine and of the Christian community. The study of the documents which belong to this period gives birth to Exegesis. Schleiermacher insists on the distinction between the Canonical Writings, or those which contain an exposition of Christianity that is normative for all time, and the Apocryphal Writings. It is not possible to fix the Canon in an unvariable manner, either by means of external testimonies or by internal arguments. The person of Jesus Christ, with all that flows immediately from it, is alone absolutely normative. The Protestant Church is unceasingly occupied in determining what is canonical. It is precisely the task of the higher criticism to examine whether all that is in the sacred collection finds a place there with full right, and whether there is anything out of it which may not deserve to find a place in it. Schleiermacher refuses the Old Testament all normative character. He finally traces out the rules which constitute good exegesis. These rules make it incumbent to have a perfect knowledge of the original languages, as well as to explain a writing in its relation to the whole of the conceptions of which it is the product, and by the knowledge of everything which has relation either to its author or its readers. The auxiliary sciences of Exegesis have not yet acquired the importance that they deserve,

and the task of exegesis itself is still far from being accomplished.

2. *Historical Theology properly so called.* Schleiermacher demands that we distinguish between what is the product of the original power of Christianity, and what is due either to the nature of the organs of its development, or to the action of foreign principles. He wishes that a distinction be likewise made between the development of doctrine and the development of the ecclesiastical life; and in connection with the latter, that the distinction be also observed between Christian worship and Christian morals.

3. *Dogmatics and Statistics.* Schleiermacher arranges Dogmatics among the historical sciences, as embracing the knowledge of the doctrine actually alive in the Church. What is paradoxical or erroneous in this assertion, disappears when it is considered that Schleiermacher declares that the treatment of Dogmatics is impossible without personal convictions. He confines himself to demanding that Dogmatics shall be always drawn from the flowing current of the historical development, and that it be attached in an organic manner to the religious tradition. Schleiermacher wishes that the dogmatic theologian shall show both how the dogmatic principle of a period is developed in every sense, and what are the germs the development of which is preserved for the future. Dogmatics is the meeting-place of the traditional element and the individual element of Christianity. A dogmatic exposition is so much the more perfect, as it is not only declaratory affirmation of what is believed, but divinatory affirmation of what the future will believe. Schleiermacher expressly means to safeguard the rights of heterodoxy beside those of orthodoxy. (In a word, dogma, according to him, ought to be a living thing and perfectible. It must show itself always ready to make room for new conceptions.) Further, Schleiermacher explicitly reserves the liberty of the dogmatic theologian in face of the Confessions of Faith. He declares also that the division of dogmatic theology into a theoretical branch (Dogmatics) and into a practical branch (Ethics), is neither essential nor was it

originally proper to Christianity, although it is convenient to preserve it from regard to the requirements of exposition. Schleiermacher was also the first to point out the importance of *Ecclesiastical Statistics*, while including in them *Symbolics*.

III. PRACTICAL THEOLOGY.—Schleiermacher has the great merit of having accentuated the importance of this branch of theological science, which had been so much neglected by the orthodox and rationalistic theologians. It comprises the exposition of the rules which constitute the art—we had almost said the *tact*—of the Government of the Church. All this activity rests on the distinction between what Schleiermacher calls the advanced members and the masses, between those who are already leaders and those who are still weak in the faith; the former drawing out the activity of the latter, and the latter provoking the activity of the former. This activity operates by religious discourse and doctrine in worship, or by the direct influence of example on life. The activity of those who govern the Church is further distinguished according as it is exercised on the whole of the Church, or on a local community. In his theory of the Church, Schleiermacher takes the parish as his starting-point, that is, the union of a certain number of Christian families for worship and for defence of the religious interests. He points out the importance of Preaching as the centre of the worship. But beside the preaching there is the Liturgy and the Cure of Souls, as well as the ecclesiastical Discipline which is destined to watch over the purity of Christian morals. Schleiermacher proceeds expressly to defend the rights of individual liberty, and he recommends the pastors never to encroach on the domain of the consciences. The ecclesiastical administration ought to beware of making any assault either on the essence of Christianity, or on the autonomy of the congregations.

In the Administration of the Church, Schleiermacher distinguishes between the action of the ecclesiastical authorities, and that which each member ought individually to exercise. The authorities invested with the legislative power are charged with the function of favouring and protecting the free mani-

festations of the Church and its progressive development, whether in the sphere of doctrine or in that of worship and of Christian conduct. In the relations of the Church with the State, Schleiermacher recommends the avoidance both of impotent isolation and of richly endowed servilism. He raises, without resolving, the question as to whether the Church ought to receive her schools and academies from the State, or ought to create and maintain them herself. The supreme aim of the ecclesiastical authorities ought to be to seek after the union of all the Churches on the basis of the best understood Christian principle. As to individual action in the government of the Church, it implies the right of the widest publicity. It is to be exercised by the higher teaching in the theological Halls, by religious Literature, and particularly by Journalism.

XI.

The dogmatic theology of Schleiermacher was the fruit of his theological maturity. It is embodied in his dogmatic work, entitled: "The Christian Faith according to the Principles of the Protestant Church, exhibited in its connection" (1821).¹ When he published it he was fifty-three years of age. None of his works received so much labour or was so long in preparation. He aims at nothing less than reforming in an essential manner the traditional theological standpoint. Even in taking the received dogmas as his starting-point, Schleiermacher modifies them profoundly, and in a manner conformable to the needs and the spirit of his epoch. At bottom, his Dogmatics, as a System of the Christian Faith, is only the application to the whole doctrine of the Protestant

¹ Der christliche Glaube nach den Grundsätzen der evangelischen Kirche im Zusammenhange dargestellt, Berl. 2 vols. 1821; 2nd ed. 1831. Cf. Braniss: Ueber Schleiermacher's Glaubenslehre, 1822. Delbrück: Erörterungen einiger Hauptstücke in Schleiermacher's Glaubenslehre, Bonn 1827. Rosenkranz: Kritik der Schleiermacher'schen Glaubenslehre, Berl. 1836. Tissot: Introduction générale au système dogmatique de Schleiermacher. Chrétien Evangélique, 1853, and Bulletin Théologique, 1863. Bender: u.s.

Church of the new idea of religion which we have found in the *Discourses*. It is a masterly work, constructed in its entirety by the most ardent religious enthusiasm and the most vigorous dialectical power. It can only be compared with Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Schleiermacher expounds his subject in a series of paragraphs containing short substantive definitions and accompanied with extended developments. He professes to have specially created only the division and the definitions of his subject; but it is manifest that he impresses on the whole contents of his work the seal of his powerful individuality. We shall give a summary analysis of it.

1. *Idea of Dogmatics.* We cannot explain what Dogmatics is till after having taken account of the nature of the Christian Church. For Dogmatics is not a purely philosophical science; it is a positive science exercising itself on a given object, and this object is the Faith professed in the Christian Church. Now this faith or piety which is at the basis of the Church is neither a mode of knowing nor a mode of acting. It is primarily a feeling, a sentiment, a state of our consciousness. What distinguishes the religious feeling from all other feelings is that owing to it we are conscious of our absolute dependence on God. Further, the religious feeling, like every constitutive element of human nature, tends to communicate itself, that is, to form a community or Church. The various communities or Churches which history shows us are the result, or varied expressions, or different degrees of development of the religious consciousness. On the highest stage we find those expressions which proclaim the dependence of all that is finite on a supreme principle, the infinite: in other words, the monotheistic religions. Christianity is distinguished from the other monotheistic religions in that it carries back everything to the salvation accomplished by Jesus of Nazareth, and declares that there is no other way of participating in the fellowship of the Christian community than by faith in Jesus considered as the Saviour.

Religion is a natural thing, inasmuch as it constitutes part

of the very essence of man, and it is supernatural inasmuch as it implies the consciousness of the infinite in the finite. This consciousness is so immediate that it does not manifest itself by particular formulas or acts, but in the form of an internal personal experience. The great service which Schleiermacher renders to religion, is to assign it a sphere apart which is elevated above the antagonism of rationalism and supranaturalism. The supernatural or the unknown is to Schleiermacher the infinite, the universe, indeterminate being, the divinity of which man is conscious in an immediate manner. This divinity cannot be described in an adequate manner by science, because every description is a limitation, and because limitation is irreconcilable with the essence of God. Hence Schleiermacher has scruples about representing God as a personality. The supernatural reveals itself to human consciousness; but whenever the content of faith, as the organ directed towards the infinite, becomes an object of thought and of activity, we re-enter the limits of the natural. In Christianity, everything is therefore at once supernatural and natural. The religious experiences which it makes us realize are supernatural; all that can be presented in a scientific manner by instruction and demonstration is natural, that is to say, is rational.¹

Faith in Jesus Christ, by which we become part of the Christian community, is the fruit of an internal experience and not of a rational demonstration. It is therefore independent of prophecies, of miracles, of inspiration, or of the acceptance of certain historical facts by our reason. Dogmatics describes not doctrines nor facts which have been revealed in a supernatural manner, but experiences of the human soul, or the feelings which the religious soul experiences in its relations with Jesus the Saviour. Such description is quite a different thing from the piety itself, although all the propositions of Dogmatics have their source in determinations of the religious consciousness. Dogmatics will move on a firm

¹ Cf. Lommatzsch: Schleiermacher's Lehre vom Wunder und vom uebernaturlichen Zusammenhang seiner Theologie dargestellt, 1872.

foundation, and one that is suited for it, only when the dogmatic propositions shall have been entirely separated from speculative propositions. The former have a twofold value: an ecclesiastical value and a scientific value; and the more they are united with each other, the more perfect will they be. To rear the dogmatic propositions into a system and to show their necessary relations, is a thing as indispensable as to formulate them. (Dogmatic theology is the science of the doctrine professed by a Christian Church at a given moment of its historical development.)

2. *Method of Dogmatics.* The system of the Christian Faith forms a scientific whole made up of dogmatic propositions; and it is necessary in the first place to establish the rule according to which some are received and others rejected, and then to indicate the principle of their connection. For this purpose it is necessary to determine the essence of Christianity, and to ask in how many different ways it is possible to diverge from it, while preserving it in appearance. The most natural Christian heresies are *Docetism* and *Ebionitism*, *Manichæism* and *Pelagianism*. In each of them either the human nature or the person of the Saviour is presented in such a way that salvation cannot be realized. In like manner, it is necessary to take into consideration the opposition between *Catholicism* and *Protestantism*. (Catholicism makes the relation of the individual to Christ depend on his relation to the Church, Protestantism making the relation of the individual to the Church depend on his relation to Christ.) Every Protestant system of Dogmatics ought to have an original character; but this originality can only result from the desire of putting the Christian doctrine into a more vivid light. In like manner, the Church cannot pursue any end more elevated or more conformable to the Protestant principle, than to favour the original development of doctrine without prejudice to the Church itself.

All the propositions which aspire at finding a place in the organism of evangelical Protestant doctrine, should be able to invoke in their favour the testimony of the Confessions or

symbolical writings, and in default of these that of the writings of the New Testament, or at least to establish their connection with other propositions of which the truth has already been demonstrated. It is also necessary from the outset to proclaim that there are no essentials for Protestantism but the points on which all the symbolical writings are agreed, and that it is proper to consider the spirit of these writings rather than their letter. (As to the Old Testament, it has no normative authority for Dogmatics. Finally, the habit of supporting each proposition by isolated Biblical passages has been as fatal to the interpretation of Scripture as to dogmatics itself. It is above all things necessary to consider the complete development of the thought of the sacred authors.)

The dialectical character of its language, the choice of its formulæ, and its systematic disposition, assure the scientific value of dogmatic theology; and it is here that the influence of the reigning philosophical systems makes itself mainly felt, although the contents of Dogmatics may be in no way affected by them. Dogmatics starts from the fundamental internal fact of Christian piety, and it examines the various ways in which this fact appears modified in its relations with the other facts of consciousness. Now Christian piety rests upon the consciousness of the opposition between our own incapability and the capability which is given to us by redemption, to realize the postulates of that consciousness; and we shall embrace the Christian doctrine in all its extent by considering the religious feeling: 1st, in the manifestations in which this opposition is expressed most feebly; and 2nd, in those in which it is expressed with most force, and which will therefore reveal to us the most characteristic Christian elements. (Further, all dogmatic propositions are either descriptions of the human soul, or conceptions relating to the divine perfections, or assertions concerning the nature of the world.) It is under these three forms, which can only be repeated over again, that Dogmatics ought to be expounded.

Let us note another point before entering into details. Schleiermacher defines Christianity as "the religion of re-

demption." It is indispensable to understand aright in what way he conceives this redemption. In his view, salvation essentially consists in removing an obstacle which prevents us from attaining to a better state. The liveliness of our religious consciousness is suppressed by our carnal consciousness in such a way as almost entirely to prevent its realizing any religious feelings. The life of man thus appears cleft in two, sundered by a sort of moral abyss, with the consciousness of God on the one side, and the consciousness of the flesh on the other. The second, instead of being subordinated to the first, on the contrary, oppresses it. Redemption is destined to restore order and equilibrium, and to be effective in such a way that the religious feeling shall become the very principle of life. It liberates man from the oppressive yoke of carnal motives. He is saved who is capable of living the life of the infinite in the midst of the current of time and of finite things. Such a state of communion with God has been realized in humanity by Jesus Christ. He is the Redeemer. This is what explains His personality, and the central place which Dogmatics assigns to Him. He has been able to be the Redeemer, because His consciousness of God was not oppressed by His consciousness of the flesh, and because He had no need of a deliverance for Himself. Piety was perfect in His person. Dogmatics considers this redemptive perfection of Jesus Christ as a fact, the cause of which it cannot establish.

The adversaries of Schleiermacher would fain see in this supernatural element the vulnerable point of his Dogmatics. On the contrary, we find in it the affirmation of a truth which just separates him from rationalism. He is obliged to maintain that the appearance in the bosom of humanity of a consciousness such as that which Jesus of Nazareth possessed, constitutes a phenomenon that is inexplicable by the mere play of the forces of nature. Moreover, Jesus Christ, not being a fact of the internal immediate religious order, but an historical fact, and as such, the object of our knowledge, it follows that Dogmatics ought to indicate to us

the nature of His person, and the means by which we shall be able to assimilate the effects which flow from it.

So much having been said on the Idea and the Method of Dogmatics, we shall now be able to enter on the subject-matter, and to follow the plan sketched in detail by Schleiermacher.

3. *The World.* Inasmuch as in our immediate consciousness of ourselves we feel ourselves absolutely dependent, the existence of the infinite Being or God is found implied in that of our own being. The authentication of the fact that this feeling of dependence is an essential condition of our life, takes, in the view of Schleiermacher, the place of all the proofs usually advanced in favour of the existence of God. Moreover, these proofs could only constitute a sort of objective consciousness of God, which would not yet imply piety as such. Dogmatic theology addresses itself only to those who have an internal certainty of God. Schleiermacher does not approve of the use of these so-called rational proofs, either in the catechism or in sermons. Experience shows that they are absolutely impotent in face of theoretical atheism. Further, it is impossible to give to these proofs a dogmatic form, seeing that they cannot be carried back to assertions of Scripture, or of the symbolical books. The habit of surcharging dogmatics with proofs of this kind has its source in the confusion of philosophy with dogmatic theology, which dates from the Patristic period.

All finite existences depend on God. This means that God creates and preserves the world. These two expressions are absolutely identical; they are two forms of the same thought. The first form has rather a negative than a positive value, in this sense that it removes from the explanations that we can give regarding the origin of the world all the hypotheses which might be in contradiction with the pure expression of the feeling of dependence. The second form expresses this feeling itself in a positive and perfect way. Our religious consciousness does not furnish us with any indication regarding the manner of the creation of the world.

It is to the natural sciences that the determination of this point belongs. The time is now past when revelations concerning these sciences were sought in the Bible. Christian piety brings no other interest to these investigations than that of avoiding, on the one hand, the position that anything that has become is excepted from the action of God; and, on the other, the position that God Himself is to be included among what has become in the world. As to Angels and Demons, Schleiermacher says that the religious consciousness cannot actually affirm anything in regard to them. In the Scriptures themselves they are never the object of direct teaching.

The feeling of dependence is completest in us when in our consciousness we identify ourselves with the entire world, and when we unite in a common thought all that appears to us as separated and isolated. This view of all finite existences in the bosom of the infinite implies the concatenation and the most intimate connection of the phenomena of nature, including those to which our own dependence is bound. He who would see in this affirmation a concession made to pantheism, ought to remember that philosophy has not yet found formulae by which to express the relation of the world with God, and that even in the department of dogmatics, one cannot avoid inclining sometimes towards the identity which confounds them, and sometimes towards the dualism which separates and opposes them. The oscillations of thought between the conception of naturalism or pantheism, and the religious conception or dualism, with their intermediate shades, are inevitable; and in so far as they stimulate our thought, they are beneficent, as long as they do not produce troublesome consequences in practice. Piety does not demand Miracle in the absolute sense as violation of the order of nature, but only as manifestation of the divine omnipotence. It must be understood that what is called the usual course of nature, and what is called the supernatural course, are equally regulated by God. In what concerns man, if the good and the evil depend equally on God, the same will hold

of all the phenomena of the moral order included between this maximum and minimum. Finally, if liberty and mechanism equally depend on God, the same will hold of the whole sphere of the individual life enclosed between these two terms as between its two poles.

As to the theory of the Divine Attributes, it is less the product of a dogmatic interest than of a religious interest. Its aim is to translate the immediate impression which the Divinity leaves upon us in His various manifestations rather than to found a new cognition. Dogmatics should seek to render the anthropomorphic elements which have slipped into this theory as harmless for piety as possible. It ought not to see in the divine attributes a particular determination of God; neither should it attribute to them a speculative value, nor believe that they procure us a complete knowledge of God. They do nothing more than express the consciousness which we have of God in its various applications. The absolute causality which the absolute feeling of dependence implies, is distinguished, on the one hand, from that which is proper to the *nexus naturæ*, and, on the other hand, it resembles it as to its extent. In relation to this latter it takes the name of Omnipotence; in relation to the changes and variations which nature presents, it is Eternity. Eternity excludes only the limit of time; Omnipotence likewise denies that of space. In the finite world we distinguish between living forces and inert or dead forces. As the latter have no existence for God, He possesses the greatest intensity of life or omniscience.

The world created by God is clothed with the highest degree of perfection. This perfection consists in its offering to man an infinite mass of stimuli for developing in him the consciousness of God. Owing to the richness of its materials, the world serves us both as organ and means of representation.

As to the original or primitive perfection of man, it consists—1st, in the capacity of his organism to be animated by his spirit, in the harmony of body and soul, and in the possibility of being able by means of the body to exercise an influence upon the rest of the world; 2nd, in the capability of

his intelligence to be stimulated by the world which surrounds him, or in the affinity of his reason with nature; 3rd, in the capability of his feeling to be excited and developed by community, or in the solidarity of men with each other; 4th, in the concordance of every disposition of man with the law of the Supreme Being, or in the accordance of the lower and the higher consciousness of the Ego. It is on this account that man is called the image of God. Moreover, the doctrine of the primitive state of man breaks on our incapacity to represent it to ourselves, and it cannot be erected into a dogma.

4. *Sin.* Our religious consciousness oscillates between two extremes, of which the one is the constant repression or stupid stagnation of the consciousness of God, and the other is its full preponderance of felicity or liveliness, owing to which every other fact of consciousness easily awakens it and powerfully stimulates it. Hence the opposition between the free expansion of the religious consciousness, which produces joy, and its compressed development, which is accompanied with displeasure. The result of this double phenomenon is communion with God and detachment from God. The special character of Christian piety, in so far as it rests on redemption, is to consider the detachment from God, which we call Sin, as our natural state, and to refer the communion with God, which we call Grace, to a special communication of the Saviour.

The consciousness of sin is produced when we feel that the religious consciousness is arrested in its free development, and that it has not been able to permeate the other active elements of our consciousness. Sin is the rebellion of the flesh against the spirit; or it is compression of the power of the spirit, which ought always to determine us, by the power of the flesh which declares itself independent. It is a constant experience that in every man the flesh is already a power, and shows itself active even before the spirit awakes. Original sin (better called "hereditary" sin), or the power of sin as pre-existing or existing prior to the sin of the individual, is an absolute inability to do what is good, though not to receive the power of redemption; for a receptivity for Grace is the

least that the idea of the primitive perfection presupposes. Absolute incapacity would exclude all the efficacy of grace and the possibility of amelioration. In this case it would be necessary to admit a new creation of man, which would render redemption useless. This receptivity is, besides, presupposed by the very appeals of the Saviour. Sin is the fault of each of us. For as it remains in the state of inherited disposition only till the moment when the proper activity of the man develops itself, and it is owing to this latter that the disposition becomes habit and virtuosity in sin; and, moreover, as what we have inherited is a small thing in comparison to what we add to it, it is to be presumed that even what we have received, namely, the propensity to evil, would not persist without the will of man. Inasmuch as this primitive disposition to sin is produced in each of us by others and is transmitted to others, it is something absolutely common. It is the common fact and the common fault of the human race. And it is precisely this communion in sin which necessarily produces the need of redemption. For without this, the individual man might be tempted to seek salvation, either from the community or from himself. This natural bond between the feeling of sin and the need of redemption, is broken in an untoward way when there is introduced into it the idea of the penalties which original sin deserves. For then the need of redemption is no longer so pure; it seems awakened only by the fear of punishment. Redemption is desired for the material consequences which it brings in its train. The Mosaic narrative of the Fall is not the history of a single temptation, but the symbolical representation of every temptation.

In the whole domain of sinful humanity there is not a single action perfectly good, representing the power of the religious consciousness in a manner absolutely pure; nor is there a single moment absolutely holy, in which there is not the least trace of opposition to God. Every one discovers in himself so many germs of evil, that, however little the solicitation is, it may be great enough for every evil to burst

out in every man, although it may not be shown habitually. Most of the categories of sin imply only a difference of form and appearance, and not an inequality of value. The only important distinction is that which relates to the sins of the regenerate, in whom the power of sin is already broken and on the point of disappearing in such a way as no longer to produce effects either on the authors of the sin, or on its victims. For this very reason these sins are remissible or are pardoned beforehand. The sins of the unregenerate, which act in a fatal way on themselves and on their neighbour, arrest the development of the spiritual life in the individual and in humanity at large, and cannot be pardoned as long as the man is not regenerated.

The influence of sin on the world is very sensible. If the flesh predominates, if the world acts upon us in a repressing way, sin necessarily draws evil in its train. The world appears to man otherwise than it would have appeared without sin. All that lessens the plenitude of the means which favour the development of man, all that diminishes the formableness of the world by man, is evil. Evil is the punishment of sin.

According to Schleiermacher, evil is therefore no longer to be regarded as the consequence of an incomprehensible act called the Fall, the author of which was a supernatural evil, that is to say, Satan. Man wished to realize the ideal type of the primitive perfection which he carried in himself, but he was not able to do so on account of the preponderance of his carnal consciousness over his religious consciousness. Sin is irrational, inasmuch as the carnal consciousness puts itself into opposition with the consciousness of God by which it ought to be ruled; it is rational, inasmuch as man is at once a carnal being in his relations with the world, and spiritual or supernatural in his relations with God. The true relation between the two elements of his nature ought to be realized through the way of free moral development. (Sin cannot constitute an infinite trespass (*culpa*), the consequence of which would be an eternal punishment. A finite cause can produce only a finite effect. It follows from the

theory of Schleiermacher that some are received sooner, and others later, into the community of redemption. There is only one divine predestination: that of the elect, or of the redeemed. All men are destined to become such. Sin is to disappear.)

In so far as sin and grace are opposed to each other in our consciousness, God cannot be the author of the one in the same way as He is of the other. But as we are conscious of grace only in its relations with sin, the latter must also exist in the will of God and be ordained by Him, were it only as something which has to disappear. (God has willed sin as He has willed the finite. It is impossible not to carry it back to Him also as the divine causality.) God is holy, inasmuch as He makes us feel every deviation from His will as sin in our consciousness, and as suppression of life. God is just, inasmuch as He has made evil the consequence and the punishment of sin. Punishments cannot be considered as means of improvement; for fear does not produce a more potent consciousness of God and a greater spiritual liberty, as without this a perfect system of penalty might advantageously replace redemption. The aim of punishment is to prohibit evil and to inspire fear.

5. *The Person of Jesus Christ.*¹ The religious consciousness tells us that the source of felicity here below dwells in the current of the new divine life which acts counter to the current formed by the life of sin. When we speak of a current of divine life, we do not understand the benefits which flow for us from the culture of science, art, and industry, but we mean solely the salutary energy of the consciousness of God. It is only under this last relation that Jesus presents to us the ideal type of humanity. His spiritual nature cannot be explained by the environment to which He belonged, but must be regarded as derived from the general source of spiritual life by means of a creative act of God. In this way the laws of the historical development are not violated. From the day of his birth, the spiritual energies of Jesus

¹ Cf. Lickel: *Essai sur la Christologie de Schleiermacher*. Strasb. 1865.

were gradually developed, and His consciousness of God manifested His supremacy over the carnal consciousness only in the measure in which the various functions of the latter began to act. (Schleiermacher admits that Jesus was truly man, and that He was as such subject to the laws of all human development. He resembled His contemporaries and His fellow-countrymen; and He participated to some measure in their national character. Now the Divinity cannot subject itself to these laws; it cannot limit and divest itself. If Jesus was veritably man, He cannot also have been veritably God.)

Nevertheless Jesus must have possessed a unique perfection which determined His character as Redeemer. He is the ideal type of man. What exists in each man only in the state of idea, was realized by Him in His person. Schleiermacher cannot give a direct proof of this fact, but he shows that the contrary hypothesis is inadmissible. The life and even the existence of the Christian Church would otherwise remain an enigma. The perfection of Christ could not have developed itself from sin. Once more, Schleiermacher does not proclaim the absolute perfection of Christ; he claims it only in what concerns His religious consciousness, which must have been strong enough to give the impulse to His whole life. The appearance of such a consciousness, of such an existence of God in man in the bosom of humanity, remains a miracle; it cannot be explained by any historical connection with what preceded it. In a certain sense every man, every individuality, is a miracle. (But what is particularly miraculous in Jesus, what distinguishes Him from all other men, is that in His person the ideal type and the historical realization are absolutely blended and cover each other. In Christ alone has the consciousness of the Ego always been determined by the consciousness of God; in Him alone has the Supreme Being dwelt in a perfect manner. Christ is the only mediator of the life in God and of the revelation of God on earth. He carries in Himself, as in a fruitful germ, the whole new spiritual creation. All that Christ has been, He has become by a primitive communi-

cation of God owing to which He was freed from the influence of sin.) On this point, Schleiermacher has remained faithful to the supranaturalistic point of view of the traditional theology. But his opponents have observed that the absolute holiness of Christ is a question of fact, a problem which historical criticism alone can resolve; and according to the nature of the documents which we possess, this problem appears insoluble. Moreover, they ask what is this ideal type of man which Jesus is said to have realized? Is it not a pure abstraction, or rather a contradiction in terms; for can a single individual realize the type of the whole of humanity?

Schleiermacher, even while thus accentuating the perfect humanity of Christ, does not hesitate nevertheless to apply to Him the epithet "divine." The term "divine nature" best expresses, according to him, the indescribable power and the incomparable purity of Christ's communion with God. His personality was subject, not to the vices, but to the limits of our earthly condition; which in no way affects His religious perfection. (On the other hand, there is no religious necessity requiring us to admit the pre-existence of Christ. Schleiermacher finds that the testimony of Scripture is neither unanimous nor absolutely conclusive in this regard. As to the dogma of the Trinity, he relegates it entirely to an Appendix to his Dogmatics.)

6. *The Work of Christ.*¹ The redemptive activity of Christ consists in this, that as Saviour He communicates to the believer the power of His own consciousness of God, and consequently His holiness, His perfection, and His felicity. He thus makes the scission cease which existed between our higher consciousness and our carnal consciousness. Neither struggle, nor pains, nor sufferings are spared us on this account, as Christ also has suffered; but they lose their bitterness, they penetrate no more into the internal life so as to carry trouble into it. The activity of Christ alone corresponds entirely to the divine will. No man is just by himself before

¹ Cf. Bonifas : *La Doctrine de la Rédemption de Schleiermacher*. Montauban, 1865.

God. But in living communion with Christ, each of us renounces being anything for himself. When united with Christ and animated by Him, we have become, so to speak, an integrant part of His appearance. God can now take pleasure in us.

Regeneration is the creation of a new force which penetrates more and more into all our activity, so as to constitute a life like that of Christ, at once holy and happy; it is the re-establishment of the life of God in man. It embraces Justification and Conversion, which are one and the same thing, namely, the beginning of a new life: the first regarding it from the point of view of God, the second regarding it from the point of view of man. Conversion is the passing from the communion of sin to that of grace. Its two elements are repentance and faith. Repentance is the regret which sin inspires in us, joined with the resolution to change our conduct. Faith is the assimilation of the holiness and felicity of Christ. Sanctification is growth in the life begun from the moment of regeneration. The believer is transformed by degrees with all his faculties into a true individuality which carries in it the source of its spiritual life, and becomes the instrument of Christ.

7. *The Church.* The Church is the community in life of those who have accepted redemption and are united with Christ. Its origin may be contemplated, first of all, from the point of view of the divine government of the world, in this sense that those who form the Church ought to be separated from the world. This gives the doctrine of Election. (Just as Christ did not come at the beginning of the world, but in His own time, so is every one regenerated in his own time in such a way that it is impossible to think that it would have been better for him to be regenerated sooner. This is election.) On the other hand, the origin of the Church may be also contemplated from the point of view of the destiny of the world in this sense that the spiritual life created by Christ aspires to personify itself. This gives the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. Each one of those who find themselves in the state of sanctification,

when he unites himself to those who share the same faith, is conscious of being animated by the same Spirit, by a Christian common Spirit, which is the Holy Spirit; by the same love and similar aspirations. The Christian Church is the whole body of the believers animated by the same spirit. It is the image of the Saviour. Every one of its members realizes a particular aspect of it; and they have everything in common, their work, their merits, and their faults.

What is immutable or essential in the Church must be distinguished from what is variable or accessory. What is immutable is the spirit of Christian fellowship, with the means of grace in which that spirit manifests its power. What is variable is constituted by the forms which the Church as a historical power puts on in the life of the peoples when it aspires to permeate the world more and more with the spirit of Christ. What is called the Invisible Church, or the church of the Regenerated, is, for the greater part, not invisible; and what is called the Visible Church, or the Church of the baptized, is, for the greater part, not the Church. Schleiermacher insists much on the idea of a living fellowship or community, in opposition to a State Church or a theological and clerical Institution. The spirit alone unites; it is essentially the religious element in the Church. Conception, ideas, acts, institutions divide; it is these that have given birth to the different Churches into which Christianity is sundered. The more the Spirit penetrates the mass, the fewer divisions there are, and the more do they lose their importance. The more religion there is in the Church, the more aspiration also is there towards union. On the contrary, the more theology and hierarchicalism reign in the Church, there is also the more confessional separation.

This idea of Christian community also modifies the traditional doctrine of the supernatural character of the Means of Grace. Faith is not produced by the supernatural testimony of divinely inspired infallible Scripture, but by Christ communicating Himself to the faithful in the Church, by the purely moral effects of the spirit of the Christian fellowship.

The writings of the New Testament are likewise in themselves products of this spirit of Christian fellowship, so powerful in the first century; and hence their character of normative authority. But the spirit is a spirit of truth, of investigation. It brings with it continual progress; it reforms the canon unceasingly; it recognises and sanctions the unprescribable rights of criticism.

Setting out from the idea of Christian community, Schleiermacher insists much on the doctrine of the Universal Priesthood. He desiderates that a distinction be made between the members of the Church who are more active and those who are more receptive; he recalls, however, the fact that this distinction rests not on a special divine institution, but on a natural inequality which exists between them, and which should tend to disappear. The ministry of the Word and also the administration of the Sacraments are acts of the community. Baptism is the act by which the community receives each member individually into its bosom. The Lord's Supper is the act by which the communion of life with Christ is preserved in a particularly energetic manner in the bosom of the community.

We find nothing special in the chapters which treat of the completion of the Church, or of the Last Things, nor in those concerning the divine Attributes which are related to redemption, such as love and wisdom. We have already said that the Dogmatics of Schleiermacher terminates with an Appendix devoted to the critical examination of the dogma of the Trinity.

Such, taken as a whole, is this work which was received with a feeling of hostile stupefaction by rationalists as well as the upholders of orthodoxy, by the theologians of the speculative school as well as those of the critical school. The author himself said of it that it would be an enigma to his contemporaries, seeing that it contained a prophetic element which the future alone would be able to turn to account. The dogmatic theology of Schleiermacher is in fact

the most magnificent attempt at a reform of Christian doctrine which has been made since the Sixteenth Century. It marks the end of the era of dogmatism, and realizes the fundamental idea of Protestantism, namely, that Christianity is primarily a power of spiritual life. Incomprehensible in its origin, historical in its appearance, divine in its truth, human in its reality, the Gospel is at once supernatural and natural; it is the union and reconciliation of the two spheres. It has as its aim the moral and social renovation of humanity by the spirit of the fellowship of the Christian community, which is no other than the spirit and the life of Christ. Schleiermacher decidedly accepts religion under the form of Christianity; but, on the other hand, he accepts in Christianity only what is essentially religious. On this account it is necessary for him to rest directly on what is most profound in the religious consciousness. To him there are no more magical or mythological elements; but Christ is the ideal type of humanity, endowed with a marvellous power of attraction, and realizing in each individual the life in God, whose kingdom on earth He came to found. Such is the fundamental and true idea of Schleiermacher's *Dogmatics*.

We shall not insist on the errors or the deficiencies contained in the work which we have just analysed. They stand out sufficiently, and we shall have more than once occasion in the sequel of this history to show wherein the successors of Schleiermacher have corrected or completed his work.

The imperfection of certain particular details, the adoption of a terminology that is often obscure, abstract, and equivocal, and the absence of precision in certain developments of its rigorous dialectic, should take nothing from the merit of a work of such powerful originality in its conception, and which responded so perfectly to the needs of the time. Like all truly creative geniuses, Schleiermacher may be said to have not so much reared a structure completed at all points, as to have enunciated a principle of rare fruitfulness for the future.

XII.

His whole life through, Schleiermacher occupied himself by predilection with all that relates to the moral sciences. With the exception of the *Monologues*, his *Critique of the previous Systems of Ethics*, and the papers which he composed for the Academy of Berlin,¹ he published nothing himself on this subject; but this was because he had not yet found the definitive form which he wished to give to his System of Ethics, philosophical as well as theological. The subject seemed to him so vast, so new, so difficult to embrace with precision, and so overflowing! No one more than Schleiermacher has made his contemporaries better admire the incomparable riches which Christianity contains from the moral point of view, but neither has any one attached morality to religion with a firmer hand by showing the indissoluble bond between them. If the task exceeded his strength, he has at least most clearly caught the end in view, and fixed the definitive landmarks of moral science.

Schleiermacher takes an intermediate position among those of his contemporaries who have treated the same subject. While Kant and Fichte, in an exclusive and abstract manner, make morality consist in individuality, and Schelling and Hegel, on the contrary, make it consist in abandonment to the universe, Schleiermacher strives to show how abandonment to the universe and the affirmation of individuality are two inseparable elements of all true morality. Without the character of universality, there is no reason; without the character of individuality, there is no nature. The moral good is the unity of reason and nature.

The works of Schleiermacher on Philosophical Ethics and on Christian Ethics have been edited with difficulty from

¹ Ueber den Tugend- u. Pflichtbegriff. Ueber den Begriff des Erlaubten. Ueber den Begriff des höchsten Gutes. Ueber den Unterschied zwischen Natur- und Sittengesetz. Berl. 1816

manuscript lectures, and published by his friends since his death.

The *Philosophical Ethics*¹ of Schleiermacher, like his Dogmatics, has as its starting-point the religious consciousness. The consciousness of God which opens to us the knowledge of the infinite, is the foundation and source of the science of finite things, and in particular of Ethics. The task of Ethics is to know the essence of reason; and in this it is distinguished from the natural sciences which have as their object the knowledge of the physical universe. The world presents to us a mixture of nature and reason, which we can no more separate than we can separate the idea of God and that of the world. Reason is related to nature in such a way that nature is destined to become the organ of reason. Ethics is the scientific expression of the activity of reason directed upon nature. It ought to render us capable of realizing their unity, which at first exists only in an ideal manner. Ethics shows how the world becomes more and more an organ of reason, and in a way its most elevated expression, and how nature, as rebellious against reason, is destined insensibly to disappear. Evil is nothing but nature not yet penetrated and assimilated by reason; it is an irrational activity in opposition to rational action. It exists wherever reason has not yet become nature, nor nature reason.

We can now understand why Schleiermacher has not conceived of the moral good as a duty, that is, as something abstract which does not yet exist, but seriously as a being; not merely as a simple possibility, but as a reality, although not yet completed. Nature and reason, far from excluding each other, mutually designate each other, nature being predisposed and organized for reason. The opposition between the liberty of reason and the necessity of nature, is incessantly reproduced and also incessantly overcome.

Schleiermacher divides Philosophical Ethics into three

¹ Entwurf eines Systems der Sittenlehre, herausgegeben von A. Schweizer, 1835.

parts: 1st, the doctrine of Goods, or the progressive unity of nature and reason; 2nd, the doctrine of Virtues, that is, of the whole of the rational forces in nature which produce these goods; and 3rd, the doctrine of Duties, or the rule according to which these forces ought to act. Let us note further, that the doctrine of Community occupies a very important place in the moral system of Schleiermacher. In the individuals reason is incomplete; it becomes perfect only in humanity taken in its whole extent. This total humanity offers us various spheres of culture more or less extended: the Family, the State, Science, Society, the Church. Personality is complete only in the union of the sexes, that is, in the family. A union of families forms the people. In the bosom of the people, the cultivation of science, the need of sociality, and the aspirations of the religious consciousness unite men to each other: they seek to propagate what they have put and found in common. It is only in the community and in its service that the life and activity of man acquire a true moral value.

The *Christian Ethics*¹ of Schleiermacher rests, like his Dogmatics, on the principle of Christian piety. It has the same object, but it contemplates it from a different point of view. Dogmatics deals with ideas, Ethics with actions. The question of the former is: the religious consciousness being given, what is it that ought to be? The question of the second is: the religious consciousness being given, what is it that ought to become? The two sciences are closely united, but they may nevertheless be treated separately. Dogmatics expounds the Christian consciousness in its relative repose; Ethics expounds it in its relative activity. The content of Christian Ethics is the same as that of Philosophical Ethics. When the two sciences shall have attained perfection, the form alone of the exposition will differ, the one

¹ Die christliche Sitte nach den Grundsätzen der evangelischen Kirche im Zusammenhang dargestellt. Herausgegeben von Jonas, 1843. Cf. De la Morale Chrétienne de Schleiermacher, par A. Schœffler, 1854.

developing itself from the principle of Christian piety, the other from that of reason.

The special character of Christian piety being to consider all communion with God as determined by the redemptive act of Jesus Christ, Christian Ethics will be the exposition of communion with God as it is determined by communion with Christ, in so far as it is the moving power of all the actions of the Christian. It is the description of the mode of acting which flows from the reign of the Christian consciousness.

Christian Ethics, like Dogmatics, refers everything to the Church. But in order to accomplish this task it finds much less aid than Dogmatics in Scripture and the Confessions of Faith. It is often obliged to keep to the λόγος ἀγραφος of Christian or Protestant practice, which is very variable. Ethics therefore moves in limits much less precise than Dogmatics.

How does the Christian consciousness become the moving spring of our activity? How does it produce actions? The communion of man with God by Christ is the state of felicity. If this felicity were absolutely perfect, man being entirely satisfied would not find in it any impulsion to further activity. But this is not the case. This felicity, still imperfect, is only in the state of becoming, and, as such, it provokes in us alternatively movements of pleasure and of displeasure: of pleasure, in so far as we compare our anticipated felicity with its contrary; of displeasure, in so far as we compare it with absolute felicity. But in either case it is to communion with God that we aspire; it is that which becomes the impulse of our activity. Unhappily this communion with God is far from being realized, especially at the start of life, when all our impulses are dictated to us by the inferior power which holds us captive; the superior power not being yet awakened, or not being at once in a state to dominate us entirely. In the consciousness of the Christian there is always a residue of the independence of the inferior power, a desire of the flesh against the spirit, a repression of the spirit which is felt as displeasing. This displeasure

engenders the will to conquer the independence of the flesh, to subject the inferior power to the superior power, and to re-establish the disturbed normal state. Hence an activity, which we may call restorative or purifying activity, is applied to bring it about that the spirit shall rule the flesh as the organism in which it moves.

To this activity there is opposed another which has pleasure as its impulse, and which is the propagative activity, or the education which seeks to awaken the higher life in our neighbour. To these two activities, which rest on the opposition between pleasure and pain, there is added a third, which flows from the feeling of satisfaction or relative contentment. It does not refer itself in an essential and immediate manner to a special part of life, and is not destined to produce a modification of it. It is simply the expression of an internal state without effective activity properly so called. Schleiermacher calls it by the name of representative activity, either for itself or in view of others.

According to these data, the following is the plan on which Schleiermacher constructs the system of Christian Ethics. A. Effective Activity: I. Purifying or Restorative; 1. In the Christian community; *a.* exercising itself from the community on the individual (Ecclesiastical Discipline); *b.* exercising itself from the individual on the community (Ecclesiastical Reform). 2. In civil life. II. Propagative; 1. Exercised directly by the Church itself. 2. Exercised by the Church (the Christian principle) in its relations with the State. B. Representative Activity: 1. In that state of consciousness in which the spirit in the Christian sense is the central function (Worship, including in it Life). 2. In that state of consciousness in which intelligence in the human sense is the central function (Life of Society, Art).

We shall not enter further into the details of this work of Schleiermacher, in which there breaks out, more than in any other, his rare talent of analysing the human heart and describing the infinitely varied applications of the principle of Christian Ethics. To the moralist it presents an

inexhaustible mine of ingenious observations and fertile discoveries.¹

Schleiermacher's work on *Practical Theology* was likewise published posthumously,² and as we have already had occasion in various relations to unfold its views, we shall not analyse it in detail. The First Part of this work comprises the doctrine of the Service of the Church: 1st, Worship, including Liturgics, Hymnology, and Homiletics; 2nd, the functions of the Pastor distinct from worship, including religious Instruction, Mission Work, Care of Souls, Pastoral Prudence. The Second Part is devoted to the doctrine of the Government of the Church, dealing with its Constitution, its relations with the State, science, and social life; but it is much less developed than the First Part. What we ought mainly to mark in this work is its constant struggling against the clerical spirit. To Schleiermacher the Church is neither essentially a school, nor even an institution having a distinct organism from that of the State; it is the collective whole of those who wish to be united with each other in order to be identified more and more with their ideal type, Jesus Christ. Schleiermacher continually strives to keep within its true limits the necessity of promulgating ecclesiastical regulations, in order not to injure the right of free movement which Christian individualities possess. It is by his person much more than by the prestige of his title and his functions that the pastor ought to act upon the faithful. The totality of his ministry ought to be only the expression and the manifestation of the totality of his religious life. It may be further added, that as all theology has a practical character in the view of Schleiermacher, he strives all the more to treat this essentially practical subject with entirely scientific vigour.

¹ See also from this point of view his *Pädagogik, oder Erziehungslehre*, herausgegeben von Platz, 1849.

² *Praktische Theologie*, herausgegeben von Frerichs, 1850. Cf. Lange: *La théologie pratique de Schleiermacher*, Strasb. 1868.

Surrounded by his three daughters, the two children of Willich, and numerous relatives and enthusiastic pupils, Schleiermacher tasted all the sweet delights of the family life. His faithful companion showed him a devotion that was without limit. The only son of Schleiermacher, his dear Nathanael, died at the age of nine years, and it was a heart-break to the father. His own feeble constitution caused him almost daily suffering, which he bore without murmuring. He sought to forget his suffering in his work, for he said, "I have no time to be ill." He gave himself entirely to everything he did, but he could pass with a marvellous facility from one subject to another. Society, even when numerous and frequent, far from fatiguing him, refreshed his spirit. He liked to employ his holidays in excursions or journeys on foot. He thus traversed successively Thuringia, Saxon Switzerland, the banks of the Rhine, the Tyrol, Bavaria, and the district of Salzburg. In the year which preceded his death he visited Sweden and Denmark, where he received brilliant ovations. He had in all respects a beautiful and fresh old age.

The piety of Schleiermacher, without essentially changing in character, became more warm and serene at the approach of the floods of light with which it was soon to be overflowed. It was his understanding rather than his heart which conceived of Christianity in a manner different from his early days. "The pious prophet of religion has become a positive theologian," he said, speaking of himself. It was not a rupture that he thus indicated, but an evolution. In modifying his views he always remained faithful to himself. This evolution was facilitated by his pastoral ministry, which kept the fundamental note of piety vibrating.

On the 12th February 1834, Schleiermacher succumbed to an attack of inflammation of the lungs after twelve days of acute suffering. Never did the slightest complaint or the least murmur escape from his lips. He awaited with calmness and serenity the hour of his departure. "In my soul," he said to his wife, "I taste the purest joys. The profoundest

thoughts visit me and mingle with my most inward feelings." He desired to communicate with all his family; and, the arrangement being made, he himself pronounced the words of consecration. "I have never been the slave of the letter," he added, "but I press these words of Scripture to my heart; they are the foundation of my faith. We are, and will remain, united in the communion and love of our God." Having said these words, he replaced his head on the pillow, drew a breath, and his life closed.

Thus passed away one of the most beautiful individualities, one of the grandest sons of genius of modern Germany.

CHAPTER III.

THE DISCIPLES OF SCHLEIERMACHER.

I.

NEANDER takes his place at the side of Schleiermacher, not only as his friend and colleague, but as the most eminent of his disciples. It would be interesting to draw a parallel between these two men from whom the religion and theology of Germany have derived such great benefits. Neander owes much to Schleiermacher, who was twenty years his senior. He is far from having the same degree of creative genius or original power as Schleiermacher; but, on the other hand, it may be affirmed that in a certain sense he happily corrects and completes him. If we chiefly admire in Schleiermacher his speculative talent and that vast and penetrating intellect, which was capable of embracing the whole domain of the religious life and all the branches of theology, and of fertilizing them by the new ideas that he shed into it, we find in Neander more of the understanding for history, for facts. His spirit was practical rather than speculative. The manner in which Neander contemplates and writes history is, moreover, the best recommendation for the justness of the views of Schleiermacher, as it is their product and fertile application. Neander possessed the happy gift of comprehending the concrete phenomena of history. He, too, considered Christianity as the leaven destined to permeate and transform society; and thus guided by a sure tact, he has been able to seize what was most true and most practical in the ideas of Schleiermacher. Being by nature more approachable and more familiar than the author of the *Discourses on Religion*, Neander

was also more popular than he was. His modest and lovable personality fascinated all who approached him. The aroma of the true Christian humility escapes from his peaceful and laborious life, consecrated entirely, in the companionship of his aged mother and his sister, to the good of his fellow-men and to the glory of God. Although of a feeble and sickly constitution, Neander was able to exercise an immense influence as a writer and as a professor. He has been a blessing to many souls.

JOHANN AUGUST WILHELM NEANDER¹ was of Jewish origin. He was born at Göttingen on the 17th January 1789. His father, Emmanuel Mendel, was a merchant, who appears to have been unfortunate in business, and to have left his family in precarious circumstances bordering on want. His mother, Esther, a relative of the philosopher Mendelssohn, was a pious woman and an affectionate mother. She transferred her family to Hamburg, where the young David—for this was his Jewish surname—attended the gymnasium from 1803. His diligence and capacity drew upon him the attention of the rector Johann Gurlitt, who formed a lively affection for him, and did not cease to follow him with marks of the most delicate kindness till his death. It was owing to him that the young scholar received various scholarships which enabled him to complete his studies in law. Neander felt a lively interest in the ancient classics, and particularly in Plato. He found in his writings that love of the supreme good, that aspiration towards the still veiled ideal of holiness, which he felt in himself. The Gospel, to which he had been led by the reading of Schleiermacher's Discourses, exercised the same mysterious attraction over him; and his upright soul, in which

Cf. Krabbe: A. Neander, ein Beitrag zu dessen Charakteristik, Hamb. 1852.
 ug: A. Neander, ein Beitrag zu dessen Lebensbilde, Stud. u. Krit. II. 2,
 Hagenbach: Neander's Verdienste um die Kirchengeschichte, Stud. u.
 H. 3, 1851. Ullmann: Zur Charakteristik Neanders, Stud. u. Krit. II. 1,
 See also the Articles by J. Monod and Scherer in the Revue de la Théol.,
 1 serie, i. pp. 190, 213. Jacobi: Erinnerungen an Neander, Halle 1882.
 Neander's collected works have been published in the original in 14 volumes at
 a, 1863-1875. [English Translations are indicated below under the refer-
 to the particular works.]

there was no guile, threw itself with a curiosity mingled with ineffable presentiments into the study of the sacred Books. From them he derived the assurance, that in this Jesus, this Messiah rejected by his people, were the sources of eternal life. (It was with a profound conviction that in 1806, at the age of seventeen, he received baptism, and took the name of Neander, in indication of this new birth which the holy water symbolized. He adopted the surnames of his protector, the rector Gurlitt, and his two beloved fellow-students who assisted in this solemn act, Varnhagen von Ense, the *litterateur*, and Neumann, the philologist.) Among his acquaintances of this period we also find the merchant Sieveking and the poet Chamisso. The letters addressed by him to the latter, as well as the profession of faith which he delivered to pastor Bossau, enable us to read in the depths of the soul of the young neophyte. We discover in it a religious feeling at once candid and ardent, and which, in order to give itself expression, chooses a theosophic and romantic form. The Christian dogma is to him a symbol which he idealizes in the manner of the time.

It was his uncle Stieglitz, a medical councillor at Hanover, who decided Neander to give up law for theology. To carry out this resolution, he betook himself to Halle. Full of a juvenile enthusiasm for science, and surrounded by friends who showed him a tenderness mixed with veneration, he gave himself to study with extraordinary ardour. He discovered immediately the special field which was to form his sphere of work, and he cultivated it with love: we mean, of course, the History of the Church. At this period two men exercised a powerful though different and unequal influence over him. The first of these was Schleiermacher, then professor at Halle, who, notwithstanding their difference of age, treated him as a friend rather than as a pupil. Before knowing him personally, Neander had already felt himself drawn to Schleiermacher by his Discourses on religion and by his translation of Plato, which had not a little contributed to awaken in him the deadened chords of the religious sensibility. It was

owing to Schleiermacher that he occupied himself with the psychological analysis of the religious sentiment, and that he studied its origin, its developments, the diverse phases that it passes through, and the manifold forms that it puts on. Further, it was Schleiermacher who made him understand the importance of Christian fellowship in community, its particular nature, and its part in history. And, finally, it was to Schleiermacher that Neander owed the organic method which he has been able to apply with so much felicity to the exposition of the history of the Church.

But Schleiermacher was not himself a historian; and Neander found the further guidance which he needed in the influence of G. J. Planck, whom we have already characterized. The events of 1806 had forced Neander unwillingly to transfer himself from Halle to Göttingen. In Planck he found combined many of the qualities which distinguish the historian: erudition, impartiality, charity, an elevated feeling of his mission and of the influence exercised upon the present by the study of history,—that *magistra vitæ*, as the venerable professor of Göttingen called it. He strongly encouraged Neander in his first attempts, and drew from him a promise to begin by the publication of monographs, the fruit and interest of which he eloquently described.

In 1807, Neander went to Hamburg by Hanover, and the journey was of particular importance to him. At the house of his uncle Stieglitz he found Professor Frick, who drew his attention to the imperfections of the system of Schleiermacher, and advised him to study Christianity in its sources. On his return from Hamburg, Neander prepared himself by lectures and sermons to enter into the subject of practical life. The writings of Claudius, and, above all, the personal relations which he had with the *Wandsbeck Messenger*, were not without further influence upon him. He preached his first sermon at Wandsbeck on 1 John i. 5 and following verses. In a new profession of faith which he delivered on this occasion to his friends, Neander gives proof of much more positive Christian convictions, and he declares at the same

time that the history of the Church was decidedly his vocation. He found new and precious encouragements in the learned and pious publisher, Friedrich Perthes, whose noble character has been sketched in an interesting biography.¹ In the midst of the political and moral weakness from which Germany was then suffering, Perthes had conceived the most elevated idea of the mission which the function of the publisher could fulfil. He made it a duty to favour by all means the publication of works which were of a nature to raise the courage and to awaken the faith of his contemporaries. He was naturally interested by preference in religious works, and above all, in biographies of the heroes of history; and he became the friend and publisher of all the works of Neander.

(Neander was appointed Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Heidelberg in 1811, and a year afterwards he was called to Berlin.) There he found Schleiermacher, with whom he entered into the most agreeable relations. His friend Lücke introduced him to De Wette, to whom, as well as to his colleague Marheineke, he at first felt himself little attracted. The War of Independence of 1813-14 emptied the lecture-rooms; and Neander's class, which afterwards counted several hundreds of students, was reduced to five or six. He had himself thought for a moment of joining those who were going to deliver the German fatherland from the Napoleonic yoke, but he was forced to renounce this project by his sickly constitution and by family considerations.

His first monograph appeared in 1812 on the *Emperor Julian and his Age*.² It presents us with an animated picture of the struggles between Christianity and paganism at this period of transition. Neander knows thoroughly the art of sketching on a limited canvas, so as through the figures of

¹ Friedrich Perthes *Leben von Cl. Th. Perthes*, 3 vols. 1853. [Memoirs of Frederick Perthes; or, Literary, Religious, and Political Life in Germany from 1789-1848. From the German of Clement Theodore Perthes, 2 vols., Edin. 1856.]

² *Ueber den Kaiser Julianus und sein Zeitalter. Ein historisches G.* 1812.

great individualities to show the historical tendencies which meet, cross each other, and clash in a given epoch. For his first work (the only one which he never wished to reprint), he made choice of an individuality which was absolutely repugnant to him, in order to have so much the more merit in being impartial. Accordingly it may be said of this monograph, which was worked out from a very conscientious study of sources, that it is neither a panegyric nor a condemnation of Julian, but a really objective work of history.

After Julian, it was the turn of *Saint Bernard*.¹ Neander devoted himself with a very special interest to the study of Saint Bernard, with whom he was in profound sympathy, essaying at once to concentrate in this grand figure all the features which distinguish the physiognomy of the Middle Ages, and to find the inward principle and spring which explain the extensive activity of this "ideal monk," as Luther called him. Neander sketches in a living manner the struggle between the priesthood and the monarchy which was then going on as the chief interest of the century. At the same time, he characterizes with the hand of a master the philosophical discussions between Saint Bernard and Abelard, and shows the dawn of a new era brought in by the reorganization of the monastic orders. This monograph is perhaps the most finished of the historical works of Neander. In it he eminently reveals the rare talent he possessed of combining the individual element and the universal element, that is to say, of embodying in a powerful individuality the whole spirit of an epoch.

The attention of Neander had already been turned when a student to Gnosticism, that curious and important phenomenon of the Second Century, that first attempt at speculative theology which drove Christian dogma into new paths. In the struggles to which the gnostic systems gave rise in the bosom of the Church, Neander saw the agitation of two problems, the solution of which livingly interested

him. On the one hand, Gnosticism showed the influence of pagan speculation and Jewish ideas on the formation of the Christian dogmas; and, on the other, it occasioned the examination of the relations between faith and knowledge (*πίστις* and *γνῶσις*) which is found at the basis of the gnostic systems. Neander had already published a Latin dissertation on Clement of Alexandria, that sympathetic predecessor of Origen, towards whom he had felt himself drawn by a sort of spiritual affinity. He treated the question of Gnosticism in a learned work on the *Genetic Development of the chief Gnostic Systems*,¹ a work which has had a deserved celebrity in the history of theology. Among all those who have approached this difficult subject, Neander occupies one of the first places by his talent in grouping these systems, which are so complicated and sometimes so closely like each other, by his elucidation of their fundamental thought, which is often confused and disguised under the pleasing veil of allegory, by his explanation of their genesis, by analysing them into their constitutive elements, and referring them to the known ideas of Judaism or of paganism. Perhaps he is too much inclined to show their origin in the Neo-Platonic philosophy, and his division into Judaizing and anti-Judaizing gnostic systems may seem insufficient. Recent investigations have doubtless enlarged the sphere in which these bold speculations move, and have enriched it with elements unknown to Neander. But as the work of a pioneer in a still uncultivated field, and as a psychological study of the internal genesis and of the organic construction of the principal gnostic systems, the work of Neander retains an enduring value.

Two other important monographs soon followed the essay on Gnosticism. These were devoted to *Chrysostom* and *Tertullian*. In the former,² Neander applies himself mainly to bring to light the grand character of this preacher of the

¹ *Genetische Entwicklung der vornehmsten gnostischen Systeme*, 1818.

² *Der heilige Chrysostomus und die Kirche besonders des Orients und dessen Zeitalter*, 1822.

¹ *Der heilige Bernard und sein Zeitalter*, 1813. [The Life and Times of St. Bernard. Translated by M. Wrench, Lond. 1813.]

Eastern Church, and the influence which he exercised on his age. He tries to explain the source of his powerful practical activity, and is led incidentally to touch certain questions of organization and worship that were agitated in his own time. Rich in facts of every kind, this study of Chrysostom perhaps errs by too great prolixity. In the work on Tertullian,¹ Neander seeks to disentangle from the realistic language, often coarse and confused, and the Punic Latin of this Father of the African Church, the Christian thought which he presents in its struggle with the gnosticism and paganism which, in a very subtle way at times, sought to invade the Christian Church. He also sketches in broad lines the first lineaments of a science of Christian Ethics which he finds disseminated in the various apologetic works of Tertullian. It is to be regretted that the biographical part of this work has been too much sacrificed to the exposition of ideas, which in its turn is somewhat lacking in precision.

II.

These two last studies, as we have seen, brought Neander to the examination of questions of a more practical kind. He felt himself driven to them. He earnestly desired to exercise a direct influence upon the destinies of the Church, to spread his views, and to resolve the difficult questions which were rising. He had not exactly taken a direct part in the reorganization of the Prussian Church, but he had at all points approved and supported the line of conduct pursued by Schleiermacher. A zealous partisan of the Union, he had viewed with regret the encroachments of the Government in a question in which everything should be subordinated to the initiative of the parishes; and he deplored the indefinite adjournment of the scheme of giving to the laity a larger participation in the affairs of the Church. Nor

¹ Antignostikus, Geist des Tertullians und Einleitung in dessen Schriften, 1825. [First Planting of Christianity and Antignostikus. Translated in Bohn's Standard Library, 2 vols.]

had he been able to see without the liveliest apprehensions the political reaction gaining ground from day to day, and compromising the dignity of the Church, and the effectiveness of its action by imprudent alliance with religious orthodoxy. He saw the liberty of teaching violated on the occasion of the removal of De Wette, and although he differed from his colleague in his dogmatic opinions, he did not the less loudly raise his voice in his favour. He separated himself likewise with credit from the *Evangelical Gazette*, when in Articles full of violence it denounced and pointed out to the severity of the Government two professors of Halle who were accused of rationalistic tendencies. To him it was repugnant to apply coercion in the service of Christianity, considering that it would be well able of itself to make its way in the world without the support of political power, and knowing that the divine persuasion which emanates from the evangelical doctrine shines forth the better the less it is accompanied by motives and arguments which are foreign to it. Let us add, that Neander manifested the most earnest interest in the work of missions, and that it was in great part in order to propagate that work among his contemporaries that he published his *Memorials from the History of Christianity and Christian Life*.¹ This book contains a rich gallery of portraits and animated narratives of events in which the marvellous effects of the Gospel are displayed. It presents a series of witnesses who by their life and their works rise to attest the power of the Christian faith, and who, by their varied aptitudes and characters, demonstrate the axiom so dear to Neander, that Christian unity not only subsists in diversity, but that it is even in the variety and fertile richness of its forms and appearances that it prefers to manifest and display itself. Not long after, in 1826, appeared the first volume of his great *History of the Christian Religion and Church*,²

¹ Denkwürdigkeiten aus der Geschichte des Christenthums und des christlichen Lebens, 3 vols. 1822. [Memorials of Christian Life in the Early and Middle Ages. Translated by Ryland in Bohn's Standard Library.]

² Allgemeine Geschichte der christlichen Religion und Kirche. The first volume appeared in 1826; the fifth in 1845. The 2nd ed. revised began to

which was to be the capital work of his life. It was continued up to the period of the Reformation, at which it was unhappily interrupted by his death. The materials of this work had been gathered through a long period of preparation. His monographs had familiarized him with the most important parts of his subject; and little more was required than to connect the different periods with each other, and to supply some parts that were wanting. Neander, however, had hesitated long before applying himself to the work. His modesty made him doubt of his capacity and his power to carry it satisfactorily through. And yet who could relate the history of the Kingdom of God and its progress in the world better than he, who united in so high a degree the scientific knowledge and the religious feeling necessary for the accomplishment of this task?

Neander's History of the Church may be said to be permeated throughout with the Christian spirit. To a profound knowledge of events and ideas, of facts and dogmas, the author joins a unique faculty for discerning what is and what is not essentially Christian. In opposition to the rationalism and supranaturalism, which could conceive of Christianity only as a doctrine produced by reason or by a supernatural revelation, he apprehends it as a force, not indeed springing up from the hidden depths of human nature, but issuing from heaven in favour of humanity which could not give it to itself. This force, superior in its essence and in its origin to all that human nature can create by its own means, has communicated to it a new life, and has effected in it a radical transformation. But although Christianity entered into humanity as a higher transforming principle, it was not to propagate itself only by miracles; but, on the contrary, to submit itself to the conditions and laws of development imposed on all human phenomena. This movement is pos-

appear in 1842. A supplementary volume was published by Schneider in 1852. A complete 3rd edition appeared in 1856 in 2 vols. [Neander's Church History. Translated, with general Index, in 10 vols., in Bohn's Standard Library.-- Another Translation by Joseph Torrey, in 9 vols., in Clark's For. Theol. Library.]

sible, because human nature has been created in view of this higher principle, and reveals a real affinity with it.

The history of the Church is the history of the permeation of human life by the principle of the divine life, which has been communicated to it by God in Jesus Christ, according to the law indicated in the admirable Parable of the Leaven which gradually permeates the whole mass. Christianity, conforming itself to the indefinite variety of human nature, adopts forms indefinitely varied. Just as the originality proper to each individual, far from being destroyed, is consecrated, and, as it were, spiritualized by the gospel, so does each Christian life reproduce the life of Jesus Christ under a particular form. Neander was the first to understand that in narrating the history of the Church it was the history of the Christian life which it was above all incumbent to trace out, and in some sort to reconstruct. Without making the least sacrifice to science, and by substituting, on the contrary, a rich study of sources for the psychological artifices by means of which others had believed that they could explain events, he gives to the edifying element an important place, and the tone of the Apology is involuntarily substituted for that of polemics. There is no display of erudition, and yet one feels that everything has been drawn from the sources, which an examination of the notes would confirm if need be. The research and the affectionate respect devoted to every individual feature which history reveals to us, joined to great largeness of spirit and to a true toleration, are the chief characteristics of this work. It may be found that the element of the individual is more accentuated than that of the community, as also that the internal life preponderates in the description over the external life, and that history thus understood runs the risk of becoming a gallery of biographies, or more exactly, of subjective portraits. Neander's style is copious, impressive, popular, and perfectly clear and correct.

Let us note another feature of the work. The Church whose origin, successive developments, and varied manifestations are related by Neander, is not this or that particular

Church, but the Church universal and invisible in its essence: it is the kingdom of God, the destinies of which are not bound to this or that transitory formula or symbol, or to such or such an imperfect institution. The principal agent which determines its progress is the Holy Spirit, the spirit of Christ acting in the community of believers which He has founded. Accordingly the duty of preserving intact and of maintaining for the salvation of the world the deposit of the revealed tradition, or the Word of God, is not made incumbent on a privileged caste, a sacerdotal body, a clergy, but on all the members of the Church, on all the believers. Neander insists much on the doctrine of the universal priesthood, and by the way in which he has conceived the relations between the individual and the Church, he is one of those who have most efficaciously prepared for the triumph of the cause of Christian individualism.

III.

But to this great work on the history of the Church the peristyle was still wanting. Neander had reserved the subject of the *Apostolic Age* in order to treat it apart.¹ This was not because the material was less familiar to him; for from the time of his coming to the University of Berlin, he had professed the Exegesis of the New Testament concurrently or alternatively with the History of the Church. But of all the subjects in the vast field of history, this one appeared to him to be the most difficult; and although it had not yet been worked by criticism in every relation as it has been to-day, the clear insight of Neander foresaw that this would be the battlefield on which the various theological tendencies would have to engage in their decisive combats. Neander has been reproached for not having taken an independent position towards his subject, and for not having given

¹ Geschichte der Pflanzung und Leitung der christlichen Kirche durch die Apostel, als selbständiger Nachtrag zu der allgemeinen Geschichte der christlichen Religion und Kirche, 2 vols. 1832. [First Planting of Christianity and Antignostikus. Translated in Bohn's Stand. Library. Also translated in Clark's Bib. Cabinet, vols. xxxv., xxxvi.]

sufficient importance to criticism, nor having examined any question to the bottom. He is also accused of showing a regrettable precipitancy in his conclusions. It is true that he does not proceed by a historico-grammatical method. Without disdaining the light which the philological examination of texts can cast upon questions of authenticity, and without underestimating the importance of these questions, he believes that there is another method available for understanding the Apostolic Age, which was at once more simple, more certain, and more fitted in any case to his own capacities. It is what we might call the psychological method.

Starting from the point of view that Christianity is a principle of life which adapts itself to all individualities in order to transform and regenerate them, even where preserving their particular physiognomy, Neander applies himself to a profound study of the various types of doctrine or of Christian testimony which are found in the writings of the New Testament. He investigates their character, origin, and successive developments in the primitive individuality of each author, and in the modifications which his conversion to the gospel must have brought to his views. Hence the four principal types to which Neander reduces the apostolic doctrine: those of Paul, of James, of Peter, and of John. He has been reproached with having neglected or lessened the divergences which exist between them, and with having blunted their angles in order the better to reduce them to unity by showing how all the four may be derived from the same principle of life which animated them. If the procedure is not entirely satisfactory in its results, which we will not dispute, it cannot be blamed in itself; for critical science will not have really accomplished its task till it has reduced to the doctrine of Jesus and explained by it all the assertions of His disciples.

Neander has also the merit of having powerfully contributed to the progress of that new science which we call Biblical Theology, and which is destined to exercise such a happy influence on the development of Dogmatics. We

believe that the importance of his book on Apostolic Christianity lies mainly in this; for it seems to us that in the discussion of the facts, events, dates, and chronological march of the Apostolic Age, Neander has not displayed that clearness and precision, that certainty of perception, and that firmness in exposition to which he has elsewhere accustomed us. This other interesting fact may, however, be pointed out, that in his discussion of the organization of the primitive Churches, Neander, with his just historical sense, proclaims distinctly that the principle which regulated the matter was that of the autonomy of the Christian community, and that the theory of Episcopacy, and still less that of uniformity in matters of ecclesiastical organization, should not be sought for in the New Testament.)

The objections which were raised against the method employed by Neander in his *History of the Apostolic Age*, were reproduced with more force and with greater ground on the appearance of his *Life of Jesus*.¹ The discussions occasioned by Strauss's *Life of Jesus* had decided him to make this publication. The King of Prussia, being desirous to prohibit the circulation of Strauss's book in his dominions, had asked the opinion of Neander. The historian declared himself strongly opposed to so illiberal a measure, and one which in any case would prove so little effective, saying that the only means of combating the influence of the incriminated book was to refute it. He had set himself to the task in this view with an abnegation all the greater that he keenly felt the difficulty, and perhaps also recognised the insufficiency of the results to which he could come. Let so much be said at the outset in order to avoid misunderstanding.

The tone of the book is not exactly polemical. It is only accessorially in his Notes that the author discusses the views of Strauss. Neander wishes to attempt a construction of the life of Jesus, but without undertaking a preliminary

¹ Das Leben Jesu Christi in seinem geschichtlichen Zusammenhang und in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung, 1837. [Life of Christ. Translated in his Stand. Library.]

examination of the sources. We feel that there is a certain hesitation and an anxious groping in presence of the narratives of the Sacred Books. It is difficult exactly to make out the position which the author takes with regard to them. Does he admit their absolute authenticity, or does he concede the possibility of error and the influence of legend? Evidently Neander accepts the possibility of miracle and the presence of a supernatural element in the life of Jesus, and yet he cannot keep himself from lowering down the accounts, from attempting explanations or attenuations, and seeking to reduce the prodigies narrated in the Gospels to natural phenomena. He wishes to take from them anything that seems to give too great a shock, and whatever there is in them that threatens to wound, if not the reason, at least the taste of modern readers. In other words, he distinguishes almost always between the miracle in itself and the impression which it must have produced on the witnesses and on the narrators. He admits the miracle, but he discusses the narration of it, or the impression it left, and shows that sometimes the consequences which the witnesses have drawn from it are not legitimate, or at least that they do not necessarily flow from the miracle itself. Hence in Neander's exposition there is a certain vagueness, a certain arbitrariness, and, in fine, a certain subjectivism. If this reproach is well founded, we ought none the less to give Neander the credit of his good intentions. The more he is convinced that with the elements which we possess it is impossible to write a life of Jesus, and that this subject, however important it be, will always remain enveloped in a certain mystery (which is, so to speak, inseparable from it), the more does he likewise show reserve in his conclusions, which was not only the result of sincerity but of prudence. He does not consider that he is able to give the truth in such an arduous matter, but he wishes at least to state what is probable.

The method of Neander reveals to us another preoccupation with which he was also moved. He understood that it was impossible to approach the subject he treats without having,

as a preliminary, a certain idea regarding Jesus Christ, or in other words, without a dogmatic basis. Any one who, by other arguments and in consequence of other experiences independent of historical and exegetical investigations, does not admit that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, runs a great risk of understanding nothing of the Gospels. It is not that by means of them the impression produced on us by the divinity of Jesus Christ does not stand forth with evidence. Nevertheless in order to write the life of Jesus, it is necessary that His image be fixed and graven in us by the power of the Holy Spirit. Only then shall we really understand the isolated facts and the inner details of His life. This does not prevent Neander from showing the fully human side of Christ. On the contrary, the more he has secured and put out of all question the divinity of Christ, the more also does he believe it to be his duty to insist on the reality of His human appearance in opposition to the gnostic and docetic tendencies which have denied it. (It is one of the great merits of Neander's book, that he applied to Jesus Christ the ordinary laws of psychology, and showed that there was development and progress in His intelligence and in His holiness, but without His having ever passed through error or sin.)

IV.

During the last ten years of his life, the literary activity of Neander, without completely ceasing, hardly produced any new work. He continued to publish the volumes of his Ecclesiastical History, issued new editions of his early works, especially his monographs, and produced a series of incidental writings or articles in reviews.¹ Among these we find some meditations in religious philosophy, and especially two excellent articles on Pascal, in which he has elucidated the part played by the Christian consciousness. All the writings of Neander are, moreover, strewn with quotations from this thinker, for

¹ A number of these have been collected and published by Jacobi under the title of *Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen*, 1851.

whom he felt a very special sympathy. He caught the importance of Pascal's apologetic method, and like him insisted on the part which the will is called to play in the formation of our beliefs. In a sense, the will even precedes the intelligence: it is given only to those who seek God to understand Him, and the work of Christ becomes explicable only to those who submit to it and embrace Him with ardour. We may also refer to an excellently drawn sketch of the state of Germany at the close of the first half of our century, traced out by him only a few weeks before his death.

During his last years Neander suffered from an affection of the eyes which impeded him in his work, and prevented him from giving himself up to it with all the ardour which he felt. Nevertheless he discharged to the end of his life the functions and duties of his calling. He passed away peacefully after a short illness on the 14th July 1850. On his death-bed, he even prepared a chapter on the Brethren of the Common Life, which was designed for his great Ecclesiastical History. He paused in the midst of this effort, saying: "I feel tired; I wish to go to sleep." These were his last words.

One would have but a very imperfect idea of the activity of Neander, if he were considered only as a writer. It was chiefly in his professorial work¹ and in his study where he gathered his students twice a week, that it was given to him to exercise a fertile influence. Humility and warmth of conviction were united in his penetrating glance and thrilling speech. It was felt that there was more in him than the desire of communicating dry and perishable knowledge; there

¹ Neander lectured regularly on the History of the Church and the Exegesis of the New Testament, and but rarely on Dogmatics and Ethics. Besides some practical commentaries, there have been published from his MS. Lectures the following works: *Christliche Dogmengeschichte*, herausgegeben durch Dr. J. L. Jacobi, 1857. *Katholicismus und Protestantismus*, herausg. durch Meissner, 1863. *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Christlichen Ethik*, herausg. durch Erdmann, 1864. [Translations: *The Epistle of Paul to the Philippians*, and the General Epistle of James. To which is added a discourse on the coming of the Lord and its signs. Transl. by Rev. A. Napier, Edin. 1851.—History of the Christian Dogmas. Translated by Ryland. In 2 vols. Bohn's Standard Library.]

was the wish to save souls and to lead his hearers to the feet of the Master, from intimate communion with whom he had drawn the precious experiences that he felt himself compelled to communicate to others. Hence his incessant protestations against what might be called intellectualism, whether of a rationalistic or of an orthodox kind, in matters of religion, which aspires only to put reason into contact with natural or revealed truth, and to inculcate certain doctrines strongly without bringing the soul beforehand into a position to receive them by serious psychological preparation.

But what Neander disliked most, was everything that could arrest the development of the religious life, the mocking laugh, bantering and irreverent criticism, and the profanation of what is holy. He rightly judged that these were the true obstacles to the faith,—that trusting and filial faith which he had known so well how to realize himself. After the death of his mother, Neander lived alone with his sister, who for more than thirty years surrounded him with her lively affection and with her most devoted cares. Both of them did much good, and always in secret. It may be said that the science and faith of any man have been seldom so completely and touchingly in accord as in the case of Neander. Moreover, Neander, perhaps even more than Schleiermacher, was surrounded with testimonies of the affection and veneration of a great number of disciples. His influence has been immense. In an age of scepticism and criticism, he showed that theology is truly the science of divine things; and that if it is not this, it is not a thing of much moment. He has claimed boldly for piety its rights in face of or rather in the bosom of science, and has shown how the one may be conjoined with the other. But above all, he has shown forth the power of Christianity in history, and how in the most different epochs and amid the most varied circumstances, and in the most diversely endowed individualities, its mark may be found in the unmistakeable image of Jesus Christ.

The special gift of Neander, and the great joy of his soul, was to distinguish the human individuality under the Chris-

tian impress, and the Christian impress under the human individuality. But in order to do this, he needed that delicate tact, those instincts of patient sweetness and firm toleration, which animated him, and which have sometimes led to his being accused of indecision and inconclusiveness. His motto was: "*Pectus est quod facit theologum*;" and the attempt has been made to cast a reflection on his theology by calling it "pectoral" theology, because he has given a large place to feeling in it. The wisdom of the century may plume itself on a certain abstract worship of logic, and on an obstinate contempt for the noblest faculties of the soul; and in the eyes of the disciples of Hegel, both those of the orthodox Right and those of the radical Left, the theology of Neander may have appeared infected with weakness; yet this will not prevent us from finding it at once more modest and more scientific than theirs, because in spite of its hesitations and its want of sequence it approaches more nearly to the truth, that is, to the knowledge of God and the life in God.

V.

In the school of Schleiermacher we see a development manifested analogous to what took place in the school of Hegel. In it, too, we find a Right wing which tends to approach orthodoxy, and a Left which breaks with the last elements of supranaturalism retained by the master. Among the theologians who contributed most to give to the theology of Schleiermacher the character of a positive doctrine, we must put in the first line Nitzsch, one of the most striking, estimable, and sympathetic individualities which the modern science of Germany has produced.

CARL EMMANUEL NITZSCH¹ was born on the 21st September 1787, at Borna near Leipzig. His father was one of the most solid and independent theologians of his time, and he

¹ Cf. Beyschlag: K. E. Nitzsch. Eine Lichtgestalt der neuern deutsch-evangelischen Kirchengeschichte, 2 Aufl. 1882. C. E. Nitzsch und die evangel. Kirche der Preuss. Rheinprovinz. Protest. Monatsblätter, 1860, H. 3-11.

was called to Wittenberg as professor and General Superintendent of the Church. It was there that Nitzsch, the third of ten children, received his first instruction. From his childhood he was destined for the ministry. He was educated at home by young theologians whom his father brought to his house. What a pure and noble family life was that in which young Nitzsch grew up unfolding his powers, full of submission and respect, so that his father confessed that he had never caused him anything but joy! From his sixteenth to his eighteenth year, he resided at the celebrated gymnasium of Schulpforta. He was chiefly attracted by the poetry, history, and philosophy of antiquity. An earnest philological instruction familiarized him with the ancient languages; but he laments that he had not been better trained to express himself with facility in his mother tongue. His great moral superiority was remarked by his fellow-students, who surrounded him with an affection full of deference.

His professors in theology were Schröck and Tzschirner for Church History, and Heubner for dogmatic Theology. During his university studies, philosophy, the queen of the period, failed to turn him away from theology. His true master was his father, a man of clear and sober mind, a convinced partisan of Kant and Lessing, who had retained a wholly formal idea of revelation, but for whom, in reality, Christianity was identical with morality. At first young Nitzsch shared this mode of view, which was little in harmony with his mystical and speculative nature. But it was not long till he came under the influence of Schleiermacher and romanticism. His first dissertations were unconnected with dogmatic theology,¹ and they denote a mind inclined to scientific investigations on very special subjects. In 1810 he entered on the academic career as a *Privatdocent*; and at the same time he discharged the functions of assistant to his father. He acquired a rich treasury of experiences in the cure of souls during the difficult years of 1812 and 1813. Special mention ought to be

¹ De evangeliorum apocryphorum in explicandis canonicis usu et abusu. De testamentis duodecim patriarcharum libri veteris Testamenti pseudepigrapho.

made of the sermons which he preached during the siege of Wittenberg, and which were much more simple and more practical than those which he afterwards delivered. The professors of the University as well as a great number of the citizens had quitted the city immediately before the investment. Heubner and Nitzsch had alone remained in order to edify and console the population exposed to the horrors of the siege and bombardment. They saved the church when its roof was already commencing to burn. There was no safety except in the cellars. Nitzsch, however, continued his visits to the sick and to the prisoners at the peril of his life.

By the treaty of Vienna, Wittenberg passed to Prussia. Nitzsch was named professor in the pastoral Seminary, which in 1817 took the place of the ancient University, and he delivered lectures on the History of the ecclesiastical Life. At the same time he interpreted the Orations of Demosthenes and Chrysostom, and superintended the homiletical exercises. He continued to dine at the table of his father till he was thirty years old, when he married the daughter of Schumeder, the director of the seminary. On the occasion of the tercentenary of the Reformation, the University of Berlin bestowed upon him the degree of Doctor for a Latin dissertation on the dogma of the Holy Spirit.¹ While seeking to explain in a speculative manner the ecclesiastical doctrine of the Trinity, he draws attention to the fact that the essence of Christianity ought not to be sought in dogmas, but in the person of the Saviour and in His perfect holiness, which guarantees to us His nature as at once divine and human. But the efforts exacted by his double office of pastor and professor exceeded Nitzsch's physical strength. He was in consequence compelled to ask leave to denit his offices. He then accepted the post of ecclesiastical Superintendent at Kemberg (1819-1822), which he exchanged a few years after for the office of a professor in the University of Bonn.

His sojourn at Bonn, from 1822 to 1847, marks the culmination of his activity, in the full development of all his powers

¹ Das Theologoumenon vom Pneuma Hagion als Mutter des Christis, 1816.

and all his gifts. During this period he was the spiritual head of the Protestant Church in Rhenish Prussia.¹ He found a fruitful impulse in the contrast presented there by the majestic development of a powerful, rich Catholic Church, and that of the living Protestant communities endowed with a happy presbyterial and synodal organization. Nitzsch felt himself in profound harmony and intimate communion of ideas with his colleagues of the University, among whom were Niebuhr, Arndt, Brandis, Bethmann-Hollweg, Lücke, Sack, and Bleek. From eighty to a hundred students gathered around his chair, and among them there were many young men from Holstein and Switzerland. Nitzsch possessed the gift of exciting the attention of his hearers in the highest degree by his living, sober, and correct exposition. He made them in some sort accompany the genesis of his rich and profound thought, for which he sought, not without difficulty and struggling, an original expression. His hearers hardly knew what to admire most in him: his immense knowledge, or his penetrating thought, his perfect acquaintance with classical antiquity and Holy Scripture, his mastery of philosophy and the history of the Church, or the spiritual life, so intense and so spontaneous, by which he was able to group and dispose of these manifold materials in an organic manner. (He lectured on the most varied subjects: the Book of Wisdom, Biblical Theology, Introduction to the New Testament, Theological Encyclopædia, Ecclesiastical Law, the History of Missions, etc.) Among the literary labours of this period may be mentioned a *Memorandum* on the Prussian Ordinance,² and a *Letter to Delbrück*³ on the authority of the Holy Scriptures; two collections of Sermons; and a series of articles in the *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, of which he was one of the founders, and in which first appeared his *Reply to Möhler's Symbolics*.⁴

¹ Cf. Nitzsch und die evangelische Kirche der preussischen Rheinprovinz. Prot. Monatsbl. 1860, 8, 10, 11.

² Theologisches Votum, 1825.

³ Sendschreiben an Delbrück, 1827.

⁴ Protestantische Beantwortung der Möhlerschen Symbolik, 1835.

VI.

The most important work of Nitzsch, in which his views found faithful but laconic expression, is his *System of Christian Doctrine*.¹ We must pause for a little while over it. Notwithstanding a powerful tendency towards religious speculation, Nitzsch felt nothing but disinclination towards that theology, the issue of the Hegelian School, which regarded religious faith only as the imperfect and transitory form of speculative knowledge. He attaches himself closely to Schleiermacher, who himself described him as the man by whom he liked best to be praised and least to be blamed. His starting-point is the declaration of the independence of religion, which has its seat in feeling, in contradistinction to philosophic thought. He shows that religious feeling necessarily objectifies itself, and becomes on one side religious idea, and on the other moral law; and that it is consequently the primitive and creative unity of reason and of conscience, the centre and focus of all our spiritual life. Religious feeling or sentiment contains an idea, an immediate knowledge, which is its norm. This idea, in the language of Christianity, which has given the religious feeling its most developed form, is the Word of God historically revealed and assimilated by faith. It is this idea of the Word of God which marks the point at which Nitzsch has developed Schleiermacher's theology of the religious feeling, and has diverged from it. He distinguishes the Word of God from the Holy Scripture; it is composed of those elements of Scripture which can be assimilated by the religious feeling, and which concur in awakening, purifying, and developing the internal life. In this way, without excluding sacred criticism (whose rights are secured by the distinction between the Scriptures and the Word of God), the dogmatic theology of Nitzsch proceeds in a much more decided manner from Scripture than that of Schleiermacher.

¹ System der christlichen Lehre, 1829. [System of Christian Doctrine. Translated by Montgomery and Henneu, Edin. 1849.]

The Word of God, which manifests itself at once as one and as diverse in the living organism of the Holy Scriptures, indicates itself the various parts of which the Christian system is composed. It impels to speculation and fertilizes it, and thus becomes the basis of Christian religious Science. This Science has in the Holy Scripture the permanent source of its rejuvenization, without being compelled always to return to the mere letter of Scripture. Further, it has its history in the development of the Christian dogmas, which, in spite of all the errors and all the deviations it presents, yet reveals the internal law of progress in the truth which is its soul, and which leads science always to fathom better the depths of Scripture.

What further distinguishes the system of Nitzsch is the intimate manner in which he unites and combines the religious element and the moral element. He wishes to admit into Christian doctrine only what exercises an influence over the moral life, what is in direct relation with the saving forces of which he makes the essence of Christianity consist. The division of the work itself indicates clearly this ethical preference. The first part treats of the good, that is, of God and the creature; the second part treats of evil, that is, of sin and death; and finally, the third part treats of salvation, that is, of its incarnation in the person of the Saviour, of its assimilation by faith, of communion, and of the final consummation of salvation.

The work of Nitzsch has incurred a double reproach. As soon as it appeared, the author was accused of having betrayed the cause of science in despairing to construct a Christian system without referring to the practical wants of man, and without always making appeal to them by a sort of *argumentum ad hominem*. But it is precisely the tendency of modern theology to leave speculation more and more to philosophy, and to keep itself to the facts of religious experience, remembering that Christianity is less a dogma than a life. What may be blamed in Nitzsch's systematic construction is that he disjoined, under pretext of fusing them, the elements of

dogmatic science and those of moral science; and that he believed it necessary to exhibit the practical consequences which flow from each dogmatic proposition, although it is from the totality of the doctrine rather than from its isolated parts that Christian morals ought to flow. While intimately united by their principles, the two sciences nevertheless require separate treatment.—The second reproach referred to is of a graver nature. It concerns the very choice of the materials which Nitzsch has introduced into his system. In the case of many of them the religious character and the point of attachment to morals seem to be absolutely wanting; or they are otherwise not brought sufficiently into light. In the desire of wishing to preserve as far as possible the old formulas, or the old dogmatic ideas, Nitzsch has had to take recourse to a method of interpretation and of spiritualization which was not compatible with the subject-matter. Nitzsch wished to rejuvenize the doctrine of the Church by a more logical application of the Biblical ideas, and at the same time to render it acceptable to modern thought by more or less ingenious explications. (But the most of his theories on Inspiration, Prophecy, Miracles, and the Person of Jesus Christ, lack clearness and definiteness.) The conservative spirit which he obeyed, and the subtleties and obscurities, involuntary or voluntary, in which his thought becomes embarrassed, take away from the value of his work.

During his sojourn at Bonn, Nitzsch continued to combine the ecclesiastical activity with the academical activity. Animated with a profound love for the Church and humble desire to serve it, he considered Practical Theology as the crown of his university studies. With a rare intelligence, he supervised the homiletical Seminary and preached regularly in the University Church, showing great skill in laying open the veins of gold contained in Scripture, and speaking out of the abundance of a convinced heart. His preaching, unencumbered with oratorical ornaments, breathed a sort of contemplative calm. But in the pulpit he also failed to give a simple and transparent expression to his rich and profound

thought. As a member of the local Consistory and as Vice-president of the Synod, he exercised a happy and always respected influence on the ecclesiastical life of the province; and he remained a stranger to none of the questions which were then dividing the minds of men around him.

VII.

Nitzsch was the spiritual centre of the General Synod which met at Berlin in 1846, at a time when the tendency which he represented seemed about to triumph in the Protestant Church in Germany, and when the Prussian Government appeared disposed to grant it the liberal institutions which it had been so long demanding, and some elements of which the Rhine provinces alone possessed. In the chief question which was debated at this Synod, Nitzsch raised his voice against the dogmatic and legal authority of the Confessions of the Sixteenth Century, and even of the Apostles' Creed. The formulary of consecration which he had drawn up, and the adoption of which he proposed to the assembly, only enumerated a series of fundamental Biblical truths and facts. The most of the controverted dogmas were passed over in silence, and those which were adopted were expressed in the very words of Scripture. The attitude that Nitzsch took up on this occasion was strongly blamed by the orthodox party.

(After having refused ten successive calls, in 1847 he accepted one which came to him from Berlin, where he was to succeed Marheineke.) His biographer says that "it cost him much to separate himself from his beautiful and quiet house, with its garden and its view over the Rhine and the Siebengebirge, from the noble circle of friends who surrounded him, from that Rhenish Church to which he was united by such intimate bonds, and from all the life of Bonn, so rich as it was in joys and experiences." Times full of burning struggles awaited him in the cold and sandy capital on the banks of the Spree. At first came the revolution and

then the reaction, with a pharisaical fanaticism which was restrained only by considerations of worldly prudence, and they found an adversary rather than an ally in Nitzsch. It is to be regretted that his opposition was not firmer and more decided, and that he allowed himself to be carried away to troublesome concessions, especially towards the end of his life. Successively a member of the Consistory, of the higher ecclesiastical Council, and prelate of Berlin from 1855, by turns suspected and accused by the orthodox party and by the liberals, it was difficult for him to maintain his full independence. And yet the men of all parties could not help respecting him profoundly. In the councils, the conferences, and the great ecclesiastical assemblies, where the most noted representatives of the most diverse tendencies heard his word with veneration, he always appeared with that prestige and that unique ascendancy which are exercised by an individual clothed with a great moral authority. In politics he belonged to the liberal conservative party, which was seeking to give an ethical basis to the State.

He was one of the founders of the *Review for Christian Science and Christian Life*,¹ which was established to defend the Union of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches, and to refute by earnest apologetic Articles the attacks directed against Christianity. In 1852, at the height of the reaction, when the Union ran the greatest dangers, and an order of the Royal Cabinet intimated to the members of the higher ecclesiastical Council that they were to designate which of the two Churches they were to be understood as representing in the Council, Nitzsch alone declared that as for him he would continue to represent the united Church in it. In his work on the *Union*,² he sought to prove that its history was synchronous with that of the Protestant Church itself. He refuted those who mistook the actual needs of the Church as now raised above the divergences created by the dogmatic

¹ Deutsche Zeitschrift für christliche Wissenschaft und christliches Leben, 1850.

² Urkundenbuch der evangelischen Union, 1853.

struggles of the Sixteenth Century, and who saw in the Union only the caprice of the sovereign or the abandonment of the faith of the fathers. The idea of the Union which Nitzsch defended was that of a positive doctrinal union in reference to all the Articles of the Confessions of Faith which were not at variance with the Bible. He entered a second time into the lists with a vigorous reply to the objections of Kahnis, who had accused him of Catholicism, because he did not distinguish sufficiently between justification and sanctification.¹

Nitzsch dealt on several occasions with apologetic subjects either in reviews or in lectures. We may mention only his Articles on Melancthon, Gellert, Lavater, the Moravian Brethren, on Religion and History, on Christianity and the uncivilised Peoples, as well as his Lectures on Christian Doctrine delivered before students of all the Faculties.² But the chief work of his last years was his *System of Practical Theology*,³ in which he has raised an enduring monument, witnessing at once to his rare scientific penetration and to his great practical capacity. The fruit of long years of labour and Christian experience, this book is admirably arranged, and it presents real treasures of practical wisdom. The Christian ideal and the human ideal mutually permeate each other, and so much so that it appears with complete evidence that they have been made for each other, and that Christianity fully attains its end only if it succeeds in penetrating with its spirit into all the relations and connections of entire humanity, and in such a way that humanity will realize its destiny only by more and more complete assimilation of the Christian spirit.

From 1863, Nitzsch's health, and especially his eyesight, insensibly declined. He was obliged to give up his lectures,

¹ Würdigung der von Dr. Kahnis gegen die evangelische Union u. deren theologischen Vertreter gerichtete Bedenken, 1854.

² Gesammelte Abhandlungen, 2 vols., 1863. Academische Vorträge über die christliche Glaubenslehre für Studierende aller Facultäten, 1859.

³ System der praktischen Theologie, 3 vols., 1847-67. See also his collection of sermons (Predigtsammlung), published by Marcus at Bonn in 1867.

and to demit his offices one after the other. He was even forced to renounce several publications which he had projected. Soon more alarming symptoms set in. He fell into a state that approached childishness, or rather into a sort of somnolence, which, however, took away none of his moral grandeur. For a last time, he wished to take up the pen to defend in a popular writing the favourite idea of his whole life, that of the Union, on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of its institution. He was not able to do it. He likewise felt a keen desire to preach, and he delivered admirable addresses to the persons immediately around him. A gentle death came, on the 21st October 1868, to deliver his worn-out soul. "My conceptions of the future world," he had written a few days before, "become more concrete in proportion as I grow old, and I have the sweet certainty that my abode is prepared for me up there by the well-beloved ones who have gone before me."

It is difficult to draw a faithful portrait of his individuality. One day he said: "God has given me few passions." But it was not only his temperament, it was also the powerful discipline of his mind which enabled him to keep within bounds, even in the most agitated moments of his life, and to combine great sweetness with immovable firmness. The more profound and penetrating his look was, the more it seems—rare though it be—that his judgment of persons was kindly. His erudition, his richness of thought, and his speculative genius excited admiration; but what filled his pupils and friends with veneration for him, was the profoundly religious and moral character of his individuality, the visible union of his doctrine and life.

The principle of Nitzsch's theology was to assimilate the most disparate and refractory objects to his thought, to get to the bottom of all phenomena, to reanimate the dead letter, and to quicken and spiritualize antiquated dogmas and extinct traditions. To an extensive knowledge of historical and philosophical science he joined a mystical and speculative spirit. Exquisite delicacy of religious sentiment was never associated

with a judgment more solid or more persistent. The strength, as well as the weakness, of Nitzsch is his somewhat hasty association of a profound religious feeling with the ecclesiastical formulas, and a somewhat constrained fusion of the Idea and history. What is lacking is the intermediate links of connection, the critical sense which selects and purifies. This absence of criticism explains the mixture of idealism and of inappropriate expressions which characterizes Nitzsch's theology. He possesses the rare talent of spiritualizing dogma, and of thus creating an illusion in those who accept it. But this illusion dissipates in consequence of a more sustained examination and more mature reflection; it is possible only owing to the involuntary obscurity in which the thought of Nitzsch is enveloped. He has been called the Heraclitus of the modern theology. This obscurity has its source in his inner nature, which was very primitive, rich, and spontaneous, and which incessantly struggled in search of an original expression for original thoughts. Clear, luminous, simple reason is wanting in Nitzsch, who, as regards form, is in all points the opposite of Voltaire. He seeks for conciseness in a way that is almost morbid. Moreover, he seems himself incapable of sustaining the weight, or shall we say the illusion, of the dogma thus idealized by the force of subtlety and obscurity; he thus falls again into a sort of positivism, and bends under the objectivity of the ecclesiastical formulas. Everything in him comes ultimately to attempts or speculative endeavours.

VIII.

AUGUST DETTLEW CHRISTIAN TWESTEN may be placed along with Nitzsch. He was born in 1789, became professor at Kiel in 1819, and at Berlin in 1835, where he remained till his death in 1876. He has made himself remarkable by his talent for clear exposition, which is rather correct than profound. He presents Christianity as rising from the sphere of internal experience; and he strictly separates dogmatics from philosophy. His *Lectures on the Dogmatic Theology of the*

*Lutheran Church*¹ remain unfinished. The first volume contains the Prolegomena to Dogmatics; the second is devoted to the doctrine of God and the Angels. Twesten takes as his starting-point the dogmas that are generally regarded as invested with the ecclesiastical sanction, and he proposes to show their religious as well as scientific value. Accordingly he does not undertake to select for himself the materials destined to form the object of his examination. He fears that his impartiality in the choice that he might make, would be suspected. He prefers to use the manual of De Wette, who seems to him to have collected, in the most judicious and impartial manner, the materials which compose the ecclesiastical doctrine.

JULIUS MÜLLER may be next mentioned. He was born at Brieg in 1801, and died at Halle in 1878. He studied law before devoting himself to theology, became a professor at Göttingen, then at Marburg, and lastly at Halle, from 1839. He is a disciple of Neander rather than of Schleiermacher. In his writings he has waged a bitter polemic against the Hegelian philosophy and the criticism of Baur. The most important of his works is an extensive treatise on the *Christian Doctrine of Sin*.² In this work he applies himself to defend the idea of personality and liberty in God and in man, and as against pantheism and determinism. God, being a personal and free Being, cannot be bound by the laws of nature. His will places Him above them, and this establishes the legitimacy of the point of view of supranaturalism. As to the antinomy which results from the affirmation of the moral liberty of man and the affirmation of original sin, it finds its explanation in the hypothesis of the pre-existence of

¹ Vorlesungen über die Dogmatik der evangel.-lutherischen Kirche, 2 vols. Kiel 1826. We may also note his monograph on Matthias Flacius Illyricus. Berl. 1844.

² Die christliche Lehre der Sünde, 2 vols. 1839, 5th ed. 1867. [The Christian Doctrine of Sin. Translated from the 5th edition by Urwick. T. & T. Clark. Müller has also written Articles in the Deutsche Zeitschrift für christl. Wissenschaft u. christl. Leben, 1850-61.]

human souls and in a determination of the will, which is represented as going back to this pre-terrestrial period. This doctrine, which is a renewed form of that of Origen, Jacob Böhme, and other theosophists, has found no adherents. It is too artificial for thought to be able to stop at it, and it resolves the difficulties of the case only by suppressing them; or, in other words, by relegating them to a sphere where all scientific examination becomes impossible.

One cannot fail to recognise that Julius Müller possesses a certain dialectical dexterity in connecting and combining with each other a number of ingenious ideas; but his thought wants sequence and creative power. This may be specially remarked in his apologetic work on the *Relation of Dogmatic Theology to the Anti-religious Tendencies of the Time*.¹ In this work he undertakes the defence of the Supernatural by claiming for theology a domain apart, which is that of faith, and which as such is sheltered from the objections of philosophy. The absence of originality and creative power makes itself equally felt in his *Dogmatic Treatises*,² which contain a series of Articles which appeared at various times on the relations of thought and faith, on the formal principle of the Protestant Church, on the question as to whether the Son of God would have become man if the human race had not sinned, on the relations of the Holy Spirit and the Word of God, on the invisible Church, on the doctrines of Luther and Calvin concerning the Holy Supper, and on the divine institution of the holy Ministry.

We find the same artificial character and the same absence of vigour and spiritual force in Müller's book on the *Union*.³ In 1847, in a pamphlet on the General Synod of Berlin,⁴ he had maintained that the united Church ought not only to remove all the doctrines controverted by the Lutherans and the Reformed theologians, but also all those which contain

¹ Das Verhältniss der dogmatischen Theologie zu den antireligiösen Richtungen der Zeit, 1843.

² Dogmatische Abhandlungen, 1870.

³ Die evangelische Union, ihr Wesen und ihr göttliches Recht, 1854.

⁴ Die erste Generalsynode der evangelischen Landeskirche Preussens, 1847.

scholastic elements alien to the religious substance of the Christian dogma. Seven years later he established, on the contrary, that union can be accomplished only by means of a *consensus doctrinae*, that is, of a new Confession of Faith, laboriously composed out of all the dogmas on which any disagreement may have arisen in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and which may be presented in the form which these dogmas have received in the symbolical books of that period. According to his view, the Union of the Protestant Churches is founded on the dogmas which are common to them; it does not wish to constitute itself into a new Church, but to limit itself to cause the traces of the old divergences to disappear when the remembrance of them has been effaced from the consciousness of their members. But there is another element which has been not less lost, namely, the comprehension, or rather the use of the scholastic formulas in which our Confessions of Faith of the time of the Reformation have deemed it necessary to express certain affirmations of the religious feeling, or even certain points of Christian doctrine. Julius Müller does not appear to have taken this into account.

IX.

CARL ULLMANN¹ is, along with Neander and Nitzsch, a most eminent representative of the School of Schleiermacher. Born in 1796 at Epfenbach near Heidelberg, where his father was a pastor, he studied in Heidelberg University under Daub. Paulus, and Schwartz, and completed his course at Tübingen. For some time the fine arts contended with theology for the mastery over his taste and his interest. Intimately acquainted with the artist Rottmann, the painter of the admirable Greek landscapes of the Pinacotheca at Munich, as well as with the poets Uhland, Schwab, and Pfister, Ullmann formed in his intercourse with them that love of beautiful forms, and the

¹ Cf. Beyschlag: Dr. Carl Ullmann. Eine Biographische Skizze, 1866. Hoffmann: Protest. Kirchenzeitung, Nos. 22, 23, 1865. Hagenbach: Zur Erinnerung an Dr. C. Ullmann, Protest. Monatsblätter, ii. 6, 1865.

clear, correct, and attractive style, which so happily characterizes his works. After a short period as an assistant at Kirchheim, feeling a decided call for a career of teaching, he recommenced his academical studies, and attended at Heidelberg the Lectures of Hegel and Creutzer. He then made a sojourn in Northern Germany, especially at Berlin, where he found the theological tendency which corresponded to his own aspirations.

From 1820, Ullmann delivered exegetical and historical lectures at Heidelberg. He then published two critical works, one on the Second Epistle of Peter, of which he tried to save the first chapter, admitting the non-authenticity of the rest of the Epistle; and the other on the Third Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, as translated from the Armenian and regarded as authentic by Rink. As the fruit of his patristic studies he published in 1825 a monograph on *Gregory of Nazianzum*, whose elevated character and force of conviction he admired. Not inferior in value to the best works of Neander, this publication procured the nomination of Ullmann to a professorship at Heidelberg. But Heidelberg was then a centre by no means favourable to his academical activity. Among the students, some adhered to the views of Daub, others to those of Paulus. Ullmann entered into close relations with his colleague UMBREIT (1795–1860), an upright and sound spirit, known for his works on the Old and New Testament, and for an excellent study on Sin.¹ In concert with Umbreit, Ullmann founded, in 1828, the *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, which became the organ of the new evangelical theology, and which rapidly acquired a numerous and faithful body of subscribers. The first article of Ullmann on the *Sinlessness of Jesus*² made a great impression; and having

¹ Kohelet, des weisen Königs Seelenkampf. 1818. Das Lied der Liebe, 1820, Hiob. 1824. Die Sprüche Salomo's, 1826. Die Psalmen, 1835. Die Grundtöne des A. T., 1843. Die Propheten des A. T., 1841–46, 4 vols. Der Knecht Gottes, 1840. Neue Poesie aus dem A. T., 1848. Erklärung des Römerbriefes auf dem Grunde des A. T., 1850. Die Sünde, 1853. See the notices of Umbreit by Ullmann and Richm, Stud. u. Krit. 1862, H. 3.

² Ueber die Unsündlichkeit Jesu, 1829. Published separately under the title: Die Sündlosigkeit Jesu. Eine apologetische Betrachtung, 1830. [The Sinlessness of Jesus: an Evidence for Christianity. T. & T. Clark, Edin. 1858.]

been published apart, it passed through a considerable number of editions. It is an apologetic study on the central point of dogmatic theology as it has been renewed by Schleiermacher. The aim of the author is to give Christianity a solid historical basis, and he believes that nothing better can be found for it than the sinlessness or perfect holiness of Jesus as demonstrated both by the texts of Scripture, or the testimony which Jesus gives of Himself (which may be called the psychological study of His consciousness), and the impression which He made on His disciples around Him, as well as by the very existence of the Christian Church, which cannot be explained without this fact. "It is reality alone which produces reality." Mere conceptions do not create a new life. Accordingly you are either obliged to deny that the purest forces capable of producing a moral regeneration are really diffused in an inexhaustible abundance throughout humanity, and history prevents you doing this; or you are forced to acknowledge that He from whom these forces flowed was endowed in such a way as precisely to produce these effects. It ought, however, to be observed, that if the texts received into this essay are studied with care, one is astonished to find in it a complete want of criticism of sources. Perhaps sufficient at the period in which it appeared, this work would require completion in various respects to-day in order to attain the end which it proposes.

Ullmann was called to Halle in 1829 to teach Church History, Dogmatics, and Symbolics. While contributing there to combat the influence of rationalism, he raised his voice with a noble energy in favour of the liberty of teaching, when it was threatened by the attacks of the Evangelical Gazette on Gesenius and Wegscheider.¹ In the *Studien und Kritiken* he published various historical studies, among which that on John Wessel, the precursor of Luther, drew most attention. Domestic trials, the attraction of his native soil, and a pressing call of the Baden Government, determined his return to Heidelberg in 1836. He reckoned on a revival of the theological Faculty and its studies in the spirit of the school

¹ Theologische Bedenken, 1830.

of conciliation to which he attached himself. And, in fact, the accession of Rothe, Hundeshagen, and others, whom he had encouraged to join the Faculty, increased the number of the students.

Ullmann was recalled to apologetic labours by the publication of Strauss's *Life of Jesus*. In his discussion of this work¹ he reproaches Strauss with closing the way to all impartial criticism by the affirmation that everything in the Gospels must be either historical or mythical; and he blames him with not less justice for overlooking the importance of personality in the history of the foundation of Christianity. In another treatise on the *Essence of Christianity*,² Ullmann took a step farther in proclaiming its independence of the orthodox formulæ, and insisting on the distinction to be made between faith and dogmatics. He emphasizes the human element in revelation and in Scripture, and the importance of the person of Christ, who is its inmost centre and as it were its marrow. (Along with the schools which represent Christianity to us successively as a doctrine (rationalism and supranaturalism), as a moral law (Kant), and as a redemptive force (the Reformation), we find early a fourth School, which makes the essential character of Christianity consist in the union of man with God, and which in consequence defines it as the religion of the unity of the divine and human, or that of the divine glorification and the divination of man and humanity in Christ and by Christ. It is to this last definition that Ullmann rallies.) Christianity is a power of life, a creative and organic principle. All Christianity is already contained in the person who has founded it, a person as truly divine as human, and as truly human as divine. It is a living spiritual organism which radiates and magnificently unfolds its forces and gifts in the bosom of humanity, and which tends invincibly to assimilate humanity to itself in

¹ Historisch oder mythisch. Beiträge zur Beantwortung der gegenwärtigen Lebensfrage der Theologie, 1838.

² Das Wesen des Christenthums, 1845.

order by its triumphant virtue to make of it a kingdom of God. But how are we to represent to ourselves this complete union and permeation of the divine and the human? Everything is involved in this; and yet it is precisely on this point that we look in vain for enlightenment from Ullmann. It is not enough to repeat in all possible tones, that Jesus Christ is the Man-God, or the God-man; these formulæ require a rigorous interpretation which Ullmann has failed to give. He tells us, indeed, that Christianity is divine in its essence and origin, and that it is human in its form and its development; and that rationalism has mistaken the first point, and supranaturalism the second. All this in truth does not teach us much at all, if we are left ignorant of the mode in which God acts on humanity, in virtue of which the divine becomes united to the human and the human to the divine.

The activity of Ullmann was exercised more happily in the field of history. (His principal work, *The Reformers before the Reformation*,¹ contains, besides the article on Wessel, studies on John of Goch, John of Wesel, the Brethren of the Common Life, and the Mystics of the banks of the Rhine.) This work is distinguished by the solidity of its researches and by the grace and warmth of its style. It was the last of the theological publications of Ullmann. His interest from that time turned by preference towards practical ecclesiastical questions. He had a special gift and taste for attempts at reconciling theology and modern intellectual culture, and for the popular exposition and diffusion of scientific investigations.

Ullmann has announced the principles which guided him in regard to the government of the Church in a little work on the *Future of the Protestant Church in Germany*.² He wishes the distinction, but not the separation, of the Church and the State. On the part of the State, he wishes the toleration of everything that is not contrary to morals, such as protection of the recognised Christian confessions, as organs of the most

¹ Die Reformatoren vor der Reformation, 1842. [The Reformers before the Reformation. Translated by R. Menzies, 2 vols. T. & T. Clark, 1855.]

² Für die Zukunft der evangelischen Kirche, 1846.

potent moral forces that maintain the State. But the question arises as to which Confessions are to be protected, and by what criterion they are to be recognised. In the Universities, he desiderates an obligation to retain the principles on which the Protestant confession rests. In the Church, he wishes the maintenance of the Confessions as types of the testimony of the faith. Similarly he demands that the consistorial organization—by which he means, the Cæsaro-papal and bureaucratic system—shall be supplemented by presbyterial and synodal institutions; as if the one did not exclude the other, and as if a serious independence of the Church were possible with rights accorded to the State in virtue of its function as curator of the Church.

The Baden revolution from 1848 to 1850 did not pass without exercising a disturbing influence on the views of Ullmann. His conservatism became more distinct and pronounced. Appointed prelate at Carlsruhe in 1853, he took an important part in the ecclesiastical reactionary efforts which attained their culminating point in the general Synod of 1855, as shown in the new Catechism, the new Liturgy drawn up by Dr. Bähr, and the confessional character which the Baden Church was about to receive. Ullmann shared the unpopularity which fell upon the authors of these measures, and he was one of the first victims of the opposition which they provoked. He gave in his resignation in 1850, and died five years after cruelly pained by the check which his ecclesiastical views had just undergone, and the unjust attacks which had been directed against his character.

Ullmann was not one of those creative spirits, or of those prophetic geniuses, to whom it is given to guide Theology and the Church into new paths; but he was one of the most highly talented men that the Protestant Church in Germany has possessed in this Century. As a Christian humanist, he has realized in his writings, as in his life, the essence of Christianity under its purest and noblest form. As a historian and apologist, he has given forth an eloquent and blessed testimony in favour of the Gospel. Amiable in

character, benevolent and gentle, the adversary of all extremes and of whatever disturbs the harmony and embitters the minds of men, he was constituted to be a man of conciliation and of peace. Schwarz goes much too far when he sneers at him as having a great poverty of ideas concealed under an extraordinary ability of form. "His periods are so elegant and so well rounded, their cadence is so beautiful, that one can hardly fancy anything more seductive; but there is also nothing more empty. . . . The theology of Ullmann offers a confused mixture of ideas that are born of the vain effort to reconcile supranaturalism and rationalism. It is but a timid supranaturalism which feels a profound but secret repulsion from miracles, and which retrenches and suppresses them as much as possible in detail, without being able to get rid of the idea of the miraculous itself."¹ There is a good deal of bad feeling at the bottom of this judgment, which would apply at need to Schleiermacher himself and all the theologians who have retained a supernatural element in their system. The truth is that Ullmann was not of a systematic turn of mind; he had no original theology; he does nothing but popularize, define, and clothe the views of his master with clear and tangible forms. We shall not attribute it to him as a crime that he was a great artist and a mediocre dogmatic theologian. His merit is that he excited in many, especially by his historical works, a vivid and earnest interest in Christianity, its witnesses, its works, and its doctrines.

¹ Zur Geschichte der neuesten Theologie, 3. Aufl. p. 371.

CHAPTER IV.

THE NEW ORTHODOXY.

I.

THE current, which carried the minds of the time towards a restoration of the old orthodoxy, was not entirely an original movement. It was evoked by the awakening of the religious sentiment which, as we have already seen, followed the wars of national independence. Men felt the need of being armed for the struggle with a practical faith, or a larger Christianity that presented tangible and massive conceptions such as Luther's had been. The modern theology, as it appeared in the studies of the learned and adopted by the sons of cultivated men, appeared too spiritualistic, too finely spun, too refined, too sentimental. It was accused of being impractical, and fitted only for intellectual men. Let us not forget that a sort of abyss had been hollowed out in the Eighteenth century between the intellectual culture and the needs of the people, and that the Church had been able to do nothing to fill it up. Hence there arose in a certain number of minds the thought of a return to the conceptions of the Age of the Reformation.

Moreover, this tendency to a restoration was favoured by political events of the time. The Governments considered a return to the faith of the past as the easiest, simplest, and surest means of keeping their subjects in obedience, or making them accept it. Jurists, journalists, and theologians in the pay of the State, insisted on the gross insufficiency of the theology of conciliation (*Vermittlungstheologie*) which attached itself to Schleiermacher. They

dwelt upon the need of solid ecclesiastical institutions and precise dogmatic formulæ; and they already began to commit those strange abuses with the word "realism" of which we have since been witness.

These reactionary tendencies found a convenient ally in pietism. It alone possessed associations and establishments begotten by the Christian faith; and it was almost alone in preserving an inward and ardent religious life. Accordingly, there was effected a sort of fusion between pietism and the new orthodoxy, the fruit of the political reaction, although those who represented it did not succeed in preserving themselves entirely from the influence of the modern ideas. They insisted on the necessity both of maintaining the consciousness of sin and of defending the pure doctrine. All the literary and artistic products dating from the classical age were condemned; the radical obscuration of human reason and its absolute incapacity to grasp and judge divine things was taught anew; and an entirely mechanical theory of Biblical inspiration, drawing in its train the idolatry of the canon and hatred and proscription of criticism, was adopted. To save all, or to let all go: this was the motto of these new restorers. (In this general current, three special influences may be distinguished: that of Pietism properly so called, having its seat in Wupperthal in Würtemberg and at Bâle; that of the theologians of the Court, chiefly at Berlin; and that of the Old Lutherans, who separated themselves from the Church when the new Regulation prescribed the employment of a neutral rite in the celebration of the Holy Supper in order to carry out the Union.)

II.

One of the first and most sympathetic representatives of the New Orthodoxy was CLAUS HARMS.¹ Notwithstanding

¹ Cf. Dr. Cl. Harms: *Lebensbeschreibung*, verfasst von ihm selber, Kiel 1851. M. Baumgarten: *Ein Denkmal für Cl. Harms*, Braunschweig. 1855. Colani: *Revue de théologie*, 1re série, v. p. 225 et 257. Kaftan: *Kl. Harms*

his want of profoundness in thought, the incoherence of his views, and the obscurity of his style, Harms exercised a great influence upon his time by his strongly marked character and by the power of an energetic will which was made subservient to immovable convictions. He was born in 1788 at Fahrstedt in the district of Dithmarsch to the west of Holstein, and he belonged to the powerful race of peasants who inhabit this uncultivated region. His father was a miller, and was in somewhat easy circumstances; his mother was a woman of great piety and sweetness. Nothing could be more pleasing than the reminiscences of his childhood on the dunes of Holstein as told in his Autobiography. Harms received some instruction from a rationalistic pastor, but his father's fortune was not enough to enable him to continue his studies. He therefore attended to the mill, and in his leisure hours occupied himself in the affairs of the district with that intelligent perseverance which distinguishes the inhabitants of the country of Dithmarsch. Even then he already manifested that nervous humour and that poetic spirit, united to great good sense, which constituted the basis of his character.

On the death of his father, Harms obtained employment as a domestic servant; but afterwards, thanks to his economy and his laudable determination to obtain education, he entered the Latin school of Meldorf, and thereafter he went to the University of Kiel. The impression which was made upon him at this time by reading the *Discourses* of Schleiermacher, was profound and decisive. He bade farewell to his rationalistic opinions, and felt the feeling of his call to the holy ministry awakening in him. But the somewhat abrupt energy of his character required a more substantial nourishment than what could be offered to him by a theology which floated in uncertainty between Spinozism and Romanticism. He subjected his reason to the orthodox doctrine, and attached special value to the old Lutheran forms, whose warm colour-

ing and strong flavour pleased his imagination. Moreover, Harms remained undisciplined as a matter of conscience, uniting a very pronounced individualism to semi-Catholic tendencies. Having been for a time tutor in a Holstein family, he became a pastor successively at Lunden and at Kiel, combining with the functions of the pastor those of the druggist, the physician, and the jurist. He obtained great success as a preacher, and waged war to the death on rationalism. The collections of Sermons which he published¹ have been much sought after, and have contributed not a little by their plain and straightforward language to the awakening of the religious life in Germany.

In 1817, on the occasion of the tercentenary of the Reformation, Harms published 95 *Theses* in continuation of those of Luther, directing them against what he called the modern antichrist, or reason erected into a pope.² These Theses could not but strike the minds of his contemporaries by their picturesque images, their paradoxical turns, and their massive affirmations. Like brilliant rockets, they dazzled for an instant before they were lost in smoke. They became the charter of the new orthodoxy. We shall quote some of them. "I. If our Master and Lord, Jesus Christ, says, 'Repent!' He wishes men to form themselves according to His doctrine; He does not formulate His doctrine according to men, as is done now. IX. The Pope of our time, our antichrist, is in relation to the faith, Reason, and in relation to action, Conscience to which has been assigned, as a triple crown, the right of legislating, of rewarding, and of punishing. XI. The conscience cannot pardon sins. No one can pardon his own sins. Pardon belongs to God. XIV. The process by the result of which God is deposed from His judgment-seat in order to put man's own conscience upon it, was accomplished whilst there was no sentinel in our Church.

¹ Winterpostille, Kiel 1806, 6th ed. 1846. Sommerpostille, 1811, 6th ed. 1812. He also published twelve other collections of Sermons.

² Das sind die 95 Thesen oder Streitsätze Dr. Luthers zum besondern Abdruck besorgt, und mit andern 95 Thesen, als mit einer Uebersetzung aus 181 in 1817 begleitet, Kiel 1817.

XVII. If conscience ceases to read in order to commence itself to write, its affirmations will be as diverse as the manuscripts of men. Let any one name to me a sin which every one regards as such! XXIV. We read in an old hymn: 'Two places hast thou, man, before thee.' In our days, they have put an end to the Devil and plugged up Hell. XXVIII. According to the old faith, God created man; according to the new, it is man who creates God. XXXII. The pretended rational religion is devoid of reason, or of religion, or of both. XIVII. If reason in religious matters pretends to be more than secular, it becomes heretical. LI. We regard the very words of our revealed religion as holy; we do not consider them as a dress which can be taken off religion, but as its body. It is owing to them that it has life. LXVII. It is a singular pretension to demand liberty to teach a new faith from the seat of a chair which the old faith has established, and by a mouth which the old faith feeds. LXXV. Some men wish to enrich the Lutheran Church to-day, as if she were a poor servant, by a marriage union. For God's sake don't consummate the act over the bones of Luther. They might revive, and then woe betide ye! LXXVII. To say that time has thrown down the wall which separated the Lutherans from those of the Reformed Church, is not to speak correctly. It ought to be said that Lutherans and Reformed have become unfaithful to the faith of their Church. XCII. The Catholic Evangelical Church is a magnificent Church. It is maintained and developed chiefly by the sacraments. XCIII. The Reformed Evangelical Church is a magnificent Church. It is maintained and developed chiefly by the Word of God. XCIV. The Lutheran Evangelical Church is more magnificent than both of them. It is maintained and developed by the Sacraments and by the Word of God. XCV. The two other Churches tend to melt into it, even without the voluntary participation of men. As to the way of the wicked, it shall perish."

Such is the substance of these Theses, which made a very great noise in Germany. The polemic which they provoked

brought forth about two hundred pamphlets, and what it chiefly revealed was the extreme weakness of the arguments employed in the two camps. Harms himself published two writings to defend his Theses. Without being a professor, he kept up close relations with the students of Kiel. He delivered lectures at his house principally on the various branches of Practical Theology. Thence arose his work on *Pastoral Theology*,¹ which contains a singular mixture of just counsels and whimsical ideas, together with ingenious and very free views conjoined with attachment to superannuated usages and institutions. (In politics, Harms was a partisan of absolute monarchy. "Every constitution," he said, "is an offence to logic. There is no intermediate position between him who governs and those who are governed. There is no government which costs more than popular government; nowhere is there less liberty than when a free people makes the law. A numerical majority is a despot more irrational, more capricious, and more cruel, in certain circumstances, than either Czar or Sultan. To-day it promulgates constitutions, and to-morrow it violates them. Next to Christianity, absolute monarchy is the best thing on the earth; it is what the oath is in law, the only holy thing in matters of government.") It is interesting to observe that Harms defended the rights of the Duchies of Schleswig-Holstein against Hengstenberg, who was favourable to a German or rather Prussian annexation. Harms refused a call to Russia, and also one to Berlin. From the year 1848 he felt his health becoming weaker and weaker. He successively resigned all his offices, and died in 1855. In him Germany lost an original defender of the Christian faith, who came near compromising it by the intemperance of his language and of his opinions. He was a man of strong and consistent character, such as our time presents but rarely.

¹ Pastoraltheologie in Reden an Theologie-Studirende hervorgegangen, Kiel 1830-31, 3 vols.: I. Der Prediger; II. Der Priester; III. Der Pastor, 3rd ed. 1878.

III.

But the head of the modern orthodoxy was ERNST WILHELM HENGSTENBERG.¹ He was a man as able as he was powerful, and during more than thirty years he represented with the greatest *éclat* the union of political servility with religious fanaticism. He was born in Westphalia in 1802, and by birth belonged to the Reformed Church. In 1813, at the University of Bonn, where he applied himself mostly to Oriental studies, he showed himself liberal and patriotic. Separating himself from the Rationalists, he then went to the missionary school of Bâle, which he entered in 1823. Settled at Berlin in the following year as a *Privatdocent*, he put himself at the head of the pietistic party, which was then fashionable at the Court, and to it he owed all the favours which he received. Two insignificant Dissertations² procured him the position of a professor in the University at the side of Schleiermacher and Neander. He specially taught the Old Testament, and published a series of works and commentaries on that subject.³ Upholding the absolute infallibility of Holy Scripture and literal inspiration, he ably and passionately defended the writings of the Bible against the attacks of

¹ Cf. Müller: Hengstenberg und die evangel. Kirchenzeitung, Berlin 1857. Bachmann: E. W. Hengstenberg, sein Leben und Wirken nach gedruckten und ungedruckten Quellen, 2 vols. 1876-1880.

² Ueber das Verhältniss des innern Wortes zum äussern, 1825. Ueber Mysticismus, Pietismus und Separatismus, 1826.

³ Christologie des A. T., 3 vols. 1829-35. [Christology of the Old Testament. Translated by Meyer and Martin, 4 vols. T. & T. Clark, 1838.] Beiträge zur Einleitung ins A. T., 3 vols. 1831-39. Commentar über die Psalmen, 4 vols. 1842-45. [Commentary on the Psalms. Translated by Fairbairn and Thomson, 3 vols. T. & T. Clark, 1846-48.] Erläuterungen über den Pentateuch, 1842. [Dissertations on the Genuineness of the Pentateuch. Translated by J. E. Ryland, 2 vols. 1847.] Erläuterungen über das Hohe Lied, 1847. Commentar on Ecclesiastes, with other Treatises. Translated by D. W. Simon. T. & T. Clark, 1860.] Commentar über die Offenbarung Johannis, 2 vols. 1850-51. [Commentary on the Revelation of St. John. Translated by Fairbairn, 2 vols. 1851-52.] Among his posthumous works may be mentioned his Geschichte des Reiches Gottes unter dem alten Bunde, 2 vols. 1860-71; and Das Buch Hiob erläutert, 2 vols. 1877. [Other Translations: Commentary on the Gospel of St. John, 2 vols. Commentary on Ezekiel, 1 vol. Dissertations on the Genuineness of Daniel, etc., 1 vol. History of the Kingdom of God under the Old Covenant, 2 vols. T. & T. Clark.]

criticism, as well as the Christology of the prophets and the historical institutions and facts of the Old Covenant. His exegesis is animated to the highest degree by the Rabbinical spirit.¹ Pressing the letter of a passage with a penetration and subtlety that are quite Talmudic, he arranges it, fashions it, and twists it, till he succeeds in making it signify what he wanted. (Abusing the allegorical method in an intolerable way, he finds on every page of the Old Testament allusions to contemporary events. The princesses of Solomon's harem represent the principal nations of Christianity; the concubines represent the secondary peoples; and so on. The Apocalyptic visions play a considerable part in his theology. In his view the millenarian kingdom commenced with Charlemagne, and lasted till the year 1800; since which date we have been witnessing the events which precede the end of the world and the judgment. Along with this pretentious literalism and this grotesque typology, explanations that are quite rationalistic display themselves with singular disingenuousness. Thus the vessels stolen by the Israelites on their exodus from Egypt were given to them as presents by the Egyptians themselves. Jephthah did not immolate his daughter in conformity with his vow, but he consecrated her as a virgin to God. In like manner Balaam's ass did not really speak, the whole scene being only a vision of the prophet. All this is written in the tone of an oracle, with an emphasis, an arrogance, and a self-infatuation which is only equalled by the complete absence of the scientific spirit.)

But Hengstenberg is much more celebrated as a journalist than as a theologian. In 1827 he founded the *Evangelical Gazette*, which had nothing evangelical about it but its name, and which became the organ of the modern orthodoxy in its violent struggle with all the tendencies opposed to it. A veritable tribunal of inquisition, this paper with indefatigable perseverance practised the system of denunciation, of suspicion, and of espionage. Uniting the tone of the prophet with

¹ Cf. Sherer: Hengstenberg considéré comme exégète. Revue de théologie, 1 série, ii. p. 65.

that of the prosecutor, and sprinkling his odious attacks with passages from the Bible, Hengstenberg breaks root and branch with all modern culture. He scoffs at the classical literature, which he accuses of paganism. He passionately denounces the progress of the democratic movement, in which he sees the realization of the prediction relating to Gog and Magog. He exhibits hatred against France, which he knows only in its most frivolous productions. He puts upon the same line and confounds in the same anathema the pantheistic philosophy and the advances of the cholera, the theology of feeling and the rehabilitation of the flesh. All this was interspersed with edifying articles on the development of the religious life, on missions, on tours of inspection in the Churches, and on religious conferences and assemblies.

The work to which the *Evangelical Gazette* devoted itself by preference was the extirpation of rationalism in all spheres. But, as it has been justly remarked, rationalism was already scientifically conquered when Hengstenberg's *Gazette* began to appear. It did nothing but sweep out the remains of it while raising up great clouds of dust. As with the kindred organ, the *Univers* of M. Veuillot, personalities constituted the principal interest of his polemics. The talent which this unctuous belligerent practises with the art of a master is that of smashing. The history of the *Gazette* traverses several phases. Till 1830 it sheltered various shades of positive Christianity. But after the denunciation directed against Wegscheider and Gesenius, Neander and several other theologians of his complexion withdrew from connection with it. In 1840, Hengstenberg broke with pietism, demonstrating its insufficiency, in order to throw himself into the arms of the confessional party. He hoisted more and more the standard of pure Lutheranism, and invoked the obligatory character of the symbolical books as the only remedy that could be opposed to the destructive criticism of Strauss and Baur. In his ardour in defending the theology of the Seventeenth Century, Hengstenberg, with a perseverance worthy of a better cause, unveiled all the heresies which he could discover

even among the most believing of the contemporary theologians. We need not speak of those summary executions of which the victims were men like Baumgarten and Rothe. Hofmann of Erlangen and Kahnis of Leipsic were not spared any more than these supranaturalistic adepts of the *Protestant Union*. All those who gave proof of any tendency to independence, or in whom any leaven of individualism might be suspected, were pitilessly denounced and smitten with the inexorable rod of the prophet. Under the pretext of reviewing the ecclesiastical and political events, every year opened with one of these sacerdotal immolations. For a long time a real inconsistency was pointed out in the attitude of this Erostratus of the modern theology. From 1827 to 1848, Hengstenberg's *Journal* was one of the most zealous defenders of the Union. Some wished to attribute this circumstance to the Reformed origin of Hengstenberg, who was trained in the school of Calvin; but that was an error. If the *Evangelical Gazette* defended the Union, it was because the united Church was the work of the Government, and because the first article of its creed was submission to the established authorities. No dogma was preached by it with more predilection or more ardour than that. Did not all the evil of the times arise from the weakening of the monarchical spirit? In any event, Hengstenberg took the side of the throne against the constitution, the national representation, and the liberal aspirations of his time. The Fifth Commandment, "Honour thy father and thy mother," is essentially applicable, according to him, to the relations of the subject to his sovereign. In 1863 he wrote thus: "The prayers of intercession for the House of Representatives weigh like a mountain on the conscience of pastors. The peace which they taste at the altar is troubled by them. We respect this institution only because the King has established it. Ah! if we had only to pray for the House of Lords, with what freshness and what devotion would our prayers mount to Heaven! . . . The conflict of the House of Representatives with the King is a real scandal, a sin against the Fifth Commandment. We

desire to be delivered from Parliamentism as from a cruel national scourge. We expect no blessing from it." If, from taste and temperament, he extols political absolutism in itself, he also sends up incense to it as the best support of the Church. Separation from the State would deprive the Church of the goodwill of the civil authorities, on which its existence and prosperity in so many respects depends. Kings have as their principal mission the duty of protecting the Church. Hengstenberg holds even more strongly to the doctrine of the State-Church than to the Lutheran Confession. That was the reason why he made himself the defender of the Union. Furthermore, he was the systematic adversary of any liberal modification in the ecclesiastical constitution. The King governs the Church much better than a Synod could. What can one expect from an assembly which might be in a rationalistic majority? Moreover, there are so few real Christians in the Church that we need not trouble ourselves about the alleged rights of the faithful. They should not claim the privilege of choosing themselves their spiritual guides; for the privilege is reserved only for the holy.

From 1848 till the death of Hengstenberg in 1869, the *Evangelical Gazette* showed itself less tender towards the Union. It decided for a confederation of the Churches based on the Confessions of the Sixteenth Century under the supreme authority of the King. Without ever becoming embroiled with the Royal authority, and without departing from that dexterity, that wisdom of the serpent, which was one of the characteristics of his polemics, Hengstenberg on various occasions warned, reprimanded, and menaced the sovereign. He blames the concessions made to the spirit of the time, the sympathies of the Crown for institutions or doctrines contrary to orthodoxy, and the aversion of princes to counsels so useful for the safety of the State. All that tends, in the eyes of Hengstenberg, to weaken the power of the Church is branded as the abomination of desolation; such, for example, as civil marriage, against which he discharged his most barbed darts. "Those who extol civil marriage," he

says, "tend to prevent the State rendering to the Church the honour that is due to her. They undermine the authority of the Church, since they maintain that it depends on the good pleasure of the individual to have a care for her or no; and they provoke among all those who are discontented with her the desire to make a demonstration against her. What a deep wound would be inflicted on the country by such a profanation of marriage!" Sometimes pouring forth his concentrated irritation, he takes the tone of a fanatical revolutionary, and foretells the greatest evils against those who rashly shake the very foundations of society.

Swamped by the current of events, consumed by anxieties and chagrin, and isolated as the result of his slashing style, Hengstenberg descended to the grave at the very moment when his Journal was about to lose its popularity and its interest. If he has not the merit of having exercised a happy influence on the religious ideas and the theological development of his time, he has the melancholy honour of having formed in his image several generations of pastors who swore by the *Evangelical Gazette*. All those spirits that were eager for domination, of idle habit, and at variance with science and with the modern aspirations, found in it the nourishment that suited them, as well as valuable indications as to how they were conveniently to proceed in the government of souls. Pliant and obsequious towards the higher power, and docile instruments of its will, the pastors formed in the school of Hengstenberg, and favoured by several ministers of public worship, constitute a respectable army on which the Government can depend until the day when their superannuated pretensions will fall before an earnest awakening of the liberal spirit, and they become an embarrassment rather than a help to those in power.

IV.

Among the friends and fellow-labourers of Hengstenberg, AUGUST HAHN (1792-1863) deserves to be named. He

was a pupil of the seminary of Wittenberg, and a professor at Königsberg, Leipsic, and Breslau. He became celebrated by a Latin Dissertation on Rationalism,¹ in which he put forward the demand that its adherents should be expelled from the Church. He continued the struggle in a series of pamphlets. In his *Text-book of Dogmatics*,² he at first attached himself to the old supranaturalism, but he changed this position in the second edition for a strictly confessional theology.

The brothers Krummacher at Potsdam and Duisburg were equally distinguished by their zeal against neology. Orators, lecturers, poets, writers, they celebrated the union of the throne and the altar in their effusions, which were full of lyrical form and vigour.

DANIEL KRUMMACHER (1774-1837) was Pastor of the Reformed Church at Elberfeld. He was the leader of the pietistic movement of Wupperthal in 1818. He was a rigid Calvinist in his theology. His published Sermons have been held in high esteem.³ FRIEDRICH WILHELM KRUMMACHER (1796-1868) was Court Preacher at Potsdam. He was the author of several edifying works.⁴

ADOLPH VON HARLESS (1806-1879), Professor at Erlangen and Leipsic, and thereafter President of the Consistory of Munich, and Editor of an influential Ecclesiastical Review,⁵ favoured the same tendency. His numerous works, especially his *Christian Ethics*,⁶ are not without a certain literary

¹ De rationalismi qui dicitur vera indole et qua cum naturalismo continueatur ratione, 1827.

² Lehrbuch des christlichen Glaubens, 1823, 2nd ed. 1857.

³ [Jacob wrestling with the Angel. Translated. Lond. 1838.]

⁴ Salomo und Sulamith, 9th ed. 1875. Elias der Thibiter, 6th ed. 1874. Selbstbiographie, 1869. Das Buch der Passion, 3rd ed. 1878. [Elijah the Tishbite. Translated. Elisha. Translated with Preface by Bickersteth. Fourteen Sermons on the Canticles. Translated by Hirschfeld, Lond. 2nd ed. 1842. Cornelius the Centurion. Translated, with Notes and Biographical Notice by Ferguson, Edin. 1838. Parables. Translated by Agnew, Philadelphia 1841. The Church's Voice of Instruction, Lond. 1839. David, the King of Israel: A Portrait from the Bible History and the Book of Psalms, 2nd ed. T. & T. Clark, Edin. The Suffering Saviour; or, Meditations on the Last Days of the Sufferings of Christ, 8th ed. T. & T. Clark, Edin.]

⁵ Zeitschrift für Protestantismus und Kirche, 1838-46.

⁶ Christliche Ethik, 7th ed. 1875. Commentar über den Epheserbrief, 1834.

and scientific value. Harless attaches himself closely to Lutheranism. His friend HEINRICH GUERICKE (1803-1878) followed the same lines. A Professor at Halle and Editor of a *Review for Lutheran Theology*,¹ Guericke is known by several extensive theological works, including a *Symbolics*, a *Manual of Christian Archaeology*, an *Introduction to the New Testament*, and a *Manual of Church History*.²

To the same school also belongs ANDREAS GOTTLIEB RUDELBACH (1792-1862) of Copenhagen, a contributor to the same Review, and author of several works on the history of dogmas and on the Confessional controversy.³—JOHANN HEINRICH KURTZ, born in 1809, Professor at Dorpat, the author of a well-known *Manual of Church History* and of a number of works on the Old Testament, also belongs to this school.⁴—And finally, ERNST SARTORIUS (1797-1859), born at Darmstadt, successively Professor at Marburg and Dorpat, and then General-superintendent at Königsberg, endeavoured

Theologische Encyclopädie u. Methodologie, 1837. Sonntagsweihe, Predigten, 5 vols. 1848-51. Das Verhältniss des Christenthums zu Cultur- und Lebensfragen der Gegenwart, 1866. Geschichtsbilder aus der lutherischen Kirche Livlands, 1869. J. Boehme und die Alchimisten, 1870. Staat und Kirche, 1879. In this last work Harless demands that the State shall not permit what the Church forbids, e.g. Divorce. Cf. the anonymous work: Aus dem Leben eines süddeutschen Theologen, Bielef. 1872-1875.

¹ Zeitschrift für Lutherische Theologie und Kirche, 1840.

² Allgemeine christliche Symbolik, 1839, 3rd ed. 1861. Lehrbuch der kirchlichen Archäologie, 1847. Beiträge zur histor.-kritischen Einleitung in A. T., 1828-31. Histor.-kritische Einleitung in's N. T., 1842. Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte, 3 vols. 1833, 3rd ed. 1866. Also works on the Catechetical School of Alexandria and on A. H. Francke. [Guericke's Manual of the Antiquities of the Church have been translated and adapted to the use of the English Church, by Rev. A. J. W. Morrison, Lond. 1851. His Manual of Church History has been translated by W. G. T. Shedd, Edin. 1857.]

³ Savonarola und seine Zeit, 1835. Reformation, Lutherthum u. Union.—Ueber die Sakramentsworte.—Einleitung in die Augsburgische Confession.

⁴ Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte, 1st edit. 1849, 8th ed. 1880. Lehrbuch der heil. Geschichte, 1843, 15th ed. 1880. Das mosaische Opfer, 1842. Bibel u. Astronomie, 1842. Die Einheit des Pentateuchs, 1844. Die Einheit der Genesis, 1846. Geschichte des alten Bundes, 1848-53. Der A. T. Opereculus, 1862. Der Brief an die Hebräer, 1869. Biblische Geschichte, 33rd ed. 1881. [Handbook of Church History. Vol. i. To the Reformation. Vol. ii. From the Reformation. T. & T. Clark. History of the Old Testament, 3 vols. T. & T. Clark, 1859. Sacrificial Worship of the Old Testament. T. & T. Clark, 1863.]

to show that Lutheranism was the true foundation on which the Union could be established. He laid bare the alleged intimate affinity between Rationalism and Romanism, and published esteemed works on Christian Ethics, Christology, and the doctrine of the Holy Supper.¹

¹ Drei Abhandlungen über wichtige Gegenstände der exegetischen u. systematischen Theologie, 1820 (against Rationalism). Die lutherische Lehre vom Unvermögen des freien Willens zur höhern Sittlichkeit, 1821. Die Religion ausserhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft, 1822. Die Lehre von Christi Person u. Werk, 1831, 6th edit. 1853. Ueber den A. T. u. den N. T. Cultus, 1852. Die Lehre von der heiligen Liebe, 4th edit. 1861. [The Doctrine of Divine Love; or, Outlines of the Moral Theology of the Evangelical Church. T. & T. Clark.]

CHAPTER V.

THE SPECULATIVE SCHOOL.

I.

A THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL arose in connection with the philosophy of Hegel. It was born of the illusion that it was possible to reconcile the orthodox dogmas in all points with the Hegelian philosophy by showing that their contents are the same, and that they differ only in form. Theology, that improperly so-called science of religion, moves, according to Hegel, in the sphere of representation or of the symbolical imagination, whereas Philosophy moves in that of the notion, conception, or Idea. In order to demonstrate this accordance between theology and philosophy, a certain number of theologians, who were fervent disciples of the great master of dialectics, applied themselves to forced speculative constructions which have a striking resemblance to scholasticism, and which have produced a wholly artificial orthodoxy. "It seemed," says Strauss, in the Introduction to his *Dogmatics*, "that the long differences between religion and philosophy were going to be happily terminated by a marriage of the two houses; and the system of Hegel was celebrated as the child of peace and promise which was to inaugurate a new order of things during which the wolves were to dwell with the lambs, and the leopards to lie down with the goats. The wisdom of the world, that haughty pagan, submitted humbly to baptism, and gave forth a confession of Christian faith; while faith again did not hesitate to give her a certificate of perfect orthodoxy, and recommended the Church to give her a benevolent reception. Gladly and resolutely the theological

youth let the serpent of doubt play around their head and breast, assured that they possessed the magic formula which was capable of taming it; and even in the circles of the most zealous orthodoxy there might be seen such manœuvres and arms as were borrowed from the drilling fields and the arsenals of the philosophers."

Among the representatives of the Speculative School, the first that deserves to be named is CARL DAUB.¹ He was born of poor parents at Cassel in 1765, and being endowed with vigorous assiduity, he went through a course of study at Marburg. The writings of Plato awoke in him the love of science. Appointed Professor of Theology at Heidelberg in 1795, he remained there till his death. His personality inspired the highest respect. Animated with profound earnestness, indefatigable zeal, and conscientious faithfulness, he cherished an enthusiastic love for the young student. Applying himself incessantly to fathom the most difficult problems, he could not think of keeping the results to himself. (He had a passion for teaching. "Holidays, do you say?" he exclaimed, writing to Rosenkranz in 1827, "does not this old man retire for rest yet? No, my dear friend, not yet; nor do I ask for rest; I desire, if possible, to die in my chair *docendo*." His wish was fulfilled. He was struck with apoplexy, while lecturing on the 19th November 1836, as he was quoting the words of Schiller: "Life is not the highest good, but guilt is the greatest of evils.") Characterized by extreme simplicity of manners and by incomparable moral energy, he was able to ally filial piety with vast knowledge and truly creative thought. His upright soul was severe in its judgment against all that enervates and corrupts, and particularly against inflated mediocrity. Ignorant or malevolent persons have attacked the sincerity of

¹ Cf. Rosenkranz: *Erinnerungen an Daub*, Berl. 1837. Strauss: *Parallele zwischen Schleiermacher u. Daub*, in his *Charakteristiken u. Kritiken*, 1839. Iermann: *Die speculative Theologie in ihrer Entwicklung durch Daub*, Hamb. 847.

his character on account of the changes which his philosophical and theological point of view underwent. He has even been called the Talleyrand of German thought, because he passed successively "from the Revolution of Kant to the Empire of Schelling, and the Restoration of Hegel." But this involves a flagrant injustice. No one was more disinterested than Daub. Besides, he was never shaken in his personal faith, even while he did not cease to deepen and correct his scientific conceptions. The modifications which his views underwent were the result of earnest mental labour and of convinced reflection.

To his Kantian period belong his *Sermons according to Kantian Principles*, and his *Manual of Catechetics*.¹ In these works he insists on the necessity of basing religion on morals, of distinguishing precisely between positive religion and rational religion, of bringing into relief the practical value of the Bible and of dogma, while rejecting miracle as an embarrassment to thought. However, Daub was not long till he felt the insufficiency and the illogicalness of this standpoint.

The influence of the philosophy of Schelling is manifested in his *Theologoumena* and in his *Introduction to the Study of Dogmatics*, published in 1806 and 1810.² Daub defends his point of view, not only against supranaturalism, which pretends to prove the truth of the dogma by the divinely inspired Scriptures, as if history which can teach only a temporal truth, could promulgate eternal truth, but also against rationalism, which confines itself to investigating the origin in time of the ecclesiastical dogmas, and which, confounding the limits of human reason with those of truth itself, rejects, purely and simply, the supernatural dogma, or strips it of its eternal truth by lowering it to the point of view of the empirical reason. The speculative standpoint is the only one which is truly scientific and religious. It is necessary to rise to the Idea of God deposited by Him in reason. God reveals and reflects

¹ Predigten nach Kantischen Grundsätzen. Lehrbuch der Katechetik, 1801.

² *Theologoumena sive doctrina de religione christiana ex natura Dei perspecta repetenda capita potiora*, Heidelb. 1806. *Einleitung in das Studium der Dogmatik aus dem Standpunkte der Religion*, 1810.

Himself in reason. The revelation of God in the human spirit constitutes religion, which flows from it in an immediate manner, as the consciousness which God has of Himself. It has the air of being born in man, but in reality it is man who is born for it. In so far as it is a human phenomenon, religion undoubtedly puts on a finite character; it is different in every man, and manifests itself in varied forms, according to the particular character of the peoples and ages. But whilst, in all its other forms, original religion appears variously alloyed, it is presented in the Christian religion in the most perfect manner, and, it may be said, with the character of the Absolute. Moreover, Daub confesses that from the speculative point of view he does not understand how the finite, and still less how evil, proceeds from the Absolute.

If Daub in the *Theologoumena* did not succeed in descending "from the heights of the speculative Idea into the plain of historical Christianity," in his *Judas Iscariot, or Considerations on the Good in its relation to Evil*,¹ he throws himself into the midst of the facts of Biblical history, and is carried away to the very limits of a gnostic dualism. In this study the Devil appears as a most real and most personal being, as "the original evil;" he is his own creator, the author of the evil in nature and among men, which God tolerates from love to the world, and in order to save it the more surely. For when the evil One, incarnated in Judas, pretends to deliver up God incarnated in Jesus Christ, he is obliged to avow himself conquered, and in committing suicide he despairs of himself and of his cause. It is the feeling of contradiction which exists between the presence of evil and the premises of speculative philosophy, which has determined Daub to conceive of evil as "a real although false miracle," to which, on the side of God, there ought to correspond miracles not less real but true. In thus bringing into relief, in language that is often obscure and paradoxical, the mysterious nature and the incomprehensible existence of evil, Daub more nearly approached the truth, or

¹ Judas Ischarioth oder Betrachtungen über das Gute im Verhältniss zum Bösen, Heidelb. 1816-18, 2 vols.

remained more faithful to it, than when, at a later stage, he declared that it was a shame to philosophy not to be able to understand evil, that is, to deny it. In spite of all its eccentricities, this book on Judas Iscariot is the most ingenious and the most profound of all Daub's writings.

Again, and for the last time, Daub modified his point of view in consequence of the intimacy which had been established between him and Hegel, whom he had been the means of calling to Heidelberg in 1816, and with whom he remained in close bonds of friendship even after his departure for Berlin. The application of the Hegelian speculation to the orthodox theology gives a scholastic character to Daub's last productions. He seeks speculatively to fathom every dogma, accepted not only as to its contents, but also as to its form, without preliminary reference to the sources of Scripture and of Christian experience. Hence the subtle distinctions and numerous equivocations; and hence, too, the embarrassed, heavy, and deliberately obscure style of his language. This is the character of his work on the *Dogmatic Theology of the Time*,¹ "a veritable hell in Dante's manner," says Strauss, "heated with the dogmatics, commentaries, and theological reviews of the previous sixty years, in which Guelphs are seen roasting side by side with Ghibellines, supranaturalists with naturalists, and through the mixed groups of which Hegel's spirit accompanies the theologian, just as Virgil's spirit was the cicerone of Dante." Strauss adds that the book is written "in the language of the Olympians, as any one would write if he wished neither to be understood nor read, and to produce absolutely no effect." Daub happily lays bare the imperfections, the inconsequences, and the voluntary illusions of the theology of his time. Its principal character, in his view, is selfishness. The scientific spirit and morality being inseparable in Daub's view, he believes that he can find the source of the vices of the theology which he combats in an absence of moral depth and energy. Although he does not name proper names, and limits himself to

¹ Die dogmatische Theologie jetziger Zeit oder die Selbstsucht in der Wissenschaft des Glaubens und seiner Artikel, 1833.

sketching the points of view and the theories which he impeaches, one cannot, however, help finding his criticism exclusive and unjust.

Daub's posthumous works, published from his manuscript Lectures by Marheineke and Dittenberger in seven Volumes (1838-44),¹ are more intelligible, for he spoke better than he wrote. Other works were left in manuscript; but the interest of the public being tired out, they were not published. Most of them offend by oppressive prolixity, and from a want of proportion which is the consequence of it. In the last years of his life Daub cultivated with predilection the field of ethics.² His *System of Theological Ethics*, with many useless digressions, contains very interesting investigations in detail. The same may be said of his study on the Various Hypotheses formed to explain the Freedom of the Will,³ which was published during his lifetime by one of his pupils.

Daub will continue to be regarded as the most important representative of the speculative restoration of the orthodox dogma. Marheineke excels him in the dexterity and preciseness of form which he has been able to give to his works, but Daub surpasses Marheineke in scientific rigour and depth. It would be unjust to accuse these men with reactionary political intentions. They sincerely searched for truth, and cultivated science; but the greater their pretension of having really reconciled theology with philosophy, the greater also was to be the discredit into which they fell when a severer examination proved that this pretension rested only on an illusion. The fundamental vice of the point of view which this School represents, is the complete absence of historical criticism.

Daub stands by the side of Schleiermacher like an image cast in bronze. His ambition to know the objective truth of

¹ We may mention among them his *Prolegomena zur Dogmatik*, and his *Vorlesungen über die Dogmatik*, which unfortunately stop at the Creation.

² *Prolegomena zur Moral*, 1839. *System der Theologischen Moral*, 3 vols. 1840.

³ *Darstellung u. Beurtheilung der verschiedenen Hypothesen in Betreff der Willensfreiheit*, herausgegeben von Kröger, Altona 1834.

religion is as legitimate as Schleiermacher's desire to study its psychological reality. But the one point of view is as exclusive as the other. What they both want is the true historical sense. In order to bring about the progress of scientific theology which constitutes the task of the present time, the speculative scholastic and the subjective dialectician must be united and completed by the adjunction of the historian. By this means alone will we avoid the dangers on which their systems have stranded.

II.

PHILIPP CONRAD MARHEINEKE is, next to Daub, the most eminent representative of the Speculative School. He was born in 1780 at Hildesheim in Hanover. His father was a postmaster and innkeeper, a respected citizen in easy circumstances, endowed with remarkable practical sense; and his mother was distinguished by her piety and the vivacity of her intelligence. Marheineke, who inherited the qualities of both, early felt in himself a pronounced inclination for the Church. He studied at Göttingen under the guidance of Planck and Ammon, whose lectures he keenly appreciated. Church History and Practical Theology attracted him most. He occupied himself little with Dogmatics, and almost not at all with Exegesis. During a period of teaching which followed his years of study at the University, Marheineke had occasion to preach frequently; and he even published several sermons which had great success.

Several dissertations having drawn the attention of the learned world to him, he was appointed in 1805 to a professorship at Erlangen, and two years later he was called to Heidelberg, where he attached himself to Daub, Schwarz, De Wette, and Creutzer. He published one volume of a work on the Universal History of Christianity, in which he defines and represents Christianity as the religion of action.¹ In addition to this he occupied himself with the *History of*

¹ *Universalhistorie des Christenthums*, 1806.

*Christian Ethics*¹ and also of Symbolics. Various projects for the fusion of the different Christian Churches were then circulating, and Marheineke believed that he could not do better than submit to a profound and impartial scientific examination, the points on which serious divergences of views existed. After having published some very remarkable studies on the Origin and Development of Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy in the first three centuries, and on Tradition according to the Catholic doctrine, he brought out in succession a large work on the *System of Catholicism in its Symbolical Development*,² and his *Institutiones Symbolicæ*.³ To these works we must also add his *Lectures on Symbolics*,⁴ published after his death. But in point of fact Catholicism alone formed the object of a complete scientific study on the part of Marheineke. He laments the fact that its doctrine is so little known, and that it is so often disfigured by Protestants. As for himself, he gives proof of an impartiality which has been acknowledged by the Catholics themselves. There is no trace of polemics in the whole book. After an introduction consecrated to the history of the sanction of the Catholic dogmas and to the examination of their sources, Marheineke develops the idea of the Church according to this system, and thus comes to disengage the principle on which it rests. The chapters devoted to the relations between Scripture and Tradition, to the Canon, the Vulgate, the interpretation of the Bible, the Episcopate, the Œcumenical Councils, and the primacy of the Bishop of Rome, are masterpieces of clear, calm, and faithful exposition. The third volume contains an examination of the dogmas properly so called, as well as a criticism of the entire system according to the principles of Protestantism. "May the day come," he says, "when there shall appear an analogous critical exposition of the Protestant System according to the

¹ Geschichte der christlichen Moral in den der Reformation zunächst vorangehenden Jahrhunderten, 1806.

² System des Catholicismus in seiner symbolischen Entwicklung, Heidelberg, 1810-13, 3 vols.

³ Institutiones Symbolicæ, 1812.

⁴ Vorlesungen über die Symbolik, Berlin 1848.

principles of Catholicism; and then the time will be at hand when it will be possible to think of a fusion of the two Churches on the basis of a mutual regeneration." This work of Marheineke may be considered as his masterpiece. It is distinguished by profound historical knowledge, luminous conceptions, a rare power of critical penetration, and an impartiality of the best kind.

Marheineke was called to the University of Berlin in 1811. As professor and preacher alongside of such formidable rivals as Schleiermacher and Neander, he taught successively all the branches of theology except Exegesis; but his lectures, with the exception of those on Symbolics, were little appreciated. He took an important part in the patriotic movement of 1813, being appointed captain in the militia; and he also took a share in the revival of the religious life. A small anonymous writing, published under the title of *Aphorisms relating to the renovation of the ecclesiastical life in Protestant Germany*,¹ had a rapid success. Starting from the idea of religion and its influence on individuals and society, he describes the ideal state of the Church, then examines the causes of its decay, and the means of reviving it. In the following years, Marheineke gave much of his attention to the Reformation, in view no doubt of the approaching celebration of its tercentenary. He published, with a dedication to the literary public, an excellent *History of the German Reformation* down to 1555.² Writing, so to speak, in the very language of the time he records, and applying himself thus to resuscitate that great epoch, he has introduced into the body of the work the sources with which he had long been familiar. It is a simple narrative without artificial pragmatism or scientific apparatus, without any pretentious search for psychological solutions or intentional display in the exposition. He wished to efface himself entirely, and to abstain from all reflection. Afterwards Marheineke published an abridgment of this work for

¹ Aphorismen zur Erneuerung des kirchlichen Lebens im protestantischen Deutschland, Berlin 1814.

² Geschichte der deutschen Reformation, Berlin, 4 vols., 1816-34.

the people, which had similar qualities.¹ The History of Dogmas had also early attracted his attention. In his lectures on the subject, which were published after his death,² we find judicious reflections on the relations between the History of Dogmas and the History of the Church. One of the essential points, according to him, is the description of the dogmatic spirit of each period; and of the influence which events have exercised on the development of Christian thought. He does not wish a uniform rubric for each period. Only controverted dogmas, and especially that of the Church, which is the most important of all, should form the subject of the exposition.

In the controversy on the liturgical right of the sovereign, Marheineke took the side of the King against Schleiermacher.³ According to him, the sovereign represents the living unity of the Church and State; and as such he exercises the right of regulating worship. This was not the only difference of view which existed between these two theologians. Marheineke reproached Schleiermacher with separating philosophy and theology, and despairing of a possible reconciliation between theoretical reason and practical reason. But there was little sympathy particularly between Marheineke and Neander, who reproached him with "carrying before him the sovereign pride of the idea of science *κατ' ἐξοχήν* with all the dignity of a High Priest, and looking down from above on everything that forms a part of common reason." Marheineke attached himself intimately only to Hegel and Daub. He delivered a course of lectures on the application of the Hegelian philosophy to theology, which was published.⁴ Without having the profoundness and intellectual originality of Daub, he possessed a clearness, liveness of form, practical ability, and ecclesiastical sense which were lacking to his colleague at Heidelberg. He directed a lively polemic first

¹ Die Reformation, ihre Entstehung und Verbreitung in Deutschland, Berlin 1846.

² Vorlesungen über die Dogmengeschichte, Berlin 1849.

³ Ueber die wahre Stelle des liturgischen Rechts im evangelischen Kirchenregiment, 1825.

⁴ Zur Kritik der Schelling'schen Philosophie, Berlin 1842-43.

against Schleiermacher and his "superficial" mode of mingling philosophy and revelation; then against Strauss and Bruno Bauer, and the temerity with which they applied the principles of the philosophy of Hegel to Biblical Criticism and Dogmatics.

We may further refer to Marheineke's works on Ethics¹ and on Practical Theology.² The numerous Sermons which he published at various times in his life, also deserve to be referred to. They are distinguished by deep earnestness, largeness, and kindliness of judgment, animation, clearness, and precision of form. But it was to Dogmatics that he came to devote his principal attention. The first edition of his *Fundamental Doctrines of Christian Dogmatics as a Science*³ appeared in 1819. It was an attempt to combine the ecclesiastical doctrine with the idealistic philosophy. Marheineke still wavered between Schelling and Schleiermacher, but having studied the Logic of Hegel, he acquired the conviction that it was the definitive philosophy. The second edition of his work, published in 1827, was entirely recast and dedicated to Daub. Marheineke wishes to abandon nothing of what makes up Christian truth, but to seize that truth in all its fulness by applying to it the Hegelian method, which was alone capable of stripping it of the contradictions in which it remains embarrassed. He indicates precisely his relation to rationalism and supranaturalism. Rationalism, which he also calls "obscurantism," is only "a mode of thinking without consistency, and one which never budges from its place;" it denies the possibility of a speculative science of God. Supranaturalism is only a disguised rationalism; it keeps revelation as a dead capital, and does not know how to give it currency. Their method is the same, being either too abstract or exclusively historical. They are unable to pursue the development of the Idea itself. In a third edition, pub-

¹ System der theologischen Moral, herausgegeben von Matthies und Vatke, 1817.

² Entwurf der praktischen Theologie, 1837.

³ Die Grundlehren der christlichen Dogmatik als Wissenschaft, Berl. 1819.

lished after his death in 1847, Marheineke gave to his thought its final form, striving to render it as transparent and as tangible as possible.

III.

We may now give a rapid sketch of Marheineke's dogmatic system.¹ Science being the logical development of the Idea, dogmatic science is the explication of this same Idea considered as God. The Idea of God, which is the root idea of theology, is not a simple representation of God, but it is God Himself immanent in the thought of man. It exists under three different forms: that of Scripture or the creed, that of the subjective faith of the Christian, and that of speculative science. The Idea of God, or God in us, takes consciousness of itself only for the moment in which it finds itself solicited by an object which reproduces it without, and this object is the Gospel. Hence the necessity of Revelation. Awakened by it, consciousness submits instinctively to its authority. But belief is still only a cognition in outline and the most elementary degree of science. There is certainty only from the moment at which the object of faith is recognised by science as identical with the content of the subjective consciousness. Dogmatics is the faith which understands itself and gives account of itself. But since the consciousness of God awakens in man only in duplicating itself into thesis and antithesis, the dogma which is the scientific expression of this phenomenon ought necessarily to present itself under the form of contradiction. This discovery is destined to bring about the reconciliation of the various theological parties and points of view. Folded upon itself, consciousness, far from abjuring the positive doctrines of Scripture and of the Church, adheres to them with all the more energy that it finds itself in them again with all the fulness of its religious and moral contents.

The principle of the Division of the System is involved in its philosophical premises. In its logical development

¹ Cf. A. Weber: *Le Système dogmatique de Marheineke*, Strasb. 1857.

the divine Idea, or God Himself, conceives Himself at first as Substance, which is absolute, infinite, indifferent in itself, and consequently impersonal. God in His objective and abstract existence, His essence and His attributes, constitute the object of the first part of dogmatic theology. Distinguishing next from this absolute Spirit as the object of thought, love, and adoration, the Spirit which thinks, loves, and adores it, Dogmatics, in its second part, treats of God as revealed in the Son, in the World, and in the Man-God. In the theory of Christ, the divine Idea breaks its subjective and individual form, elevates itself above the Ego, and recognises itself as being the identical substance of the Ego and of the world, as the Spirit which is no more individual only but universal. The Spirit arriving at the absolute and definitive consciousness of itself in the bosom of the Church, forms the third part of dogmatic science.

To deny to man the possibility of comprehending God, is to refuse it to God Himself, since the thought of man is no other than the creative thought. God is therefore comprehensible to us. The cognition of God is religion. The religious history of humanity is the history of the progressive labour by which the Idea-God arrives at the consciousness of itself in the heart of man. Christianity, the last term of this labour, is the definitive and supreme religion, because it is the consciousness which the Spirit in us has of being itself the Absolute.

The Idea of God being God conceiving Himself, there cannot be any other proof of the existence of God than this very Idea. The absolute Spirit is proved only by Itself. This attestation of the divine Being by Itself, is the theological proof; and it contains and resumes all the other arguments presented for the support of theism. God is thought; now Thought being identical with Being, God exists in reality. The attributes of God being identical with His Essence, of which they are the manifestation, are all synonymous and are related either to His substantiality (the Father), or to His subjectivity (the Son), or to His beatitude (the Spirit).

In so far as the Absolute has no consciousness of itself, it is as if it were not. It is the principle of intelligence, of love, and of will; but potentially. In order that the Absolute may become reason, love, freedom, it is necessary that it develop itself and grasp itself as the object of its consciousness. This object of divine intelligence, this Self which God perceives, and of which He is conscious, is the Son. Now to have consciousness of oneself, is to distinguish oneself from what one is not. What is not me, sets to me an end, a boundary, a limit. In order that the infinite may take consciousness of itself, it is therefore necessary that it pass into the state of the finite; that it lower itself into a form which limits itself, and from which it distinguishes itself. God perceives Himself in the Son only in perceiving another than Himself, His negation, the World. Hence the three essential points in the theory of God revealed: 1st, The immediate revelation of God, or the Son; 2nd, His mediate revelation, the World, and its *résumé*, man; 3rd, The unity of the Son and man, of the Spirit and nature, or Christology.

The immediate revelation of God in the Son as the adequate expression or perfect image of the divinity, is an illogical element in Marheineke's system. For how can the Infinite conceive itself wholly and in all the fulness of its being, when it moves in the limits of finite intelligence? As to the world, it is nothing in itself, and it has reality only in thought. It is God distinguishing Himself from what He is not. The creation of the world and the generation of the Son, are the two faces of the one single, eternal evolution of the divine thought. Creation is eternal; because without it God would be only an abstraction. Its purpose is the revelation of God to God. It is only as contained, incarnated, included in the finite, that God distinguishes Himself from His negation. It is in individuality that the Absolute becomes concrete Idea, or real and personal Spirit.

Identical with the absolute by its essence, but different from the infinite in so far as it is included in the form of the

finite and of individuality, the human soul is the image of God. The primordial identity of the finite spirit with the infinite spirit, constitutes the state of unconsciousness, or of innocence. This state ceases at the moment when, in consequence of the duplication of the absolute into subjective and finite spirit, and into objective and infinite spirit, the finite spirit distinguishes itself from God. This distinction is necessary, since it is the basis of the consciousness which the Absolute has of Itself. As such, it is not yet real evil, but it contains the possibility of it. In fact, separated from the infinite by the Ego, man finds himself having a special isolated individual existence. He becomes conscious or takes cognizance of himself as a finite and limited being, as a subject which is neither God nor anything of all that surrounds it. Transported into the sphere of will and of feeling, the consciousness of the finite Ego becomes selfish egoism. It is the natural tendency of the Ego to refer everything to self, instead of giving oneself all to all. By its selfishness the spirit finds itself subjected to nature, to the flesh, to the Ego, and dominated by the finite. By selfish Egoism, it has lost the essential character of the divine image, freedom. (Selfishness is the principle and source of evil. But since there is no metaphysical difference between the finite spirit and the infinite spirit, it is necessary to conclude from this, that God is the author of sin. It is He who, forgetting His identity, enters into conflict with Himself, opposes Himself to His own will, and subjects Himself to a purely imaginary power—Negation, in the simple thought that He is Himself this negation.)

As an objective and universal fact, Sin has its root in the very nature of man. As such, it is original sin, a vice inherent in the constitution of man in general. Personal sins are only the infinitely diverse manifestations of this universal principle. Original Sin has its seat, not in the body, nor in matter, but in the soul, which is the living relation between the spirit and nature, between the infinite and the Ego. Sin is the perturbation of this relation. Having reached the last

term of negation and sin, the human spirit tends to wheel round towards its point of departure,—the Infinite; it feels the imperious need of being reconciled with God. To become one with God is to realize a possibility; and this possibility, of which the work of redemption is only the historical development and manifestation, is the eternal Idea of the essential unity of God and man. In realizing itself in the limits of time, unity in itself becomes union; identity becomes identification. Now, from eternity God is not a single moment without man, nor man without God; the infinite is not conceiving itself without the finite, nor the finite without the infinite. They are both the two different elements of one and the same idea; and this supreme Idea, this absolute Spirit manifested in the one as in the other, constitutes their common basis, their essential identity. This identity is realized in time, and becomes reconciliation and identification as soon and in proportion as it reaches more clearly and more evidently the consciousness of man. (God is eternally and essentially God-man. Man is eternally and essentially man-God; and religion, whichever one it may be, has no other aim than divinization of man and the humanization of God. Christianity is the absolute synthesis of the Finite and the Infinite.)

The historical Christ is the realization of the divine ideal in a human individuality. In Christ God knows Himself man, and man knows himself God. In Him the contradiction between the human and the divine, between the Ego and the absolute, no longer exists: humanity has passed from the antithesis to the synthesis. Not only has Christ reconciled humanity with God, but He is Himself this reconciliation in His person and in His life. In the person of Christ the two natures, the infinite and the finite, are found brought back to their primordial unity. An individual, yet the limits of individuality do not exist for Him. "Everything for the world, nothing for Himself." Such is His motto. He governs as absolute Master all that constitutes feeling, desire, propensity, covetousness. This absence of all selfishness, of all particularism, this character of an ideal and universal humanity,

makes Christ the luminous centre of history. In His person humanity arrives at the consciousness of its divinity. If we are still actually unrighteous and sinful, Christ is our Redeemer, inasmuch as He reveals to us the possibility of arriving by His Spirit at righteousness and holiness. His life is the realization of the virtual righteousness and holiness of human nature, the manifestation of the righteousness and perfection of which we ourselves are capable; and under this title, His righteousness is our righteousness, His holiness is our holiness.

The Absolute, in order to distinguish Itself and to think, has had to pass out of its abstract unity to beget the Son and create the world. But the consciousness which God has of Himself as Son in the bosom of the finite Spirit, finds itself still limited by individuality. In order that the consciousness of the Absolute may become adequate, it must have as object no longer only some particular spirit, but the absolute and universal Spirit, the Holy Spirit. In the man-God, the Absolute has already reached the consciousness that He is not only the Spirit of Jesus of Nazareth, but the Spirit of all men, the Spirit of spirits. In Christ, God, incarnated in humanity, raises Himself above this humanity, above negation, multiplicity, individuality, in order to conceive Himself as He is in Himself, that is, as one, as infinite, and as absolute. This is the return of the divine Idea from its antithesis to thesis; it is its synthesis. (The Son is God incarnating Himself eternally in man; the Holy Spirit is God rising from among the creatures and entering into the fulness of His divinity. Thus the divine unity is developed under the form of Trinity; thus trinity is resolved in unity. But while in the ecclesiastical doctrine, the explication of the Trinity is a transcendent fact, from Marheineke's point of view, the trinitarian evolution of the Absolute has place only in the world, and by the creation.)

We pass over the development which Marheineke gives of the work of the Holy Spirit in us, to say a few words on the way in which he defines the relations that exist between the Church and the State.

The historical dualism of the Church and the State corresponds to the duality of human nature itself, man being man only in so far as he combines in his person the finite and the infinite, the world and God. The State or the legal order is not without the Church, or the religious order, and reciprocally. As the duality of man tends to unity, the antithesis between the two institutions ought to disappear more and more, and they cannot but gain by uniting with each other as closely as possible, without, however, being confounded with each other. Marheineke sees in the temporal sovereign the representative of the ideal unity of the State and the Church. The State, as the protector of the Church, demands in return from its *protégé* an absolute submission, which exposes dogmatic theology to become stagnant and immovable under the domination of official formulas.

Eternal felicity and the future life will have no other theatre than the consciousness of regenerated humanity. The internal beatitude and the external glory of the Christian, shall be so much the more pure and more divine as his faith, or the consciousness he has of his identity with Christ, will be more distinct, more clear, more living. The individual dies, but the person is immortal, because the spirit is the person. Our felicity will be so much the greater, the less individual it is; and it will be so much the more enviable, inasmuch as it will be the felicity of God reflecting Himself in us.

Such, in summary form, is the dogmatic System of Marheineke. Pantheism never put on more Christian forms, and yet it could not possibly for a single moment assume the change. In spite of his accommodations and his compromises, notwithstanding his voluntary or unconscious violations of logic, Marheineke cannot escape the reproach of having altered the Christian dogma in its very essence. He has striven to speak the language of the most scrupulous orthodoxy, yet the Hegelian meaning always pierces through the old formula. The negation of individuality is the fundamental vice of the

whole of this system, which derives the world and personality from the Idea, that is, from an abstract principle. There is nothing more dangerous than an idealism which ignores to this point the very conditions of being and of moral development. The distinction established between the individuality and the personality of God and of man, rests on a mere subtlety. In reality, both individuality and personality are suppressed, for the latter appears only as an attribute of the Spirit arriving at the consciousness of itself, but of itself as collectively. Man in this system is nothing more than a servile and entirely passive wheel in the inflexible mechanism of the divine Logic.

IV.

Along with Marheineke we must also mention KARL FRIEDRICH GÖSCHEL (1784-1861), although he was a jurist rather than a theologian. Born at Langensalza, he studied law at Leipsic, and was appointed district-judge at Naumburg. There he became acquainted with Count von Gerlach, and soon changed the principles of the philosophy of the Eighteenth Century, in which he had been brought up, for those of the Berlin pietistic revival. He published several apologetic works, which excited attention. In his *Cæcilius and Octavius*,¹ he defended the orthodox doctrine of Sin and of the Saviour; and in his *Aphorisms*,² written under the influence of the philosophy of Hegel, he interpreted the texts of the master so as to show their accordance with all the parts of the Catechism, willingly sharing the illusion of a final reconciliation between Christian faith and speculation. It is proper to add, that the Hegelian School maintained that this conception of Christianity, stripped of the severe forms of philosophy, was not its proper conception. A rather lively controversy ensued, till Göschel, acknowledging his mistake, separated himself from the School.

¹ *Cæcilius u. Octavius, oder Gespräche über die vornehmsten Einwendungen gegen die christliche Wahrheit*, 1828.

² *Aphorismen über Nichtwissen u. absolutes Wissen im Verhältniss zur christlichen Glaubenslehre*, 1829. See also: *Hegel u. seine Zeit*, 1833.

Having been called as a Privy Councillor to Berlin in 1834, he defended the cause of the reaction in the Department of Justice and Worship. He further published various monographs on the Oath,¹ on the Immortality of the Soul,² on the Problem of the Man-God,³ in favour of Hegel and against Strauss. But by degrees his interest in philosophy gave place entirely to his interest in the affairs of the Church. Appointed President of the Consistory of Magdeburg, he compelled the Leaders of the Friends of Light to leave the Church. In 1848 he resigned his appointment and withdrew to Berlin, where, in various writings, he continued to defend the principles of a rather narrow Lutheranism.⁴ It has been correctly enough said, in judging Göschel, that he sought to mix Christianity with jurisprudence, and to justify Christianity from the juridical point of view.

Among the disciples of Hegel no one showed more ability in applying the principles of his philosophy to the various branches of theological science than JOHANN CARL FRIEDRICH ROSENKRANZ (1805–1879), Professor at Halle and then at Königsberg. He occupied himself much with the History of Poetry in its relations with religious ideas, and published a series of writings,⁵ among which we must specially mention an *Encyclopædia of the Theological Sciences*,⁶ which has been very well executed, especially in the second edition, in which the work was entirely recast.

In a more special sphere we may also name Professor JOHANN EDUARD ERDMANN of Halle, celebrated for his

¹ Der Eid, nach seinem Princip, Begriff u. Gebrauch, 1837.

² Von den Beweisen der Unsterblichkeit der menschlichen Seele, 1835.

³ Beiträge zur speculativen Philosophie von Gott, dem Menschen u. dem Gottmenschen, 1838.

⁴ Ueber die Bedeutung der lutherischen Kirche u. ihr Verhältniss zur allgemeinen Kirche u. zum Staate, 1849. Zur Lehre von den letzten Dingen, 1850. Der Dualismus der evangel. Kirchenverfassung, 1852.

⁵ Die Naturreligion, 1831. Handbuch einer Geschichte der Poesie, 1832. Kritische Erläuterung des Hegel'schen Systems, 1840.

⁶ Encyclopædie der theologischen Wissenschaften, Halle 1831, 2nd ed. 1845. Aus einem Tagebuch, Leipz. 1854. Von Magdeburg nach Königsberg, Berlin 1873.

numerous works on philosophy, and especially for his History of Philosophy.¹

JULIUS SCHALLER (1810–1868), in his work on the *Historical Christ and Philosophy*,² sought to demonstrate, against Strauss, that the Idea is not real if it does not incarnate itself in an individual.

FRIEDRICH RUDOLPH HASSE (1808–1862), Professor at Bonn, the author of a monograph on Anselm of Canterbury and several works on the Bible, endeavoured to apply the Categories of the Hegelian system to the whole history of the Church.³

¹ Erdmann was born in 1805. Besides his excellent History of Philosophy (which is being translated into English), of his other works the following may be mentioned: Ueber Glauben und Wissen, 1837. Psychologische Briefe, 1851, 6th ed. 1882. Ernste Spiele, 1855, 3rd ed. 1875.

² Der historische Christus u. die Philosophie. Kritik der Grundidee des Werks: das Leben Jesu von Dr. Strauss, Leipz. 1838. Geschichte der Naturphilosophie von Bacon bis auf unsere Zeit, 2 vols., Leipz. 1841–44. Das Seelenleben, Weim. 1860.

³ Geschichte des alten Bundes, Leipz. 1863. Kirchengeschichte, herausgegeben von Köhler, 2nd ed. Leipz. 1872. Cf. Kraft: Hasse's Lebensskizze, Bonn 1865.

CHAPTER VI.

THE CLASSICAL LITERATURE.

IT is desirable, if not indispensable, in giving an account of the spiritual movement in Germany from the end of the last Century, to consider the attitude which the great leaders of literature took up towards Christianity and the traditional theological system. In doing so, it will be necessary to review and indicate the nature of the influence which they have exercised on the German public, who received their masterpieces with enthusiasm and admiration.

We shall begin by referring to Schiller and Goethe as the chief representatives of the Classical Literature of the close of the Eighteenth and the beginning of the Nineteenth Century. In another chapter we shall deal with the Lyrical and Christian Poetry of the chiefs of the Romantic School, and of the Hymn Writers who more specially belong to the period under review.

I.

More than any other of the great literary leaders of the close of the Eighteenth Century, FRIEDRICH SCHILLER¹ (1759–1805) reflects the aspirations and struggles of that age of revolution. No one on the threshold of our Century presents an incarnation of the German genius at once so complete and and so living; nor has any one exercised a more powerful

influence over his countrymen than the author of the *Ballads* and of *Don Carlos*. In his works, the Rationalism of his time divests itself of whatever it had that was narrow and common. It enlarges its horizon; it becomes poetic; it impregnates itself with the purest and noblest enthusiasm, and satisfies one of the most characteristic tendencies of the German mind, the tendency towards idealism. Schiller raised poetry from the state of degradation in which it was found, and from that aristocratic infection to which it had accommodated itself but too largely even in Wieland, owing to the seductive imitation of foreign models. He opened up the sphere of the ideal to it again. To the frivolous and materialistic tendencies of his time he opposed the beauty and moral grandeur of virtue. Fleeing from the lower levels and hewing out for itself a rough and solitary pathway through the rocks, the poetry of Schiller, without dreading the abysses which it skirts along, transports us to the summits of things.

This is not the place for a complete study of the part of Schiller in the history of German civilisation; we have only to indicate the influence which he has exercised on the development of the religious ideas. In his father's house at Marbach and Ludwigsburg, the poet lived in an intimate and permeating atmosphere of Swabian piety, modified, however, by a regrettable orthodox pedantry. At the military school of Hohenheim, Schiller again encountered that stern and inflexible discipline which seems more out of place in matters of religion than in any other sphere. The ardent and precocious youth, who at the age of fifteen already read the writings of Voltaire, continued to edify himself by reading the psalms and hymns of Paul Gerhard. In imitation of Klopstock's *Messiah*, he even planned composing a poem on Moses; and as his most enviable ideal, he cherished the dream of the humble life of a country pastor. Doubt had invaded his soul athirst for truth; but it was earnest doubt, far removed from all scoffing or from any profane feelings. In the *Robbers*, his first drama, he brands the despisers of religion, those who in their frivolous outbursts make a display of

¹ Cf. Binder: Schiller im Verhältniss zum Christenthum, Stuttg. 1839. G. Schwab an Ullmann: Ueber den Cultus des Genius, Stuttg. 1840. Biographies of Schiller by Schwab, Palleske, Julian Schmidt, and others. See also Baur's judgment in his Kirchengeschichte des 19ten Jahrhunderts, 1862, p. 46 *et seq.* [The principal works of Schiller have been translated in Bohn's Standard Library, 5 vols.]

incredulity and atheism; and Pastor Moser, whom he opposes to them, represents pretty much the ideal of his youthful dreams.

But soon thereafter he was drawn away by the current of his time much more than he governed or guided it; and we then find in Schiller only sarcasms and an invincible repulsion towards every positive religion, including its institutions and representatives. He becomes profoundly sceptical in the matter of religious history, thinks he finds everywhere traces of the calculation and fraud of priests, declares that the Bible is true (that is to say, sincere) only where it is unprepossessed, and "understands by religion the attaching oneself to no religion." Schiller has no sense for the grandeur of the poetry of the Bible; and he feels no sympathy for Herder, whom he accuses of favouring superstition by his attachment to Oriental legends. Like Lessing and Winckelmann, he seeks the ideal of the beautiful in Greece.

At the same time the young dramatist studied the philosophy of Kant with zeal, seeking to soften what appeared to be austere in it by the worship of Art. The Marquis of Posa in *Don Carlos* is a Kantian of the Sixteenth Century in Spanish costume; he opposes the inflexible rigour of the categorical imperative to the infinite compliances and concessions of the Catholic conscience which reigns in the Escorial. In a well-known Ode, entitled *The Words of Faith*, which is a sort of profession of faith, Schiller substitutes for the Trinity of the ecclesiastical dogma the trinity of the practical reason: Freedom, Virtue, and God. It will be observed that freedom holds here the place of immortality, which the common rationalism willingly associated with the belief in God and in virtue. As to the divine Being, the poet is careful to tell us that the God whom he adores is the transcendent God, who is infinitely elevated above space and time, and who, consequently, is without any action upon the world. In another poem which is also very characteristic, entitled *The Mission of Moses*, even while showing forth the providential part of this Biblical hero, Schiller seeks to

explain naturally the miracles which the narratives of the Old Testament assign to him. Moses was initiated in Egypt into the mysteries of monotheism and the natural sciences. Accommodating himself to the religious ideas of his people, and striking their mind by pretended prodigies, he represented God under the form of a national Jehovah, being certain to obtain in this way the assent of men who were still crude and credulous.

It is relevant to say a few words here on the way in which Schiller, by a sort of irony of destiny, viewed history, upon which he was called to lecture at Jena. To his eyes it presents only a conglomeration of materials from which the philosopher and the artist draw the types which they need. The poet frankly avows that history was never anything to him but a magazine which furnished his imagination with decorations and costumes. Not only was Schiller lacking in historical sense and respect for the facts of history, but he seeks to justify the liberties he takes with it by the purpose which he pursues. The heroes of his dramas and his ballads become the organs of his philosophy, and, as it were, reflections, or the more or less idealized copies of his own individuality. Take the Marquis of Posa, Joan of Arc, Mary Stuart, Wallenstein, William Tell. These are not the personages whose tragic destinies are revealed to us in history; they are types, abstract creations, which speak the philosophical language of the Eighteenth Century. In this respect Schiller is still absolutely rationalistic. He exhibits no sense for individuality, no respect for local colouring and historical truth. The past is everywhere sacrificed to the present, and declamation takes the place of plastic art.

But where the poet rises above rationalism is in the revolutionary vitality which animates his dramas. In him we find no accommodation or compromise with traditional institutions. He proclaims everywhere the legitimacy of revolt against authority, convention, and usage. We have here an application of the principles of 1789 to the domain

of letters, the only one in which their influence makes itself sensible in Germany. It is translated into German literature by an absolute subjectivism, by the completest vindication of individual liberty in the intellectual and moral sphere. The poet entrenches himself in it as in an impregnable fort, and feels himself so powerful there, that he experiences no need of mixing with the political and social life, and provoking transformations on it. A strange but yet a perfectly explicable thing it is from this point of view, that the historian of the Revolt of the Netherlands and of the religious wars of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, the eloquent defender of the Protestant conscience in its struggles for the vindication of religious liberty, has no precise idea of the modern State. He does not abandon the point of view which sees in it a tutor charged with the education of the people. (The most efficacious means, according to him, which the State possesses for developing the morality and piety of the people, is the theatre.)

Schiller published a curious tractate, entitled *The Stage considered as a moral Institution*.¹ In this production he claims for the dramatic art an eminent place in modern society. In fact, the stage is not only in his eyes a sort of symbolical judgment of history, in which virtue finds its reward and vice its punishment, as well as a living mirror of the contemporary morals, and more than any other institution of the State a school of practical wisdom; but it also further opens to us the most powerful religious consolations. It is in the theatre alone that the great ones of the earth hear the truth and behold man as he is. The stage is the radiant hearth from which the light of the wisdom of the intellectual *élite* emanates in order to spread itself therefrom in softened rays through the whole country. The theatre is the school of toleration; it is called to exercise the most salutary influence on education. What in former days was expected only from the Church, Schiller demands now from the masterpieces of dramatic Art. Religion itself can only prevent its ruin by forming an alliance with the theatre. In the ideal world

¹ Die Schaubühne als eine moralische Anstalt, 1794.

into which the dramatic art transports us, the real world, with its sad miseries, wants, and limitations, is effaced from before our eyes. We find ourselves again; we exchange our poor self, crushed, overwhelmed, battered and disfigured by the melancholy struggles which it has to wage with reality, for our ideal self, clothed with its original purity. The poet rouses up our better nature from the sleep into which it has sunk; he awakens it from its torpor by the healthy passions which he excites in it. We also find the same ideas on the beneficent effects of art developed in his treatise on the *Æsthetic Education of Man*.¹

It cannot be said, however, that this attempt to replace religion by art in the moral guidance of humanity had fully satisfied Schiller. There remain as the proof of this the most beautiful of his poems, such as the *Gods of Greece* and the *Words of Error*, which breathe forth a profound discouragement, a penetrating melancholy. The poet utters in them the painful avowal of his insufficiency: he resigns himself to inevitable destiny; he withdraws into the world of the soul, far from contact with the real world, where everything galls him, and which he does not succeed in transforming into his image. This, then, is the issue to which his idealism comes. Let us note, however, that the reproaches which Schiller addresses to Christianity apply only to the cold orthodoxy and the pale rationalism of his time, with their cruel or inaccessible God, the crude image of man with his passions and his limitations, or a dead and icy abstraction without attraction for the individual or action on the world. It has been alleged that Schiller was not without some feeling or presentiment of the true essence of Christianity; and that notably towards the end of his life there was manifested in him the stirring of a desire to return to the faith of his childhood. And thus there have been gathered from his poems a certain number of passages in support of this view, such as the following, which we translate from the poet's verse into literal prose: "Religion of the Cross, only thou dost unite in one garland the double

¹ Ueber die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen, 1793.

palm of both humility and power.”¹ “What no intellect of the intellectual sees, is practised in simplicity by a childlike heart.”² “The world is perfect everywhere, wherever man does not come with his torment. This one thing I feel and know clearly : that Life is not the highest of goods, but guilt is the greatest of evils.”³

We will not dispute the fact that there is profound truth in these thoughts, but we believe that it would be rash to infer from them a reconciliation of Schiller with Christianity.

The immense influence which Schiller has exercised on the German people is incontestable. It bore on the feelings rather than on the ideas or the morality of his contemporaries. Schiller is filled with a burning wrath against all that debases man, against all that degrades reason, against all that is directed against the dignity of our race. He exhorts us to hate with him the lower powers of our being, to withdraw ourselves from them by a sublime effort, and to transport ourselves into the world of the ideal in order there to take up our abode. “Never,” says Perthes, “will the young forsake Schiller, so obstinately and so heroically discontented with himself. Struggling to implore aid and stretching out his arms to embrace the living God, he found only the cold idol of reason enthroned in astronomical sublimity. And the maturer man will also say that the great poet carried in him the need of Christianity, although his time concealed the image from him.”⁴ Aspiration, rapture, that is what we admire in the poetry of Schiller, and that is

¹ Religion des Kreuzes, nur du verknüpfest in Einem
Kranze, der Demuth und Kraft doppelte Palme zugleich.
(Die Johanniter.)

² Und was kein Verstand der Verständigen sieht,
Das übet in Einfalt ein kindlich Gemüth.
(Die Worte des Glaubens.)

³ Die Welt ist vollkommen überall,
Wo der Mensch nicht hinkommt mit seiner Qual. . . .
Das Eine fühl ich und erkenn es klar :
Das Leben ist der Güter höchstes nicht,
Der Uebel grösstes aber ist die Schuld.

(Die Braut von Messina.)

⁴ F. Perthes, *Leben*, iii. 225.

what he has communicated to the German nation. But his poems are not exempt from sentimentalism and declamation ; two vices which, as is well known, are most dangerous to the true progress of enlightenment and morality. The poetry of Schiller opens to us far horizons, but they are vague and confused. Beyond this world, which is governed by a cold and cruel fatality, there are displayed to the eyes of those who have the sense of the beautiful, the eternal types of all things which can be realized on the earth only by art, but which undoubtedly exist under another form in a better world. Such is the meagre and uncertain consolation which the philosophy of Schiller offers to the small select band of artist souls who are able to lay hold of it.

II.

Among the men who have exercised a large influence on the intellectual and moral development of modern Germany, no one occupies a more important place than JOHANN WOLFGANG VON GOETHE (1749–1832).¹ Richly endowed with the gifts of nature, revealing all the mental capacities and surrounded by a band of admirers, Goethe appears as an imposing form crowned with all the favours of fortune. Calm and serene, he moves at ease among the crowd of men ; and he disposes of all things and of himself in the manner of a sovereign, or rather of a god. No existence has been more envied ; no mortal has been more idolized. Germany is prouder of Goethe than of any other of her sons ; she has lavished upon him an inexhaustible admiration. Beyond the Rhine there is indeed a veritable Goethe cult. Even before his death he entered on an apotheosis, and took rank among the divinities of Olympus.

¹ See especially G. H. Lewes's excellent *Life of Goethe*. Van Oosterzee : *Goethe's Stellung zum Christenthum*, Bielefeld 1858. Piper : *Goethe's Nationale Stellung*, 1860. Marmier : *Etudes sur Goethe*, 1835. De Richelot : *Goethe, ses Mémoires et sa vie*, 1863. Caro : *La Philosophie de Goethe*, 1866. Bossert : *Goethe, ses précurseurs et ses contemporains*, 1872. Mézières : *Goethe, les œuvres expliquées par la vie*, 1872.

Goethe not only anticipated his epoch, but greatly overpassed it by the whole substance of his philosophical conceptions and his poetical inspirations. It may be said of him that he is rather a man of our own time. His mode of viewing life, of taking account of the varied phenomena which are produced in it, of grouping them, and of combining them together, resembles in all points that which is in favour to-day. It is a sort of vague floating poetical pantheism. To abandon oneself willingly to the current of the world, to accommodate oneself to times and things, to perceive oneself as an object, and to treat oneself as a part of the whole: such was the method of Goethe, and it evidently corresponds to one of the most pronounced tendencies of our time.

What secured him his ascendancy over the men of his own age, and what made his views be so easily propagated, was the fact that he did not present them under a systematic form. He did not impose his ideas upon others by any sort of regular teaching. Haughty and independent in soul, an enemy of formulas and dogmas, and of all that is heavy and didactic, Goethe is essentially an artist and a poet. He gives to his thoughts a thousand diverse forms, and surrounds them with an irresistible charm. He borrows from the romance and from the stage their inexhaustible resources in order to make them serve his ideas, which he knows how to present with an infinite flexibility and variety. He diffuses his ideas and insinuates them gently into the public mind by embodying them in ideal creations destined to an immortal life. And these creations he multiplies, thanks to his prodigious fecundity. His genius is like a flowing spring, which pours forth its clear and silvery flood without wearying itself, and goes forth carrying everywhere freshness and life.

(The life of Goethe may be divided into three periods: the first period extends from 1749, the year of his birth, to his first journey to Italy in 1786; the second closes with the death of Schiller in 1803; and the third brings us down to his own death in 1832.) Although it is only the third

period and a part of the second that fall properly within the period of thought under review, they exhibit the culmination of his life; and it will therefore be advisable to look at his whole career and activity.

The first period embraces the years of his infancy and youth, passed in his father's house at Frankfort; his periods of study at the Universities of Leipsic and Strasburg; his call to Weimar; and his starting for the land of art and of orange groves. It is the springtime of Goethe's heart, and talent, and glory; an incomparable breeze of freshness and poetry animates him; his genius tries its wings, and gives promise of soon expanding them with vigour. This is the period of *The Sorrows of Werther* and *Götz of Berlichingen*, which were passionately written and passionately read, and which circulated with electrical rapidity from one end of Germany to the other.

Every one knows about the house of Goethe's father, with its rigid habits and its patriarchal manners. The father was already somewhat aged, a cultivated man, and an honourable spirit endowed with an energetic will; and the mother still young, gladsome, and excelling in the art of narration. The soul of the child Goethe was limpid, accessible, and open to the most diverse impressions. The breath of religion was not absent from it; and the poet has sketched in his inimitable style several of the features which characterised his infantine piety. His religious instruction, however, left much to be desired. The pastor who was entrusted with it inculcated the precepts of a dry and unattractive morality. His first communion left no serious trace in his soul. Among the female friends of his mother, he met with some possessed of a warm and exquisite religious feeling, and among them Fräulein von Klettenberg, whose sweet and gentle piety exercised a profound charm over him. At the age of ten, without the knowledge of his father, who was an enemy of poetry and of what he called religious enthusiasm, he had already learned whole portions of Klopstock's *Messiah*, and he felt himself

drawn away by the elevation of the subject. He also early studied Hebrew, and showed an increasing interest for the historical books of the Old Testament. The period of the patriarchs chiefly attracted him, and he sought to acquire clear notions about Palestine. At the age of fourteen he composed a collection of sacred odes and songs, one of which had as its subject the descent of Christ to Hell, and which moved in the circle of the traditional theological ideas.

It was at Leipsic, to which Goethe had gone to study law, that he first occupied himself with the questions of the philosophy of religion. With the numerous temptations to which the life of the student was then exposed, he found there a confused jumble of contradictory opinions on the great problems of life. Coarse debauch shocked him, and filled him with disgust. Unjust and scoffing attacks upon Christianity displeased him; for had he not owed all his moral culture to those facts, and doctrines, and Christian symbols whose remembrance was profoundly engraven on his soul? Nevertheless his intellect, hungering for light, found no nourishment. The dry and pedantic philosophy of Wolf wearied him. The candid and sincere piety of Gellert lacked vigour and communicative power. Goethe saw himself reduced to himself; and he returned to his father's house about the age of nineteen, sick in body and mind, and like one who had been shipwrecked. His intellect then concentrated itself and bore itself towards the things of the higher world. Cruelly warned by the experiences that he had gone through, he seeks in the Gospel for peace and consolation for his wounded heart. Fräulein von Klettenberg becomes the friend to whom he confides his pains; she puts her finger on the wound, and tells Goethe that his inner misery arises from the fact that he has not yet "a reconciled God." The young man, far from showing irritation or impatience, enters into discussion with this pious friend of his mother; he asks nothing better than to be convinced, and is on the point of surrendering. Meetings for edification and prayer are held under her guidance; he reads Arnold's "History of the Church and of Heresies." and tries,

with materials borrowed from mysticism and theosophy, to construct a sort of religious system which, with Neo-Platonism forming its basis, was fanciful enough. He even has himself initiated by his physician into cabalistic studies.

But soon tearing himself away from these barren reveries, and armed with new courage, Goethe repaired to Strasburg. Applying but a moderate assiduity to his studies, he worked by fits and starts, curious about many things, and loving all other sciences rather than that of law. He did not cease to keep up relations with pious souls. A gay and merry student, he takes at table the side of Jung Stilling, and testifies a lively sympathy for his vital and hearty Christianity. He continued to correspond with his mother's amiable friend, conjuring her to remember him in her prayers. The Moravian Brethren attracted him in a very special manner, and he declares that it would have been in the power of their leaders to have gained him entirely. When Herder visited Strasburg, Goethe received him with enthusiasm, and almost never quitted him; and Hamann, the Magus of the North, inspired in him such a lively interest, that he thought afterwards of publishing an edition of his works. Among the first of Goethe's writings several treat of theological subjects. The Bible always preoccupies him. He seeks to take account of the composition of Exodus and of the Gospels; he does not disguise the difficulties presented by the problem of the harmony of the latter. "It matters little," he says, "that the Gospels contradict each other, provided the Gospel does not contradict itself." He speaks with disdain of the frivolous mockery which Voltaire indulged in with regard to the Bible; and he similarly viewed the ridiculous or profane interpretations to which a stale rationalism subjected it.

Goethe was twenty-five years old when he made the acquaintance of Lavater. From the first meeting he was struck with an enthusiastic friendship for him. He declared that he had been entirely wrong in regarding him as a visionary and dreamer. He sought his conversation with eagerness. The reading of his sermons transported him;

they furnished the liveliest enjoyments which he procured from his journey to Switzerland. "Lavater is the best, the greatest, the wisest, the profoundest of all men." And yet, it must be said, this lively sympathy for the Christians whom Goethe meets, was very superficial. His admiration for the Gospel, as his knowledge generally in matters of religion, was very incomplete. Goethe wishes only to be the judge of the contest; he looks on as a disinterested spectator at the struggle which proceeds in the arena; he curiously studies the opinions that clash around him, but pronounces himself for none. Decidedly, "the old churches have very sombre stained windows!" and if the form of the French naturalism repels him, the fundamental principle of its doctrine attracts him. His friend Kestner could say, not without good reason: "Goethe is a young man of genius; he appreciates Christianity much in others, but he keeps himself apart from the religious community; he admits that he can no longer pray but rarely." Gradually his attitude became franker; and he gave himself less trouble to appear externally what he no longer was in the depths of his heart. Fräulein von Klettenberg, with profound pain, saw him remove from Christianity; she gives him the assurance that she loves him even better thus than when he enveloped his scepticism in Christian terminology. The opinion which Goethe puts into the mouth of Werther is indeed his own: "I venerate religion; I feel that it is the support of the weak, and the solace of him who despairs. But can it, and should it be, that for everybody?" He confesses with praiseworthy sincerity that what drives him from Christianity is the doctrine of the moral corruption of humanity. Goethe was a Pelagian. His soul overflowed with life. He felt certain powerful unknown energies stirring and moving in the depths of his being, and he wished to exercise the forces with which he felt himself endowed. He demanded action. Nature was then appearing to him in all her glory. Humanity taken all in all seemed a masterpiece too. "There are so many excellent persons who have resolved to accomplish duty because it is duty, without any considera-

tion and without any aid of an alien kind." Goethe would join them. The abyss which was separating him from the Christians increased under his steps. He finds himself constrained in their society; he has need of independence. It was then that he composed his *Prometheus, Götz of Berlichingen*, and the *Sorrows of Werther*.

Goethe now sought to quench the intellectual thirst which the Gospel could not satisfy, in the philosophy of Spinoza. The first storms of passion having passed, he has need of peace and light. So he feels himself attracted by this gentle and penetrating thinker. The calm serenity which broods over his writings, fills Goethe with an irresistible charm. It was during his stay at Pempelfort, on the banks of the Rhine, in the ravishing country-seat of the philosopher Jacobi, that Goethe was seized by his passion for the Ethics of Spinoza, referring to which he declares that their author is "*non atheum, sed theissimum et Christianissimum*." "We see him here," says Caro, "at that moment of his life at which the chaos of his ideas settles down, when, pacified in his inner troubles and reconciled with his instincts, he feels beating within him faculties almost infinite, which, till the last day of a long life, the happiest fecundity could not exhaust. At the crash of his past beliefs he feels neither anguish nor despair. On the contrary, there arises a complete security within him before the problem of things, which is founded, not on the hope of resolving it, but on an absolute trust in himself, on a faith in his genius strong enough to dispense with every external point of support, on an almost Olympian pride of thought which finds consolation at not embracing the whole sphere of ideas or of art by the certainty that no mortal thought will ever embrace it." Spinoza led Goethe to the study of nature, which from that time remained the dominant passion of his life. In order to satisfy it, he needed the calm and leisure of a life freed from care. Such an existence awaited him at Weimar, to which he was called by the young Duke Charles Augustus, whose friend and counsellor he became. In his new position, in which the cares of politics

engaged him but little, Goethe divided his time between the cultivation of art, of literature, and of science; he enjoyed with delight the pleasure which his mind obtained from his relations with eminent men and distinguished women, while showing himself not at all insensible to the enjoyment of luxury and comfort. Free and loosed from a past which he forgets, he grows more and more cold towards his old friends; and he no longer spares religion the polished sarcasms which he had till then restrained. Thus it was that after having taken much trouble to obtain the elevation of Herder to the supreme ecclesiastical dignity of the Duchy of Weimar, he received him with a bantering poem in which he compares his arrival to the entry of Jesus into Jerusalem, telling him beforehand that when placed at the head of the Ducal clergy he will ride, not on one ass, but on a hundred and fifty. He heard Herder preach only once, and declared himself but moderately satisfied.

Towards Lavater it was no longer indifference he felt, but almost hatred. The efforts of the pastor of Zurich to bring him to a more positive faith and to a more equitable appreciation of Christianity, disconcert him to the highest degree. Why oblige him to take a side? Are not God and Satan, heaven and hell, united in his heart? And this state seems to him the most natural in the world. "All the ideal reveries of Lavater will not persuade me to let myself be led astray in the end; I wish to be good and bad like nature. . . . I am satiated with the history of the good Jesus; it is He who has turned the head of this poor Lavater." He finds a thousand books as fine as the Bible. "Provided that we believe in something higher than ourselves, the object and mode of this belief are entirely indifferent." Christ becomes to Goethe the mythical ideal of man, the classical type of resemblance to God. But the Christ has not existed; for a single individual cannot unite all perfections. Men have lavished on the image of Christ all that they would like themselves to realize; in worshipping him they worship themselves, or rather the ideal which is within them. "Is it not

an unjust thing," he writes to Lavater, "to strip all the birds of heaven of their most precious feathers in order to adorn your bird of paradise exclusively with them?" The friendship of Goethe with Lavater suddenly came to an end. When Lavater came to Weimar to return the visit which Goethe had made him at Zurich, the bond between them was already broken. "Our embraces," says Goethe, "seemed to me as suspicious as those of a tiger. Not a cordial word was exchanged between us; and so I am delivered for ever from either hatred or love towards him. My soul is like a glass of pure water?"

This brings us to the close of the first period of his life. Goethe has liberated himself from the impressions and opinions of the past; his penetrating look plunges into the future. Free and eager for enjoyment, he sets out for Italy, whither he goes to refresh his thought and to strengthen his talent in sight of the masterpieces of art. Nevertheless he is not happy. What he wrote at this time to one of his friends may be applied to himself: "The soul resembles a purgatory in which all the powers of heaven and hell clash and join in desperate struggle."

III.

Goethe was settled at Weimar during the second period of his life. His talent came to complete maturity in the land of art, and it expanded with a grace full of harmony. The world of antiquity revealed itself to him. It opened its temples and treasures to his hand. The poet was intoxicated with the beauty of the classical works. In possession of the fulness of his powers, he proudly enjoyed himself. His look turns away from the study of man within him and around him, to direct itself more and more towards nature and art. "Hitherto," he says, "I have shared the fate of Tantalus and Sisyphus; now I have arrived at a clear and peaceful view of all things." He declares that he had found beyond the Alps the keenest enjoyment of his life. Art has acted in a

beneficial manner upon his character; he pretends even that he owes to it a sort of moral renovation. But his aversion to Christianity only increases. He has compared the splendour and pomp of the Catholic Church with the simplicity of the Apostolic Age; and on the soil of the successors of St. Peter he has found at bottom but a "miserable and deformed" paganism. He returned from Rome, as Jacobi has energetically expressed it, with a hatred against Christianity that was "truly Julianic." His indignation cannot contain itself; the poet, usually so delicate and so measured, raises his voice with a coarse rudeness against all that is holy. One has only to read the Epigrams, composed at Venice, and his *Roman Elegies* to find this. "Owing to the fable of Christ," he writes to Herder, "the world will still remain plunged for ten thousand years in darkness, because it is obliged to spend as much strength in defending it as in attacking it. Reason is used up in this barren struggle." He claims emphatically for himself the name of pagan, but he does not wish to be thought a partisan of the doctrine of Voltaire, "on which it is impossible to found anything."

He hears an account of the triumphal tour which Lavater has made in the north of Germany, and immediately he bursts out into sarcastic invectives. He does not even spare his old friend the most injurious suspicions. "He understands his trade well; with these people everything becomes a question of money, influence, and power." On passing through Zurich, Goethe was walking before the house of Lavater, and when the latter ran up to clasp his hand, Goethe refused to receive him. The Christian life, even in its most exquisite manifestations, no longer interests him. He hardly approaches the Princess Gallitzin, the pious friend of Hemsterhuys, whom he had occasion to see at Rome. His friendship for Madame von Stein herself grows cold. On the other hand, he marries a vulgar woman who was incapable of bringing him domestic happiness.

And yet the interval which extended between the years 1790 and 1805 was the most productive period of his genius. He

draws Schiller to him; and, thanks to their close friendship, a second youth breaks upon him. After a short misunderstanding, the two poets met again, and they remained united for the rest of their life. There arose between them a noble emulation, which in some sort doubled the power of each of them. Goethe writes his most beautiful Ballads, his *Tasso* and his *Iphigenia*, that Greek virgin almost transformed into a Christian Madonna; he also composes *Eymont*, and *Hermann and Dorothea*; and he prepares the dramatic poem of *Faust*. Judging only by what we possess, one is entitled to ask what fruits this union of poetic forces would have borne, if death had not prematurely separated these two friendly constellations. Unhappily Schiller was not capable of reconciling Goethe with Christianity. It even appears that he only exalted to a higher degree the foolish pride and the immense confidence which Goethe had in himself. They published in concert the collection of *Xenien*, a series of cutting epigrams which set all literary Germany into commotion, because every author saw or believed himself attacked. The poets themselves compared these epigrams to Samson's foxes, sent with their flaming tails into the country of the German Philistines to ravage their paper fields.

Nevertheless Goethe's hatred of Christianity becomes insensibly appeased. He agrees to assign it a certain value; he even proposes to read the Bible anew from one end to the other, when he has leisure. To this period also belong the *Confessions of a beautiful Soul*, a sort of private journal found in the papers of Miss Klettenberg, and inserted in the sixth book of the *Apprenticeship of Wilhelm Meister*. It is the narration of the Christian experiences of a soul that has found in God the satisfaction of all its desires. But Goethe has himself declared that the sentiments which are depicted in it rest "on the most generous illusions, and on the most delicate confusion of the subjective and objective." The poet can describe the religious life even in its finest shades, and he can make the inmost chords of the soul vibrate,

without feeling anything of it himself. An incomparable artist, he remains disinterested towards his own work.

We shall say almost nothing of *Faust*. This great drama is so well known that it is unnecessary to pause upon it. In the thought of Goethe, Faust is the type of man, and particularly of the modern man, with that insatiable thirst for knowing, enjoying, and creating, which characterizes him, and with that mobile and devouring restlessness, which does not allow him to stop, and which drives him from conquest to conquest, and from deception to deception. Faust is the expressive embodiment of Goethe himself, not indeed as he appeared to the crowd of his admirers, in his serene and placid tranquillity, but as the poet knew him when he interrogated himself before his own consciousness. Faust is a prey to the most poignant of all torments, the burning need united with the manifest incapability of believing. He hears the holy bells of Easter sounding in the air, but they recall to him only the moving memories of a past that has vanished for ever. Well does he understand the good news which they announce, but he lacks the faith that can accept them. Every one knows the pantheistic profession of faith which Faust makes to Margaret. In listening to it, she persuades herself in her simple candour, that the Church teaches all that too, "although in terms slightly different." But bethinking herself, she hastens to add with good sense full of frankness: "you are *not* a Christian."

IV.

However, Goethe has now entered into the last period of his long career. His imagination insensibly folds her wings. His spirit takes a more practical direction; his works present a more moral character; and scientific labours preoccupy and absorb him more and more. It would be a mistake, however, to believe that there was decay of his poetic genius, or

exhaustion of his productive power. The drama of Faust now received its final form, and was completed by a second part, the fruit of the laborious old age of the octogenarian poet. Sometimes also Goethe exchanged the golden lyre for the fine and elegant pen of the historian. He describes the French campaign in which he took part in the rank of a Prussian officer. He relates the varied incidents of his life, so far at least as posterity may have the right to know them. Then during the wars of the Empire, indifferent to the misfortunes of his country, and a stranger to the political events of his time, he plunges into the fairy realms of the East, and publishes his *Oriental Divan*.

His religious sentiments are, however, little modified; he hardly gets nearer the Church. In his Autobiography,¹ which he has so justly entitled *Truth and Fiction*, he draws a parallel between Catholicism and Protestantism, and accuses the latter of poverty and want of sequence. He also reproaches it for possessing too few sacraments to attract and fix her members in fellowship. He dwells with enthusiasm on what Catholicism has done to captivate the imagination and the heart of the faithful, although in truth he feels himself even less inclined towards it than towards the Churches that had sprung from the Reformation. As a Protestant, he professes to use the entirest liberty in matters of religion; he wishes to develop himself, and to decide freely without taking the side of any determinate religion. Under this relation, he is Protestant in all things, even in matters of art and science. But at bottom pantheism is provisorily the system which suits him best, and which seems to him most fitted to explain the difficulties which are raised by the great problems of our existence. Goethe complains of Jacobi, who isolates his God from the world more and more; but his own God becomes always more mingled and confused with His work. "I am one of those goldsmiths of Ephesus," he cries, "who have passed their whole life in admiring the

¹ [Translated along with Goethe's other most important works in Bohn's Standard Library.]

marvellous temple of Diana, and who seek to imitate its mysterious forms. I cannot then but experience a painful impression in seeing any apostle whatever imposing on my fellow-citizens another God, and especially a formless God!" If he does not publish a work in honour of the great goddess, it is because he has regard for his repose, and is not at all anxious to trouble the people. "With the varied tendencies of my spirit," he elsewhere says, "I cannot satisfy myself with a single mode of thinking. As a poet and artist, I am a polytheist; as a naturalist and thinker, I incline to pantheism; and I am the one as deliberately as the other. If as a moral being I have need of a single God, I shall know also where to find him."

In appearance, Goethe remains neutral in the great struggle which is being waged between faith and unbelief. Nevertheless, he does not conceal his secret sympathies for the latter. In a conversation which he had with Eckermann, he expresses himself on the subject of immortality as follows: "These ideas form a good occupation for the upper classes, especially for the ladies, who have nothing better to do. A reasonable man, who aspires here below to become something, and who struggles and acts daily in this purpose, throws far from him the chimera of a future world, and applies himself to be useful in this world." Nevertheless, in the last years of his life, we meet also with assertions of another kind. He occupies himself anew with the questions which agitated his mind during his years at the University, and follows with interest the religious discussions of the time. "Criticism," he says, "will not be able to do any harm to the sacred books; their value will emerge in a more splendid way from a more profound examination." One day he discussed with Eckermann the question of the authenticity of the Gospels. "One feels in them," he said, "as it were, the reflection of the majesty which must have emanated from the person of Christ. . . . If the divine has ever appeared on earth, it has been in this way. Am I asked if I am in the habit of showing to Christ a respect mixed with adoration? I

answer: Absolutely yes." Further, he is careful to explain what he understands by this authenticity of the Gospels. "What is in harmony with nature and reason is authentic; that is inauthentic which is absurd, void, and false, and which bears no fruit." "The Bible," he says in another conversation, "owes the great veneration which it enjoys on the part of so many peoples and generations on the earth, to its own worth. It is not a national book; it is the book of the nations, because it sketches the events in the life of a single people as symbolical, and as salutary instruction for all the others. It alone attaches history to the origin of the world, and even carries it back to the most distant regions of eternity. . . . The Bible is an eternally living book, because, as long as the world shall exist, there will never be found any one who will rise and say: I understand it in its totality and in its details. . . . The Christian religion is a power capable of invigorating and guiding weary and suffering humanity on its march. Owing to this salutary influence, it is found to be above all the systems of philosophy, and can dispense with their support."

Let us not insist too much, however, on these concessions which truth forces from Goethe, for they are always accompanied by reservations and interpretations which almost destroy their effect: In presence of Christianity, Goethe is like a monarch who, full of condescension, deigns to render a service to some poor and despised one of whom he has no need. Thus does Goethe in his moments of gentleness turn to Jesus Christ and give Him the aid of the arms of his genius. In the second part of *Faust*, however, so different from the first both as regards contents and form, it appears to us that there is exhibited a little more than that tone of respectful politeness which Goethe had ended by taking when speaking of the things of God. He shows us his hero always searching, always struggling, finding no full satisfaction either in art or in politics, tired of thinking and tired of acting. At last death comes and seizes him. Snatched by force from the infernal power which hitherto drew him down,

he mounts into the higher spheres where he is received by the choir of pure spirits. And what are the songs which resound in his ear? The elect sing the praises of "the divine love which saves the man who during his earthly existence has striven with all his force towards things on high." This is only poetry, it is true; but we are assuredly far from the nothingness into which pantheism plunges its votaries who have become its victims. (We know the words of the dying Goethe, "More light, more light. . . . Give me more light!") Is there not in this something like a touching symbol, a presentiment which might well contain a promise? His spirit quits the earth, not to enter into the night, but to traverse a twilight on the farthest bound of which already whitens the dawn of eternal life, and which is at moments illuminated by rays of the splendours of heaven.

We may still pause for a little over the philosophical ideas of Goethe in order to determine precisely their nature and significance. As we have already said, Goethe had at bottom no finished philosophical system. His intellect was much too vast and too flowing, he was too much the enemy of categories and formulas, to fix himself and settle down in a determinate dogmatic system. There is no mind less *doctrinaire* in its habit than his. His method is to abandon himself to reality with unlimited confidence, and to seek to seize it, to understand it, to embrace it with all the instincts and energies of his being. What animates him is a free and insatiable curiosity, a thirst for knowledge which nothing can quench, and which the impotence that characterizes human science could only irritate and excite the more. It is thus that Goethe was an eclectic, not assuredly from a sort of reflective wisdom or prudent taste, but from necessity. He adopts in turn all the philosophical systems with the purpose of knowing them, studying them, and pressing the juice out of them while rejecting their rind.

In the end he stops at a sort of poetical naturalism composed of elements borrowed from very different sources. One

must go back almost to the beginnings of the Hellenic philosophy to find analogous conceptions. "Goethe," as M. Caro has well said, "has a certain poetical affinity with those great ancestors of philosophy who were intoxicated and dazzled with the splendours of the rising world. His pantheism has some air of resemblance to that primitive philosophy which has no suspicion of the distinction of beings, which everywhere pursues the mystery of one and the same existence, vaguely caught in glimpses through all phenomena: a philosophy which multiplies the creative forces and diffuses them in tides through the divinized universe, but which at the same time tries to carry back all these divine forces to a universal primordial force whose changes explain the variety, appearance, and disappearance of beings: one force, substance, or element, containing in itself the energy of its infinite transformations."

It is not in the human soul and the astonishing contradictions which it reveals to us: it is not in the faculties of our mind so marvellously made to complete and balance each other, and whose harmony, however, appears so profoundly disturbed: it is not in these that Goethe proceeds to seek the enigma of our destiny, but in the visible world of nature without us. This world of nature becomes the object of his impassioned study. In opposition to Kant, his contemporary, Goethe, as he himself says, "proceeds always objectively." He gives way to no illusion as to the significance of the revelations which he finds in nature. Doubtless he admires in her the creative energy with which she is endowed, the divine force which circulates in her, and which, always renewing itself without ever becoming exhausted, seeks to express the great mystery it contains by a thousand phenomena in infinitely varied forms and shades. But nature has also her veils in which she envelopes herself, and on the whole she conceals more than she reveals. Goethe consoles himself by two considerations, which are not without truth. On the one hand, man does not appear to him to be born to solve the problem of the world, but rather to seek to take

account of the extent of this problem. It is already much to know the limits of our reason. Goethe thinks with Pascal that the last step of reason, and one of the marks of its strength, is to know that there is an infinity of things which surpass it. And, on the other hand, the limits of nature are not invariable; it is in the power of man to widen them always more, and to penetrate always farther into the infinite depths of her secrets. The joy which these discoveries bring to us is the sting which drives us to strive without intermission after new discoveries; and at the same time nature does not cease to exercise an irresistible charm upon us precisely because it has not been given to us to fathom her to the bottom.

But, to say the least, does this mysterious bottom exist? Has the life which acts in nature a principle, and is this principle conscious of itself? Goethe does not go thus far. The idea of God finds no place in his system. It is true that he speaks of a substance that is common to all beings, single, universal, and which determines the particular forms which every appearance puts on. But as regards this substance, this fluid which circulates everywhere, and which is nowhere, this life whose inexhaustible waves are diffused on all sides, —is it God? What rules and governs this incessant and prodigious activity of which we are at once the witnesses and the objects? Goethe speaks to us of ideas and intentions, but he gives no explanation as to the place where they reside and their mode of existence prior to the moment in which they incarnate themselves in matter or act upon it. If in his poetical language Goethe does not hesitate to call God the universal life, acting always and everywhere, he is at least logical with his pantheistic system when he makes the remark that this supreme Power knows itself only where there is an intelligence produced to gather it, as it wanders dispersed through the worlds, in order to reflect and fix it in the focus of consciousness.

Nature being permeated and vivified by the Divine, being God realized, it is found that the highest morality is the in-

fallible effect of the instinct which impels us to put ourselves into harmony with the universe. The true vocation of man is to follow the divine principle which is in us, and which incessantly tends to put us into accord with the divine principle which is in nature. According to Goethe, morality like art rests on great instincts, on an earnest, deep, immovable feeling of the beauty of actions, just as art rests on the just and delicate feeling of the beauty of forms. To admire the noble, great, and heroic acts which the annals of humanity have enrolled, to contemplate the beautiful and valiant existences which have passed over this earth: such is the source of the morality of the human race. But it must not be forgotten that this morality is only the appanage of superior natures. It is given only to an inconsiderable minority to depict themselves in their actions, and to transform into their image the history of their country and their time. Let the others be consoled! They find a compensation for what is refused them in a twofold enjoyment: they can take their share of the benefits of intellectual culture, and above all of the goods which nature, our common mother, offers so liberally to every one. (As we see, Goethe does not recommend abstinence. What he least pardons Christianity for, is its severe morality, its asceticism. Goethe pleads the apology of enjoyment; he declares it legitimate, and incites all men to it. His motto is: "A vast world and a large life: serene thought and pure intentions.")

And as to the disinherited of fortune, the poor and the weak, it will be asked: What becomes of them in this system? How has Goethe viewed suffering and pain? It need not be said that he detests them. They are our irreconcilable enemies because they enervate us, belittle us, take away our strength and manliness and the taste for action and thought; they deprive us of the enjoyments to which we have a right, and disturb and poison their course. It is particularly against the fatality of pain that man has to secure his independence. "It does not depend upon us that we are struck, but it depends upon us that we master our heart. Let us kill the

pain that is in us, that it may not kill what is great in us." Against suffering, Goethe knows an infallible remedy. "Soul of the world," he cries, "come and permeate us! The individual willingly vanishes that he may find himself again in the infinite. There all troubles, disappointments, burning desires, and the impatience and wrath of the fiery will, are dissipated. To resign oneself to the infinite, is an ineffable joy." Thus there is in pain even a harsh pleasure which it is given to the impassioned lover of nature to taste. Goethe, however, does not count too much on this supreme resource against the thousand contrarieties which come to derange the peaceful course of our existence and to adulterate its purity. Usually the sage has less lofty views, and his whole ambition is confined "to bringing his soul to that ideal degree of a happy impassibility which leaves him free to perform his task of every day in the midst of human sorrows, and to watch only over the culture of his inner genius without anything being able to distract him from it or to trouble him." But can this end be so easily attained, and is the expedient which Goethe proposes available for every one? What efforts must this pretension to impassibility cost him? It is better to be simply a man. The wish is to escape from pain, but is this possible in reality? (And above all, what is man to do in presence of the sin which plunges him into such a degrading slavery. What is he to do in order to struggle with success against so formidable an enemy which he carries within himself, and which prevents him from realizing the ideal of holiness to which he aspires? What is he to do in order to get rid of the feeling of his faults, which weighs upon him like a coping of lead and paralyses his activity? What is he to do to bring to silence the remorse and the agonies of conscience? Here is the counsel which Goethe gives us: "After great catastrophes and even after great faults, the only supreme remedy is the abandonment of oneself to that universal mysterious force which is eternally active and healthful, and which repairs all because it creates all. In it sick souls find health again; restless spirits find calm; and

troubled consciences find pardon and rest. Nature is the indulgent mother and the august consoler of man, the religious power which raises and absolves. She sheds into our misery the purifying water of Lethe; she consecrates us by her divine energies for the great battles of life."—O great Poet, well do we understand what you propose to us! The only remedy which you have to offer is already known to us; in the poor and naked language of prose, it is called "forgetfulness." But forgetfulness has never consoled or pardoned any one. To forget is in other words to distract oneself, to deaden oneself; and it is a bad means for arriving at the full possession of oneself, which is the condition of a fruitful and blessed activity. It is not thus that men are to be consecrated for the great battles of life. Forgetfulness has no energy. No: it is not this which has produced the noble champions and the valiant athletes of the moral struggles.

Was Goethe satisfied with the results to which his thought brought him? Did his philosophy make him happy? An idle or indiscreet question, it will perhaps be said; and one to which it seems at the first look that we can give no other answer than in the affirmative. Has Goethe not accomplished the wish that he formed "to raise the pyramid of his existence in the air as high as possible"? Has it not been given to him to realize all his desires, all his plans, even all his dreams? At thirty years he was the greatest ornament of Germany, and his works were carrying his name through all civilised countries. His words were oracles; his least gestures were as wishes which all were eagerly desirous to satisfy. He obtained the rank and the influence which he desired. The favour of princes, the intimacy of women of the highest merit, long and fair friendships, were lavished upon him and secured on every side. External pomp and the satisfactions of vanity were not wanting, and they increased the enjoyment of a life which was already embellished and enriched by all the treasures which nature and art put at his disposal. All the strangers of distinction turned aside from their route to lay their homage at the feet

of the poet. Napoleon, on the occasion of the Congress of Erfurt, loads him with attentions; Mendelssohn, before departing for Italy, asks from him a sort of consecration for the divine art to which he is going to devote himself. Even in his old age, Goethe cannot complain of having survived his fame; and when death comes, his dwelling is transformed into an illuminated chapel. The poet rested on a bed of State, surrounded with the decorations and insignia which he owed to the admiration which he had been able to inspire in the great ones of the earth.

(And yet Goethe was not happy. In a letter written to Herder at the age of thirty-five, he exclaims: "I wander in this world like a lost sheep without finding what my soul seeks." And towards the end of his days he said to Eckermann in one of his rare moments of familiar effusion: "People have always considered me as a spoiled child of fortune. It is true I have not had anything to complain of; and yet my life has been only a tissue of pains and chagrins, and out of my seventy-five years I cannot count four weeks of pure enjoyment.") Faust is indeed his image. Like him, he is tired of life. Intoxicated with desire, he flings himself after enjoyment; and already satiated in the midst of enjoyment, he languishes for new desires. He who nourishes such high pretensions and asks life to satisfy them, is usually doubly deceived in his expectation. The wish of Goethe "never to experience a want of feeling, nor the feeling of a want," is more easily expressed than realized.

Might we not apply to Goethe the image by which he mildly ridiculed the theologians when he compared them to a young man who gives himself inexpressible trouble to procure before his death a paltry bit of peasant's land, although he possessed by inheritance from his father and mother a princely domain? Ah! if the poet could have but decided to quench his thirst at the living waters of the Gospel! He would not have then used himself up in the impossible endeavour to bring harmony into his faculties by subordinating them to the one end of explaining the world by science in

order the better to reproduce it by art. He would have found in the Gospel better solutions and a purpose more elevated still. As a fellow-worker with God through Jesus Christ, he would have laboured at the building up of that unique masterpiece which is called the Kingdom of God. His thought, burning with the fever of his contemplations and discoveries, would have found elsewhere than in poetry assuagement and deliverance. How touching is the complaint of Goethe: "Great God, what then is the heart of man? If I did not now write dramas, I should perish." No; it is not in poetry, this sublime soother, this powerful enchantress, that the salvation of humanity in the last instance rests. Humanity knows a better refuge in her distresses, and a surer recourse against despair.

Moreover, it was not only as a thinker that Goethe thus felt from the attitude which he took up towards Christianity; but he also suffered from it as a poet. Who, in looking over the whole of the poetic work of Goethe, has not been struck with the almost complete absence of the idea of holiness and the struggles it implies, of the task that it imposes upon us and the fortifying joys it brings with it. Goethe aspires after harmony in all the instincts of his being, and he systematically excludes what alone is capable of producing it. He keeps close to Nature, as if she could satisfy all the wants of his heart and conscience. It has been said of Goethe not inaptly, that finding the Divine particularly *in herbis et lapidibus*, as he expresses it himself to Jacobi, he may indeed be the Apollo whose lyre we hear with transport, but not the Orpheus who subdues and transforms the beast that is in us. The Tassos, Miltons, and Klopstocks have tuned their lyres in honour of Christian truth, or, at least, have laid them down with humility on the threshold of its temple; but Goethe, whose inspiration surpassed theirs, stops with indifference, or turns away with disdain, when the supreme truth and purity and beauty appear to him in Christ.

And hence, from not having understood the historical importance of Christianity, Goethe has not been able really to

dominate the life of the nations nor to become a popular poet. Under his reign at Weimar, a new period opens for language, poetry, and literary life in Germany, but his influence on the intellectual and moral destinies of his country has been sensible only to a slight degree, and it has been but moderately salutary. Nor is this astonishing. As in a polished and brilliant mirror, the poetry of Goethe lets us see nature and man as they appear in reality, but not as they ought to be or have to become. He has said somewhere: "Plunge into human life, and wherever you seize it, it is interesting." But his glance would have plunged in a way both more profound and more useful into the human heart, if he had not disdained the light of the Gospel.

"Goethe," as Tholuck has said, "is all nature." This means that he is the incarnated type of the egoism which was sometimes revealed in him by an unregulated pride, and sometimes by a sensuality more coarse or more refined. The heart was little developed in him. It seems as if his whole appearance participated somewhat in the coldness of the classical marbles. Gutzkau alleges that "he never allowed the sun to shine on his heart." And Schiller asserted that he had never found in him true cordiality, nor even the need of pouring forth his feelings or communicating himself to any one whatever. It was Goethe who was able to wish that no one should pronounce the word "sentiment" in Germany for thirty years. What vanity, what sufficiency in this man of genius; and how everything around him contributes to nourish these characteristics! Goethe never knew what it was to enter into himself in order to humble and judge himself. He hardly ever hears the voice of his conscience. Is it not he who said that too delicate a conscience makes a man hypochondriacal? His genius awakens more admiration than sympathy. His songs draw tears from us, or they swell our heart with a sweet joy; but they never produce in us the aspiration towards a better country, where the source of our tears shall be dried, and where we shall hear more beautiful songs. The peace of the gods, it has been said, is diffused

over his works, and it communicates to them a peculiar magical charm, a certain calm and unalterable serenity. But how far is it from that peace of God which passeth all understanding, and which Goethe cannot give, for the simple reason that he does not himself possess it!

There is a whole order of greatness and of inspiration, the most elevated and the most enviable of all, which Goethe completely ignores. But when will religion and genius be united here below and permeate each other? When will the sad conflicts between the beautiful and the good, between science and faith, at last cease? When will the abyss which separates nature and holiness be filled? When will the time come when art shall work in no other service than that of truth? When shall we see the poets and artists, and all those who are embraced by the divine flame of enthusiasm, bringing and consecrating to God the gifts which they have received from Him, and laying down their treasures and their crowns at the feet of Him who is to reign over all. Yea, when shall we at last have a Christian art, a Christian poetry, and a Christian philosophy whose rule will be conscience, and whose triumph will be a hallelujah without end? Nay; not, as men would have it in our day: art for art, or science for science; but both for man, and man for God!

CHAPTER VII.

THE LYRICAL POETRY.

I.

ANY account of the transformation which was effected in Germany in the religious sphere during the early part of this Century, must specially take into view those works in which the inmost feelings and thoughts, and, as it were, the very soul of the people, have been expressed in the most direct and spontaneous manner. We refer particularly to the lyrical poetry of the period, that brilliant jewel which occupies a well-known place of honour in the literary casket of Germany. We do not propose to write here anything like a literary history of German poetry during our period, but only to show what attitude it took up towards religion, by what spirit it was animated, and how it has served or compromised the interests of Christianity.

About the beginning of the Century, when Schleiermacher was composing his *Discourses on Religion*, the Romantic School had seized the sceptre of literature. Its chiefs were the brothers Schlegel, and its principal organ was the *Athenæum*, a review exclusively devoted to *belles lettres*, and published at Berlin under the influence of the drawing-rooms of Henriette Herz, Rachel Levin, and other distinguished women of whom we have already spoken. The principle of this school was not so much a return to the past and idolatry of the Middle Ages, as liberation from all rule, the theory of genius without measure and without restraint. It exhibits the reign of the subjectivism of Fichte and the naturalism of Schelling transported into poetry. In virtue of the divine right of his

genius, the imagination of the poet bears no fetter; it abandons itself freely to all its caprices and to all its phantasies. Its field is the world, the infinite and the ideal. Intoxicated with itself, full of exuberant life, and giving itself up to all sorts of foolish bravadoes, the imagination allows itself to be absorbed in nature or the universe, not to lose itself there, but to draw thence materials, colours, sounds, with which to adorn her ideal creations and to reconstruct a world entirely new. What the poet has conceived in his imagination is considered as reality; if not present, at least future reality. The dream is the most real of truths. The true poet possesses all knowledge; he is a prophet, a god; for his lyre has creative power. The Romantic School proclaims the identity of poetry and of life, as the philosophy of Fichte had proclaimed the identity of thought and being. Its morality, in so far as it has one, is summed up in this precept of a very simple application: Give yourself swing, or rather let yourself be rocked at the will of your inspirations.

The application of this principle has produced two inevitable consequences. The poet, all full of his ideal, seeks to escape from the real world; and this so much the more that the world of that time was sad to desperation, both in its political and social bearings. He regards the world with a superb scorn; and, shrugging his shoulders over it, he seeks for shelter in more beautiful and heroic times which the imagination colours and embellishes at pleasure, as well as in the life of nature with its intoxicating sensations or its profound rest, and in the heavenly ether with its soft depths and its voluptuous nothingness. (To burst the yoke of galling social conventions, to break with the troublesome rules of vulgar duty, to satisfy the instincts of ambition and pleasure, especially in the domain of the imagination, to call that delirium of the soul which asks only to lose itself or to be absorbed in the bosom of an anonymous divinity, religious; and to do all that at the expense of conscience, of the Gospel, and of all human and divine realities: such is the result in

which the Romantic School issues. Under the Christian and Catholic forms with which it clothes itself, it obeys unconsciously the afflatus of pantheism.)

It is but just to render homage to the talent, the energy, the incomparable richness of the poets of this School. They stirred and fertilized the literary spirit. Animated with the desire of embracing and penetrating everything, of impregnating themselves with all complexions, of reproducing all sounds, of exploring all horizons, of sounding all mysteries, and of lifting every veil, they considerably enlarged the field of poetry, and created an infinite variety of forms and rhythms. But in most cases real life is lacking in their creations; it appears only as a brilliant but vain play of the imagination. Romanticism regards its own creations with a secret irony; it knows what should be thought of them. Thought being in its eyes but a dream of sentiment, and sentiment itself being but the fluctuating and capricious feeling of the moment, there remains in reality nothing but the nerves, which have to be excited, roused, titillated agreeably. Wanting internal reality and soul, the Romantic School was reduced to taking the form as its end; and it issues in the theory of art for the sake of art.

Nowhere do we find a more faithful expression of this tendency than in the life and writings of JEAN PAUL RICHTER (1763-1825), who forms the transition between the Classical School and the Romantic School. A disordered genius, an enfeebled reduction of Shakespeare, he at once attracts and chills us by his Romances, which are ethereal and cynical in turn. Brought up in humble circumstances, long struggling with poverty, a schoolmaster, a tutor, a journalist, a romance writer, lionized at Weimar and Berlin, flattered and spoiled by ladies, always in love and always deceived, Jean Paul passes through a restless and disturbed existence, which is reflected in his writings. He gets to no definite style, because the plastic sense was absolutely lacking in him. He completes nothing, stops willingly at antitheses, rallies life without wishing to reform it, and ardently desires to escape from his

sphere while feeling himself irrevocably riveted to it, even less by his destiny than by his incapacity.

Coming after Schiller and Goethe, Jean Paul says to them: "Your ideal creations are beautiful and true; and I also feel my soul thrill in sight of them, and turn towards them with its unassuaged thirst. As to reality, it is so cold and so dull! . . . Henceforth there remains for me no other resource than to seek shelter in my imagination, where memory and hope deposit their fresh dew, where a sun shines, and where stars glow with fires more brilliant and more friendly, and which never will be quenched." Jean Paul enjoys the treasures which are laid open to him by this inner world; he gladdens at their sight, but under his smile he hides his tears. "It is fortunate," he says, "that my readers do not observe it; for if they knew what is the sadness and the bursting state of my soul, their tears of compassion would not be dry." ("Man," he says elsewhere, "has only two minutes and a half,—one minute to weep, another to laugh, and half a minute to love; for in the midst of this last minute he dies.")

Although poetical, Jean Paul has left no work that will last. In his sixty romances we find ingenious descriptions, graceful pictures of manners, ravishing idylls, and humorous sketches, but nothing complete and finished. He has painted himself in *Siebenkæas*, an adventurous hero, who, under pretext of genius, makes an utter havoc of all the duties of real life, and gives himself up to all the extravagances which his fancy suggests. Jean Paul hates Kant and the austerity of his categorical imperative. The influence of religion is put as far away as that of duty. He exaggerates the Ego to arbitrariness, and, in his humorous sentimentalism, erects it into the sovereign power of the world. This is the simple application of the theory of the subjectivism which is otherwise called the Egoism of fine souls. Yet for thirty years at least, literary Germany continued to find delight in reading the works of Jean Paul.

II.

But the true chiefs of the Romantic School were the two brothers Schlegel. AUGUST WILHELM VON SCHLEGEL (1767-1845), a pretentious and brilliant writer, an inimitable artist in verse, and the creator of literary and æsthetic criticism in prose, founded the Review called the *Athenæum* in 1798, and it forms his principal claim to renown. Later, he travelled through Germany with Madame de Staël, published collections of poems translated from the Italian, the Spanish, and the Portuguese, produced translations of the works of Shakespeare and Calderon, studied Sanskrit, delivered a course of lectures at Bonn on Oriental languages, and another, which was much noticed and was afterwards published, on Dramatic Art and Literature.¹ Schlegel declares that he attaches himself to Lessing, whom he recalls by his beautiful, limpid, delicate prose; but the principle of his criticism is sentiment, the feeling of the beautiful, the absence of reasoned principles. Hence arise contradictory judgments, tastes, and preferences which exclude each other, and a ceaseless search for objects and forms of all kinds, come whence they may. This exuberant richness of material but imperfectly disguises a real incapability of production; it presents infinite variations executed on the same theme. Schlegel aspires, like Pygmalion, to create ideal forms, but he has not the power to animate them. He has been really fortunate only in the war of extermination which he waged on the rationalism of his time, which was charmed with itself, and believed that it had explored and understood everything, and which had no respect for mystery. But at heart Schlegel was a pessimist. Everything in our modern world is bad. The Reformation has spoiled art; gunpowder has destroyed the spirit of chivalry; the printing press has begotten the immense abuse of books; Lessing has ruined the theatre. Add to this, that at the same time the world imagines that it has never been so reasonable, so cultivated, so moral as in our days. With the true great-

¹ [Schlegel's Dramatic Literature is translated in Bohn's Standard Library.]

ness which is withdrawing from our bad world, there is also disappearing the measure for greatness. There remains nothing but a generation of pigmies, who are ridiculous enough to think themselves giants.

His brother, FRIEDRICH VON SCHLEGEL (1772-1829), the friend of Schleiermacher, was a restless, tormented, profoundly unhappy soul. His whole life through he sought to bring himself into harmony with himself, but without succeeding, so much was his heart divided and his spirit fevered by contrary desires. He gave himself to the study of the poetry of the Greeks and Romans, and wrote his *Lucinde*, "that gospel of enjoyment and of love drawn from the holy Scripture of nature." He published narratives of journeys filled with marvellous descriptions, studied the language and wisdom of the Hindoos, abjured Protestantism at Cologne, and gave his services to the reaction, dedicating to Metternich his *Lectures on Ancient and Modern Literature*,¹ in which, by a picturesque and luminous application of the ideas of Herder, he shows the intimate connection between the civilisation of an era and its literature. Finally, he drew up a Philosophy of History,¹ which contains views that are ingenious, but loose and wandering. Friedrich Schlegel would fain have built up by any means a philosophical system, a theological dogma, but he did not succeed. He was able to discourse with intelligence, ability, and subtlety, sometimes even with depth; he could bind and unbind gracefully the sheaves which he gathered in the vast field over which his studies ranged; he could group, connect, and disconnect with talent the prodigious mass of facts which he wielded; and he sought to penetrate and decipher the systems and opinions of others, yet only to detach himself forthwith from them. What he lacks is true originality of mind, thought that is real, solid, and consistent with itself. He presents to us the spectacle of the struggles of a Protestant soul a prey to an irresistible solicitation towards Catholicism, to which he ends by succumbing. Schlegel was not blind to

¹ [Translated in Bohn's Standard Library.]

the defects of Catholicism, but he regarded those of Protestantism as greater, more numerous, and more irremediable. Caressing the dream of the millennium, and despairing of the present, he foretells the near return of the Christ, and the restoration of an ideal Catholic Church.

LUDWIG TIECK (1773-1853) represents in all the splendour of talent unaccompanied with convictions, the dilettante character of the Romantic School. He was endowed with a fine, bold imagination, which gave itself in turns to raillery and melancholy. His fertility and the extreme variety of his poetical productions are attested by his fairy tales and his novels. Of his writings the most remarkable are the *Life of the Poet* (Shakespeare) and the *Death of the Poet* (Camoëns), the *Almanac of the Muses* (published from 1802 along with A. W. Schlegel in succession to the *Athenæum*), his poem on the *Elements of Life*, a sort of pantheistic profession of faith in which nature appears divinized, his drama of *Genevieve of Brabant* in prose mingled with sonnets, which aims at presenting us with an idealized Catholicism in a series of *genre* pictures drawn with the ornaments and costumes of the Middle Ages, and his romanticized *History of the Insurrection of the Cevennes*.

In the lyrical sphere, Tieck manifests his preference for the skilled forms of the Sonnet and the Tercet in the popular Songs which he has reproduced, and for archaic forms in the Hymns to Christ and Mary which he has translated from the Latin and the Spanish. The love of the marvellous is pushed in Tieck to its farthest limits. We find in him nothing but flowers and stars animated and endowed with the gift of speech, the raptures of a preternaturally excited imagination revelling in the dim fogs of the Scandinavian mythology or in the warm vapours of Oriental nights, or even in the void ether of abstraction. The poet plays with the graces of the moonlight, which are in turn seductive and terrifying. He swims voluptuously in tones and perfumes, always in quest of brilliant images, and surcharging his works with a puerile and bombastic ornamentation. In yielding to the impression

which this poetry produces, with its melodious but monotonous soothing, we pass without markedly perceiving it from the real world to the fantastic world, almost as in falling asleep one passes insensibly from the reality of the waking state to the illusion of dreams. (Tieck's motto was characteristic, "My life is empty and without substance.")

But nowhere do the exaggerations of the Romantic School appear with more brilliancy, than in the works of CLEMENS BRENTANO (1778-1842) and ACHIM VON ARNIM (1781-1831). We shall refer to only one of their works which has a true literary merit. It is a considerable collection of popular songs, the fruit of long and patient researches in all the districts of Germany, which was published from 1805 to 1808 under the title of the *Boy's Wonder-horn*.¹ In the incomparable simplicity and sweetness of these songs, the very soul of the German people breaks forth with all its attachment to home, its faithful friendships, and its strong and chaste affections. We find the German spirit here in the regrets and the lacerations of soul which are caused by separation, and the home sickness which seizes upon the traveller and the exile. We find it exhibiting the passion of nature which is seized everywhere in its familiar details and reproduced in certain sober and speaking characteristics, with that religious fervour which mingles the thought of God with all the events and occupations of life, and which sings His praise or implores His benediction. All this is presented to us with that melancholy note which forms the basis of the popular German poetry, the unconscious expression of the transitoriness of all things, of the uncertainty of the future, of the irremediable imperfection which strikes all that we love and all that we possess here below. The thirst for the ideal, which is rather silently understood than expressed, animates all these songs and lends them a penetrating charm. We cannot be too grateful to the two writers referred to, for having thus collected those riches of the past which were buried in the

¹ Des Knaben Wunderhorn, 1805-1808, 3 vols.

traditions of the people, and have now been restored in the golden fruits of its memory.

III.

The most religious of the poets of this group is FRIEDRICH VON HARDENBERG, better known by his literary pseudonym of NOVALIS (1772-1801).¹ Novalis exhibits an ardent soul enclosed in a weak body. He was educated under the influence of the Moravian Brethren, and was engaged at the age of twenty to a young girl a little more than thirteen, who died soon after. A prey to violent despair, the young poet threw himself into mysticism, directing all his thoughts towards the other world. Life appears to him like a malady of the spirit, and he calls for death as a cure. Removing from the seat of letters and philosophy, and breaking with what he calls "the Spitzbergen of the pure reason," he retired into solitude, entered on the office of a superintendent of the salt-works in the district of Thuringia, and plunged into religious meditations. Novalis, in the weakness of his soul, has need of some support; and chilled by what he experiences, his soul seeks a refuge in Jesus. In a first series of aphorisms entitled *Blossom-dust*,² Novalis raises his voice against the bureaucratic spirit, the prosaic aridity, and the utilitarian and rationalistic tendencies of the citizen class of his time. In his *Hymns to Night* and in his *Sacred Songs*, he gives a free utterance to his religious inspirations. Their form is ravishing; they are vague and melodious notes of great purity, harmonies without concatenation, but of penetrating sweetness. We have here a deep tone, which produces in us poignant grief; but we need to hear it from afar; for if we approach and seek to distinguish and analyse it, we hear nothing but a rhythmic tremolo, harmonies without con-

¹ [The Translator has recently published an English rendering of Novalis's Hymns and Thoughts on Religion, with a biographical sketch by Just (T. & T. Clark, 1888), to which reference may be made.]

² *Blüthenstaub*, 1798. These Aphorisms first appeared in Schlegel's *Athenæum*. [The Aphorisms, along with the Hymns to Night and the Sacred Songs, are included in the translation referred to.]

nection or succession, a vague impression which aspires to become a sentiment. There is nothing more delicate or more pure than these lamentations of an ethereal love, these moanings of a fair soul aspiring towards the eternal silence, the simple and unique life in God. It has been said, and not without reason, that the lyricism of Novalis recalls the Madonnas of the Middle Ages.

Religion, as celebrated by Novalis, is nothing but the return of man into the inmost part of his being; it is the discovery of the inner world. It is a celestial music, a holy ardour in forgetting the real world for the ideal world. His God is a jealous God, a devouring power which allows nothing to subsist beside it. The highest pleasure that man can know, and his true task here below, is to lose himself, to plunge himself into God. Night, death, meditation, is infinitely more than day, life, or action. Night, holy and mysterious Night, is the image of death, of mystical absorption into the Absolute. This death, this voluptuousness in dying and desiring death, is religion. It may be said that Novalis has borrowed and snatched from life all its charms in order to adorn with them the image of death; and one understands how Hegel should have called this poetry "spiritual consumption." The soul of Novalis is consumed because it refuses all contact with nature and all commerce with men, and we might even say, all encounter with common duty and the related forms of practical religion.

But what accents of touching sweetness escaped from his lyre in Hymns like this:—

The stone is rolled away,
Humanity is risen;
We all are Thine for aye,
Now freed from bonds of prison;
The bitterest sorrow flees
Before Thy chalice golden;
And life and earth find peace,
In Thy Last Supper holden.

Death sounds his bridal call;
The lamps are brightly flaring;
The virgins stand preparing,
With oil in full for all;

Now on the ear comes falling
The far march of Thy train ;
And all the stars are calling,
With human tongues again.

Now weep in pain no longer,
O'er any grave beloved ;
By loving Faith made stronger :
Sweet love ne'er to be moved.
This gift no robber taking
Shall mar Night's soothing charm ;
And Heaven's own Angels waking
Shall guard the heart from harm.

O joy, that Life is hasting
To endless life above ;
Now larger longings tasting,
With sense transformed in love.
The starry world melts flowing
Into life's golden wine,
To feed our souls aglowing,
Till we as starlight shine.

There Love is freely given,
Nor is there parting more ;
The full life rolls in Heaven
A sea without a shore !
One night of bliss unending,
One everlasting Hymn ;
While o'er us sunlike, bending,
Shines God's face never dim.

Or again in this sigh of longing and expectation for the
promised consolation of the darkened and saddened world :—

Where stayst Thou, world's Consoler, still ?
Long waits the room which Thou must fill.
All things desireful watch for Thee,
All yearning for Thy blessing free.

O Father, send Him forth with power :
Give from Thy hand this richest dower ;
But pureness, love, and shame divine
Have long kept back this Child of Thine.

O lay Him now into our arm,
Still from Thy heavenly breathing warm ;
In dim clouds softly gather'd round,
Now let Him here below be found.

In cooling streams or sparkling dew,
Or flaming fire, let Him burst through ;
In light and star, in sound and breeze,
Shed through Earth's frame its great release.

So shall the sacred fight be fought ;
So shall Hell's rage be brought to nought ;
So shall, as flowers eternal burn,
The long-lost Paradise return.

The Earth bestirred buds green again ;
The Spirit strong makes all things strain
The welcome Saviour to receive,
While all hearts bowed to Him believe.

The winter wanes ; a new year nigh
Stands by his crib, an Altar High ;
It is the whole world's first New Year,
That with this Child doth now appear.

Dim eyes behold the Saviour true,
The Saviour lights those eyes anew ;
His head the fairest flowers adorn,
From which He shines like smiling morn.

He is the Star ; He is the Sun ;
The Fount whence streams eternal run ;
From herb and stone and sea and light,
Shines forth His radiant vision bright.

Through all things gleams His infant play :
Such warm young love will ne'er decay ;
He twines Himself, unconscious, blest,
With Infinite power, to every breast.

A God for us : Himself a child,
Whose heart loves all, divinely mild,
Becomes our food, our drink, our dress ;
His dearest thanks our faithfulness.

Earth's misery groweth more and more,
And gloomy griefs oppress us sore :
O Father, let Thy loved One go,
And see Him live with us below !

IV.

In 1813 and 1814, when all Germany rose to shake off the yoke of the stranger, a legion of poets accompanied her march to whet the courage of the combatants, to ennoble their glowing passions, and to give wings to their patriotism. "One fine day, Poetry descended like a flash of lightning from the clouds in which she had been lost, to the field of battle, to fill the soldiers with her sacred fire."¹ From the literary

¹ Schuré: *Histoire du Lied*, Paris 1868, p. 423.

point of view, this patriotic poetry proceeds from Schiller; it sounds like an echo of the *Soldier's Song* in the camp of Wallenstein, or of the strophes of William Tell in honour of liberty. There is much emphasis and exaggeration in the expression of the sentiments which this great national crisis evoked. The poets speak too much of German liberty, fidelity, and honour; they resuscitate too frequently the manes of Arminius and of Ariovistus; but taken all in all, their poetry breathes a profound seriousness. We feel that these poets are at the same time men of action who handle the sword as well as the lyre; they are great characters, who have the right to call the people to repent and prepare for the sacrifice. What strikes us most is the alliance of the religious sentiment with the patriotic sentiment. All human supports having given way, it is God whom they address; it is on Him they reckon as the defender of justice and liberty.

THEODOR KÖRNER (1791–1813), a disciple of Schiller, takes a place in the first rank among the patriotic poets. He left his family, a brilliant position, and a bride in tears, to join the black hussars of Lützow, and to find death on the field of battle. His poems, collected under the characteristic title of *Lyre and Sword*, are the most powerful expression of the feelings which then animated the whole people. The burning breath of battle is still felt passing through them. They sound like the clang of the tocsin calling the whole nation to arms to reconquer its most precious possessions. There is nothing more striking, even from the religious point of view, than the well-known strophes of Körner's *Battle prayer*:—

Father, I cry to Thee !
Cannon smoke gathers in clouds o'er me clashing ;
War's jettèd lightnings around me are flashing ;
Ruler of battles, I cry to Thee,—
Father, oh lead Thou me !

Father, oh lead Thou me !
Lead me to victory though to death driven,
Lord, I do own the command Thou hast given ;
Ev'n as Thou wilt, Lord, so lead Thou me,—
God, I acknowledge Thee !

God, I acknowledge Thee !
As when the autumn leaves rustle around me,
So when the thunders of battle surround me ;
Fountain of Grace, I acknowledge Thee,—
Father, oh bless Thou me !

Father, oh bless Thou me !
Into Thy hands commend I my spirit ;
Thou canst reclaim what from Thee I inherit ;
Living or dying, yet bless Thou me,—
Father, I still praise Thee !

Father, I still praise Thee !
Not for earth's riches Thy servants are fighting,
Holiest cause with our swords we are righting ;
Falling and conquering, I still praise Thee,—
God, I submit to Thee !

God, I submit to Thee !
When the hot thunder of death I feel glowing ;
When from my open veins life forth is flowing ;
O God, I submit unto Thee !
Father, I cry to Thee !¹

Along with Körner is placed ERNST MORITZ ARNDT (1769–1860). A native of the Island of Rügen, and the son of a farmer, he abandoned the study of theology to devote himself to historical studies. Having been appointed to a professorship at Greifswald, he sought by his writings to reanimate the patriotic sentiment which seemed almost extinct in his people. After the battle of Jena, he was obliged to flee into Sweden, but he returned to Germany in disguise, and laboured more than any other, under the powerful impulse of Baron von Stein, to prepare the patriotic fervour which overthrew Napoleon. After the war, he was appointed Professor of History at Bonn, where he devoted himself especially to ethnographical studies; but under the pretext of liberalism, he was deprived of his office. In 1848, he voted in the Parliament of Frankfort with the Conservatives, and thereafter withdrew from the public arena while foretelling new times for Germany, of the dawn of which he only caught a glimpse.

Arndt was the most zealous and most enthusiastic defender of the Germanic idea. His writings are distinguished by

¹ [After Duleken's version.]

their strong judgment, and by the good sense and uprightness of character which they breathe. Arndt accuses rationalism of being the cause of the mediocrity and commonplaceness of the men of his time. He said that they bowed before the despot because they knew no longer to bow before God. Devotion and sacrifice had been unlearned in the school of rational utilitarianism. He likewise waged a polemic against the cosmopolitan and idealistic tendencies of German philosophy. "Our intellectual riches," he says, "have rendered us poor. Others possess our land while we conquer the sky." The Germanism of Arndt is not without some exaggeration. He would ever resuscitate the orders of chivalry, the customs of the time of the crusades, and the Gothic costumes of the Middle Ages. Among his poems there are some which are vigorous and beautiful, such as his well-known Song of the Fatherland:—

God, who made iron grow, ne'er willed!
That men should be made slaves of.¹

Arndt also gave much attention to Hymnology. In 1855 he published a collection of spiritual poems animated by a generous religious inspiration.

The most ultra-Germanic of the patriotic poets of 1813 was undoubtedly FRIEDRICH LUDWIG JAHN (1778-1852).² He studied law at Halle, and then traversed Germany from 1806 to 1812, everywhere fomenting the spirit of revolt against the conquering stranger. His book on German nationality made an immense impression. He declared that it was with iron and fire that the German unity was to be established. Jahn demanded the creation of a new capital on the banks of the Elbe under the name of Teutona, and the institution of a nobility of merit conferred by universal suffrage. Every educated man should learn a trade. The State ought to be the sovereign director of the School and

¹ Der Gott der Eisen wachsen liess,
Der wollte keine Knechte, etc.

² Cf. Pröhle: F. L. Jahn's Leben, 1855.

the Church as the two instruments of national education, in which bodily exercises ought to have an important place. In this view Jahn established at Berlin in 1810 the first *Gymnasium*, and exercised a powerful influence over the young men of the time. He took a direct part in the war of liberation as the organizer of Lützow's volunteers and as a poet. His rousing song, *What is the German's Fatherland?* still retains its popularity. Even after the war of liberation, Jahn continued in his writings and lectures to be animated with a burning hatred of France. He wished to banish the teaching of French from all the German Schools. The German statesmen, who were as good patriots as Jahn but better advised, preserved and strengthened this teaching in order to turn it to account in case of need against the French; and this use of it has not failed to come. Jahn also proposed to create a desert in order that it might form a frontier between Germany and France. "Why not allow the formation of marshes, virgin forests, stagnant lakes, and impenetrable thickets in the interest of the Fatherland? It would be necessary also to drive ruminating animals thither, and to let them become wild; and then there should be brought fierce animals of every kind. No building should be raised in these inhospitable marches; only ruins should be found." Von Moltke would have none of the chimerical forests of Jahn, but preferred the solid array of fortresses which he has erected on the frontiers of Alsace-Lorraine, that green glacis designed to protect Germany against the offensive return of France.

Of a plebeian nature, and affecting a deliberate roughness of manner, Jahn strove to speak the nervous and picturesque language of the people, and mixing numerous archaic reminiscences with it, he takes pleasure in an almost constant obscurity of thought and language. To such a degree was this carried, that Schmidt, the German critic, has said of him that his struggle against French culture almost went the length of a struggle against sound reason. Arrested under the accusation of revolutionary plottings, Jahn passed seven

years in prison, and when he appeared in 1848 in the Frankfort Parliament, he felt himself isolated and estranged from his country. Once more he saw the dream of his life shattered to pieces. "The unity of Germany," he said, "has been the dream of my boyhood, the dawn of my youth, and the sun of my mature age. It is now the evening star which leads me to the eternal rest. For this sublime thought I have lived, and laboured, and struggled, and suffered. I have held fast to the unity of Germany as to an unhappy love." With his long white beard, his gigantic stature, his large blue eyes, his bald brow, his ample folded collar, his short overcoat, and his stiff military air, Jahn had become a sort of mythical figure even in his lifetime. And yet no one more than he has been the schoolmaster of Germany in prospect of the new era upon which she has entered.

MAX VON SCHENKENDORF (1783-1817) represents the aristocratic element in this group of patriotic poets. Amiable, gentle, and even mystical, he was able to find the tones of a penetrating eloquence into which to translate the serious aspect of events. Schenkendorf cherishes the dream of the re-establishment of the old Germanic empire, but with a chivalrous and feudal character. His pure royalism, like the Prussian adage, constantly associates God and the sovereign with the idea of the Fatherland. His song, *To Liberty*, is full of a gentle beauty: "O Liberty, thou of whom I dream, thou who fillest my heart, come to shine upon us, sweet angelic form! Wilt thou never show thyself to the oppressed world? Dost thou pursue thy course only in the starry firmament?"

V.

On emerging from the troubled years which had seen the maturing of the romantic and patriotic poetry, we see another School arise, more peaceful and more collected, and representing in a still more faithful manner the German genius in its inward, serious, and sympathetic characteristics. We find

the leaders of this School inspiring themselves by what was best in their predecessors. They gently sweep along the flowery slope of the past, interrogate Nature in her most exquisite moods, and attach themselves to that special instinct of the Germanic race which persuades it that the richest source of poetry lies in the inward life, in the modest horizons of the fireside, and in the joyous fulfilment of daily duty. (It was thus that Gustav Schwab, Johann von Eichendorf, Mahlmann, Hebel, and others, formed a group apart, sometimes designated by the name of the poets of sentiment. They represent the pure lyrical spirit with a simplicity in form and a sincerity in inspiration which render them accessible and familiar to all.) Swabia was the home of this School, whose influence has been compared to the gentle impression made by a beautiful Sabbath morning, or a tranquil summer night. The Songs of this school are well adapted for music. They fill the soul with a profound peace; they brighten the horizons of life, and reconcile man with his destiny, while sending up to God hymns that are sober and yet full of filial piety.

We shall pause only over the most celebrated representative of this group, LUDWIG UHLAND (1787-1862), who is at the same time the complete type of the modern German lyrical poet. Uhland was a native of Swabia. His whole life flowed in the narrow limits of his province, and almost within the walls of the charming house which he dwelt in at Tübingen, on the enchanting banks of the Neckar. Simplicity is the principal character and the winning charm of the modest existence he led. The circle of friends which formed itself around him from his student days, was devoted with an enthusiastic ardour, according to the taste of the time, to the study of German antiquities and the Christian Middle Ages. The love of the fatherland, of liberty and of religion, which were associated in a common veneration, made these young hearts throb, and an irresistible propensity drove them to scrutinize the mysterious depths of the invisible world. On his return from a literary journey to Paris, where he had passed his whole time in the libraries turning over old manu-

scripts, Uhland in concert with his friends undertook the publication of an *Almanac of the Muses*, and of a *German Parnassus*. While the brilliant epic of the Empire unrolled itself throughout Europe, and the echoes of the Black Forest resounded on all sides with the noise of the cannon, our poet hanging over his antique books was following the expeditions of the knights of the Middle Ages, accompanying them in their crusades, and gathering the traditions of their marvellous exploits. He was, however, torn from his studies and his reveries by the events whose tumultuous and precipitate march came to throw trouble into the peaceful valley of the Neckar. The Wars of Independence from 1813 to 1815 made a lively impression on Uhland; it was the period of his patriotic songs, which may be worthily placed beside those of Arndt and of Körner. We shall quote a few strophes in literal prose: "I was lately singing of old legends of love. Now enough has been sung of these. . . . The voice of arms has sounded: the Fatherland is in danger. To thee I would consecrate these songs, O beloved German Fatherland; for it is to thee, resuscitated and free, that all my thoughts belong. But the blood of heroes has been shed for thee. For thee the fairest flower of youth has fallen. After sacrifices so great and so holy, what to thee are my songs?" The poet augurs well of this popular movement. God will not permit it to remain barren. The land which has brought forth so many brave soldiers, will also be able to give firm and courageous citizens to reconstituted Germany. The trials of the Fatherland will be blessed; she will spring again stronger and richer from the blood of her martyrs.

Uhland was then practising as a lawyer at Stuttgart. With patriotic recognition he saluted the new constitution which the King of Würtemberg bestowed on his people from 1815, as a reward for the blood they had shed for him. His liberal sentiments being known, he was elected a deputy to the State assembly, and took an active part in the political life of his country. (In 1830 he was called to the Chair of German Language and Literature in the University of Tübingen,

but in order to be able to attend the legislative sessions, he resigned his professorship three years later. In 1839, when, owing to the increasing influence of the Conservative party, liberty of speech and action was taken from the State, Uhland withdrew into private life and resumed his favourite studies on the literary past of Germany. By no means graceful in his external appearance, and embarrassed and even awkward in manner, Uhland yet bore in his whole person the impress of uprightness and loyalty. Neither effusive in his sentiments nor liking to be disturbed in his studies or inner contemplations, his looks were but rarely animated with evanescent light. His unpretending dignity, his great moral purity, his frank straightforwardness, his incorruptible veracity, and his unaffected piety, explain the veneration which he inspired far and near. It has been well said of him: "What Uhland has given to his nation seems but little in appearance; but this little was enclosed in a golden heart which, as is acknowledged, contains a whole world. The entire nation for half a century has rejoiced in sight of the enchanted world which the poetry of Uhland has opened up to it."

Uhland's poems (1815-1830) form only a single inconsiderable volume. One of their merits is their rare perfection of form. Too much praise cannot be bestowed on their nobleness, their exquisite purity of feeling, and the sweet harmony between their thought and language, whether the poet sings the magnificence of nature as shown in the glorious splendour of the Alpine world, or the silence of the valley with its green slopes; or whether he makes the heroic scenes of the past live again, or awakens in the soul of the people the love of country, liberty, and justice. Uhland possesses the talent of giving an infinitely graceful and elegant expression to feelings of the most inward and intense nature. He exhibits the triumph of the greatest simplicity united to the most consummate art.

Uhland agrees with the poets of the Romantic School in taking the same choice of subjects, and having the same sympathy for the chivalrous and Christian Middle Ages,—that

feudal and sacerdotal world which then seemed so beautiful. Like them, he turns fondly to those knights who smite with great strokes of the sword, those pilgrims of the Holy Land, those tournaments, gentle squires, and chaste damsels, those Scandinavian warriors, and those old blind kings, upon which they loved to dwell. He sings, too, of troubadours, harpers, monks, and nuns, of the subterranean dungeons of castles full of mysterious terror, of the renunciations of love, of the tender tinkling of bells, and of everlasting doleful lamentations. But while the romantic poets were carried towards these subjects only by an æsthetic sentiment and from desire to liberate themselves from the yoke of conventional forms, Uhland, on the contrary, embraced them with real sympathy. He knows nothing of that ironical flexibility which takes the part of an object without recognising in it any real value at bottom. It is with all seriousness that he admires the devotion, the faith, the renunciation which Christianity inspired in the Middle Ages. He does not take up its form merely, which to him is the accessory, but is ready to sacrifice the shell provided there is left to him the precious kernel which it enclosed.

Uhland likewise excels in seizing and painting the contrasts presented by human life: the capricious play of light and shade, the sudden meetings of joy and sorrow, the outbursts of enthusiastic piety followed by the swift return of an inexplicable melancholy. His poems are filled with the feeling of the vanity and frailty of all things here below, and with the incomplete and complaining aspect which is presented by our most beautiful creations and our greatest experiences of happiness. Bending down to all our sorrows, Uhland has heard "the whole creation groaning and travailling in pain," as the Apostle Paul says, and "those groanings of the creature waiting with earnest expectation for the manifestation of the sons of God." *Sunt lacrymæ rerum*, as the Latin poet had already said. To such feelings Uhland gives expression when he represents the aged king walking on the terrace of his palace, his heart full of care, and sighing after repose under

the burden of earthly greatness. So in his Shepherd's Sabbath Song, and in his pleasing Meditations on the Spring. Uhland professes profound respect for the human soul; he bows before the nobleness of its origin and destiny. Doubtless from the Christian point of view his poems are not completely satisfying. The poet keeps to the aspirations and the desires of faith; he does not know its power, its sovereign energies. Full of veneration for the Christian doctrines, he does not seek to understand them, nor to apply their salutary influences to himself. Accordingly, his poems have no real power over human souls. The poet lulls us agreeably; he charms and enchants us, but he does not drive us to action; he does not make us better. We might be tempted to see a resemblance between the songs of Uhland and the poetical meditations of Lamartine; but we prefer to compare them to the romances of his countryman, Berthold Auerbach, in which we find the same richness and the same delicacy of sentiment, the same talent for painting the most diverse emotions of the soul and the most varied aspects of life, but which withal do not succeed in really elevating, humiliating, or correcting us. It is so because the vigour, the talent, the poetic genius displayed in these poems, although conjoined with loyalty and nobleness of character, do not suffice of themselves to exercise a powerful and enduring action on this world. For there is one thing further needed, which is zeal and passion for divine things, and that holy violence to which is given the promise of the Kingdom of Heaven.

VI.

The German lyrical poetry, in spite of the perfection which it attained in Uhland, was not long in suffering the penalty of the excessive idealism which ruled its inspiration. It still realized marvels of art, but it became more and more a stranger to practical life as well as to the religious idea.

This desertion of the true task of poetry is especially visible in FRIEDRICH RÜCKERT (1785-1872), who is perhaps the

greatest artist in verse of modern Germany. After a wandering and unsettled life, he became professor of Oriental Languages at Erlangen. Having powerfully contributed in his *Harnessed Sonnets*,¹ published under the pseudonym of Freimund Reimer, to strike the keynote of the song of war, and after having reproached the romantic poets for failing in their mission by lulling the people in vain dreams of the past, he hastened to follow their footsteps by shutting himself up in the inner world, and setting himself to engrave images of saints and knights. Possessing great capacity for assimilating the poetry of all ages and civilisations, and reproducing it in an inexhaustible variety of rhythm and endless wealth of rhyme, Rückert put a vast and sure knowledge into the service of poetry. He charged the whole universe to furnish splendid images, and all the religions to unveil to him their symbols. It is the East, the silent world of his dreams, with its sententious philosophy and its gnomic wisdom, that draws him as a poet by preference. It has been said that Rückert created the musical epigram. And, in fact, his concise and graceful poems, revealing a delicate sense of nature, united to a spirit that penetrates into everything bearing on religious symbolism, are especially distinguished by their melody. They have been compared to the ethereal fluttering of the butterfly over the rose. In his song Rückert celebrates the spring, love, the intoxication of nothingness. India is his favourite land. The morbid breath of pantheism sighs through his productions.² He rises in revolt against the Christian spiritualism, and resuscitates the sensualistic philosophy under the most refined forms. It is strange that the principal charm of his poetry consists in the feeling of form being conquered, but this victory issues only in proclaiming the empire of form and consecrating its prestige.

¹ *Geharnischte Sonnette*, 1813-15.

² His best production is a collection of poems entitled: *Oestliche Rosen* (1819-20), dedicated to Goethe. Besides numerous translations and imitations of Oriental poetry, Rückert published a didactic poem on the Life of Jesus (*Das Leben Jesu*, 1830), and a number of Dramas (*Saul and David*, 1843; *Herodes der Grosse*, 1844; etc.); but these last are very weak productions.

What has been said of Rückert applies likewise largely to AUGUST VON PLATEN (1796-1835), who imitated with equal success the poets of antiquity and those of the East. What distinguishes him is an energetic will, incessantly aspiring after perfection, united to a liberal spirit of great elevation. His creations, which have the white coldness and the calm rigidity of marble, impress us by the earnestness which they breathe. He castigates pitilessly all that is vile and low. His hatred is directed against the political and clerical reaction, but it unhappily extends also to Christianity, to which he opposes a sort of literary Stoicism. The worship of the beautiful and of art, takes the place of the religious idea. There is nothing more aristocratic than the poetry of Platen, and nothing less fit to become the common good and the beneficent stimulus of the nation.¹

Niembsch von Strehlenau, better known under the name of NICOLAUS LENAU (1802-1850), marks the fatal issue in which the Romantic School was to land. A Magyar by birth, he led a wandering and troubled life, which carried him about in both the Old World and the New, and closed his career in a lunatic asylum. He is the last expression of that literary current which began with the Sorrows of Werther, and whose principal characteristic is a consuming melancholy. The *Songs* of Lenau admirably reflect his soul tormented with unknown desires, and not knowing what he wants, wishing for wings, and aspiring after a grander flight, freer zones, and a less veiled light, and dashing everywhere on limits which stop and wound it. They are mysterious monologues, graceful and severe, in which doubt struggles with faith. They present melancholy reveries engendered in the steppes of Hungary, songs caught from the reeds, from the sea, and from night, in which a bold imagination is united to great purity of form.

¹ Platen's poems bear the title of *Gaselen* (1821-23), one of the erudite forms which he borrowed from the East. He also published *Sonnets*, *Hymns*, and a poem entitled: *Die Abassiden*, 1829.

Lenau is a type of the modern man whose soul is torn and drawn in contrary directions. He remembers the hours of devotion of his pious infancy, and the mystic effusions of his youth, and he would fain find them again; but the spirit of doubt hinders him, and leads him to the brink of the abysses where thought is seized with dizziness. He feels with peculiar depth and intensity the divorce between nature and the spirit, and the sting of sin which permits us no longer to feel the serenity of the pagan enjoyment. He attributes it to the Jews, "those fools of the Messiah who have spoiled the world." The Messiah is "the quoin which they have sunk to the point where man and nature meet." From thence the rupture has been made. Lenau will not have the solution of the Gospel. He revolts against the Christian barb; and he feels a sorrowful pleasure in sinking it in the living flesh, in order to pluck it out again with a cry of rage. Everywhere he discovers gaping wounds, and sates himself bitterly with the view of them. He compares his penetrating spirit to an unhappy hound, which chases the gloomy ospreys from all the crevices and clefts in which they have hid themselves. Religious subjects peculiarly attract him; he must needs fathom them and rifle them in every sense. He climbs to the giddiest heights of the problems of metaphysics, and feels vaguely beforehand the fall which threatens him. It may be said that the soul of Lenau has suffered shipwreck in this contradiction of spiritualism and materialism, above which he has not succeeded in rising.¹

But the well-known name with which the dissolution of the Romantic School is specially connected is that of HEINRICH HEINE (1799-1856). No one has exercised a greater influence on the literary destinies of his country even while he was most persistently disowning it. His *Intermezzo* (1823), that Song of Songs of profane love, his *Travel-Pictures* (1826),

¹ His first poems date from 1832. He published other three poems: *Faust* (1836), *Savonarola* (1837), and *Die Albigenser* (1841). His complete works appeared in 4 vols. in 1855.

his *Book of Songs*¹ (1827), his *Romancero* (1852), and a multitude of other productions, were devoured by the youth of Germany. The contrasts, which we have pointed out in Lenau, are also found in Heine, but the issue of the struggle is not the same. Heine was endowed by nature with an ardent and delicate sensibility, with an exquisite sense of distinction united to a sharp incisive intellect which was inclined to irony and satire. In his Poems, especially in those of the first collections, the German lyrical "*Song*" has found its most perfect expression. The simple tenderness and the winning ease of the popular poetry are wedded by Heine to the charm of the most refined art. The disciple of Goethe is recognised in these masterpieces of concise facile expression in which a gracious thought is found condensed and presented in a marvellously worked frame. These "*Songs*" pour forth in one gush the inspiration of the poet. Always master of himself, he seizes admirably the fundamental note of his internal mood, and accommodates to it his rhythm and rhyme as well as the choice of his images. Heine understands better than any other the language of nature, and makes it the pleasing echo of the human heart.

But the splendid play of the imagination in which the Romantic School lingered, could not satisfy Heine. He saw through it to the bottom, and he measured its vacuity. Full of rage, he tears the mask from Romanticism. He shows the Egoism, the corruption, the ugliness it concealed. He overwhelms in the same hatred the pedantry of the scholars, the hypocrisy of the pietists, and the pathos of the dreamers of German unity and of a European democracy. He has sworn special enmity against Prussia, in which he saw concentrated the most insipid products of German arrogance and self-sufficiency. He pursues with his most stinging darts that bigoted Protestantism of which Prussia had made herself the

¹ [Of the several translations of the *Buch der Lieder*, that of Bowring in Bohn's Standard Library may still be referred to. A translation of the *Travel-Pictures* (*Reisebilder*) has been published by Gardner, Paisley.]

representative, and which Heine regards as at once the scourge and the weariness of modern society. Religion herself is the object of his constant sarcasms. In Heine facility has degenerated into frivolity; pleasantry has destroyed respect. There is something bitter, cynical, and wicked in his laugh. It is not the sparkling raillery of Voltaire attacking the prejudices and superstitions of his time; it is the hateful and lugubrious mockery which attaches itself to all subjects without respecting anything, or any one, or even himself. (In Heine we meet with that impertinence of genius which believes that everything is allowed it, which proves its liberty by violating all law, which considers the world only as a subject for the sport of its fancy, and which even on the bed of pain, to which disease has ended by nailing its victim, still shakes its death-rattle to insult and defile what others revere. Never did a sweeter and fairer talent present a more repulsive image at its decline.) Germany has not failed to attribute the fall of Heine to the passion which he had for France. But let us not forget that when Heine went to settle at Paris, he carried with him his frivolity and his scepticism. He is rather an example of the incapacity of the Germans to see and love anything in France but her light and brilliant side, her wit and her grace, stripped of all that is serious and all that is profound.

In order to characterize Heine, let it suffice to quote from him a passage or two, contained in his *Travel-Pictures*. "I feel the agreeable pain of existence," he says; "I experience all the joys and all the tortures of the world; I suffer for the salvation of the whole human race; I expiate its sins, but I also enjoy them." "Catholicism," we read elsewhere, "is a good religion for the summer. It is fine to lie on the benches of these old cathedrals. There one feels a concentration full of freshness, a holy *dolce far niente*; you pray, dream, and sin in thought; the Madonnas smile upon you in their niches full of indulgence. Their female coquetishness pardons you for mingling their charming outlines with your impure thoughts; and besides, there is found in every corner a brown place of

relief where the conscience can be discharged of its sins." "The great task of our era," says Heine again, "is emancipation; not only that of the Irish, of the Greeks, of the Jews of Frankfort, of the negroes of America, and other oppressed ones of the same kind, but the emancipation of the whole world. Let us praise the French! They have thought of satisfying the two most urgent needs of human society: good food and civil equality. They have made most progress in the culinary art and in liberty."

After Heine the era of poetry seems over in Germany. It closes with his strident laugh. We indeed find other poets, and in great number, but the original inspiration, the potent afflatus, the novelty of form, is lacking in them. They are but imitators or copyists. Such is EMMANUEL GEIBEL for instance, the most popular of the contemporary lyrical poets, whose works have passed through some forty editions.¹ His poems are full of grace and harmony, of elevation of thought and delicacy of sentiment, but they are lacking in force and character. They are the delight of young German girls, and they do not discredit the Anthologies. But literary Germany owes to them no new riches, liberty no progress, nor religion any testimony.

VII.

We have now to speak of the religious poets of this period, properly so called. In this category we will not place Leopold Schefer, whose *Laymen's Breviary*² is a Hegelian poem permeated throughout with a breath of pantheism which divinizes nature and puts eternal life into perishable forms; nor Friedrich von Sallet, whose *Laymen's Gospel*³ is an attempt to sketch a poetic picture of the life of Jesus according to the Gospels, while divesting it of all supernatural character.

¹ Gedichte und Denkblätter. Alte und neue Lieder. Neue Gedichte, etc.

² Laienbrevier, 1834.

³ Laienevangelium, 1847.

Two names specially deserve our attention: those of Knapp and Spitta.

ALBERT KNAPP (1798-1864) passed the years of his childhood at Alpirsbach, an idyllic village in the Black Forest, where his father had been appointed bailiff. His parents occupied a wing of the old Convent of the Dominicans which dated from the Eleventh Century, situated in a landscape with peaceful and picturesque spots, forming a delightful surrounding of freshness and poetry in the midst of which flowed the years of his youth. It exercised a decisive influence on the spirit of the young man. He has left us a touching description of his recollections, which has been reproduced in the biography written by his son.¹ After having concluded his theological studies at Tübingen, Knapp was appointed pastor at Kirchheim on the smiling banks of the Teck in the Swabian Alb; and it was given to him to realize his dearest dream, the ideal life of a country presbyter. In 1836, Knapp exchanged this cure for another in Stuttgart, the capital of Württemberg, which he held till the end of his days, and in which he exerted a rich and blessed activity.

In 1833, Knapp began to publish, under the name of *Christoterpe*, a literary and religious Annual to which the most eminent Christians of his country contributed, and which enjoyed a great and legitimate reputation for twenty years. Knapp himself inserted in it a series of biographies for which he had a special gift, and the vigorous and animated touch of which was much remarked. The most celebrated among them is that of the Württemberg preacher Ludwig Hofacker, that type of the faithful servant of God, who exercised a great influence on the religious awakening of his country and also on the spiritual development of Knapp himself.² But the most meritorious work of Knapp was his *Treasury of Evangelical Hymns for Church and House*,³ a collection edited

¹ Lebensbeschreibung von A. Knapp. Eigene Aufzeichnungen fortgesetzt und beendet von seinem Sohne J. Knapp, Stuttg. 1867.

² Ludwig Hofacker's Leben, 1852, 3rd ed. 1859.

³ Evangelischer Liederschatz für Kirche und Haus, 1837, 3rd ed. 1865. Knapp also published a Book of Evangelical Songs (1855), which may be considered a

with the greatest care, and gathered from the various periods of German literature. It is a real hymnological treasury for the Church and the domestic hearth. Further, we have the sacred and secular poems with which Knapp has himself enriched German literature.¹ A vivid feeling of the grandeur and magnificence of nature is allied in these productions with a piety of the best stamp. In the matter of his theology, Knapp keeps to the Biblical faith without adding anything to it and without taking anything from it. Firmly attached to the Christian dogmas, he does not, however, consider that it is proper to introduce their dry and technical formulas into song. His religious poetry is full of life and warmth; but its form might be more careful and finished. In accordance with the principle of Saint Paul, that "all things are ours, and we are Christ's, and Christ is God's," Knapp takes up the most diverse subjects, making them turn to the glory of God, and impressing upon them the Christian stamp. It is thus that we find in him, along with Hymns properly so called, poems on Goethe, Schiller, Bach, Handel, Mozart, Beethoven, and on the heroes of the classical antiquity and the era of the Hohenstaufens. But his true talent is revealed in his spiritual poems. They strike us as much by their nervous simplicity as by the incomparable religious vitality which animates them. This is indeed the utterance of the true Song of the Church, at once classical and popular, poetical and Christian, for which Germany may well be envied.

The poetry of Spitta is filled with a more poetical inspiration and a still more inward piety than that of Knapp, although lending itself better to private edification than to public worship. Its forms are certainly the most exquisite

masterpiece both in the happy selection made and in the measure in which he has corrected the style of the old authors. He takes care not to modernize the Hymns borrowed from the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, but he also deplores the passion for archaisms which treats old texts that are unintelligible to the Christians of our time with the superstitious worship which Catholics devote to the relics of their Saints.

¹ Herbstblüthen, 1859. Christliche Gedichte, 1862.

that Germany has of this kind. CARL JOHANN PHILIPP SPITTA¹ (1801-1859) sprang from an old family of French Protestant refugees who had settled in Brunswick. The precarious state of his health long interrupted his studies, which he terminated at Göttingen, where he had Heinrich Heine as a fellow-student and friend. Singular meeting between two very different poetical stars that moved in concert for a time only, soon to separate more conspicuously! It was to the influence of the writings of Diepenbroek, a pious and liberal Catholic, that the religious and poetical awakening of Spitta was partly due. But the true fountain in which his piety found refreshment and nourishment was the Bible, from meditation upon which he drew the rich treasures which he shed forth in his songs. How many souls have been consoled in the midst of trials and strengthened in faith by the reading of these admirable hymns! Spitta, a modest and devout village pastor, was strongly attached to the soil of the Lüneburg Heath, a barren and monotonous region in which his simple and upright soul could find an inconceivable poetical charm. Rich in love, the best of all goods, of a benevolence and forbearance that could bear all things, Spitta practised in his manse the laws of a gentle hospitality, happy in his cherished studies, his consoling harp, and the duties of his laborious ministry. His constant motto was: "To the Lord my life, my love, my songs belong!"

The love of God and of his Saviour is in fact the one theme of his three short collections of poems, which were published under the title of *Psalter and Harp*,² and which passed through a great number of editions. Spitta composed little, but almost all his productions bear the stamp of a rare perfection. They exhale a wholesome, deep, simple piety in their dogmatic parts, and they are characterized by an in-

¹ Cf. Müntzel: Spitta. Ein Lebensbild, 1861. A biographical notice of Spitta by A. Peters is prefixed to the third collection of his poems.

² *Psalter and Harp*. The first Collection appeared in 1833, the second in 1843, and the third after Spitta's death, in 1861. [Lyra domestica. Christian Songs for domestic Edification. Translated from the "Psaltery and Harp" of C. J. P. Spitta, by Richard Massie, Lond. 3rd ed. 1862.]

comparable purity of expression and harmony. The images in which his piety clothes itself are always clear, true, and chaste, and the sentiments which he expresses are the fruit of personal experiences. There is nothing constrained, forced, or purely traditional in his hymns, nothing that every Christian may not experience and express in his turn. No concession is made to orthodoxy or to the rationalism of the time. There is no fraud used, and no declamation. Everything has been felt, lived, suffered by the author himself, and by many hearts that have been troubled and consoled around him.

The choice of passages for quotation is embarrassing from their very abundance, but a few specimens may be rendered literally, in order to give some idea of the spirit and bearing of Spitta's work.

"There is a Song of Songs. You will repeat it always anew when once you have learned to sing it. No man has invented it, this song so rich in happiness and yet so instructive, so profound, and so grave. . . . It tells of a love before which the gloomy shadows of life dissipate like clouds before the sun. Oh, how all sufferings vanish when one can with all the heart sound forth this beautiful song!"—Thus does he open one of his Collections.—And we have this touching Hymn of Repentance: "Return again, O thou who hast lost thyself; fall down repentant and suppliant at the feet of the Saviour with thy burden! Just as thou art, thou mayest come, sure of being received in grace. See, the Lord comes to meet thee, and His holy Word promises thee pardon, salvation, and blessing; return again, hesitate not! . . . Return again; return at last to the land of love, from want to plenty, from appearance to reality, from falsehood to truth, from darkness to brightness, from death to life, from the world to the Kingdom of Heaven! Seeing what God wishes to give thee to-day, take it even to-day; return just now!"—No one has better expressed the desires of a soul consumed by thirst for God: "Ask not what I need; inquire not what is my suffering: the thirst for God fills my soul; the aspiration after God devours my heart. Give me all things; yet

without God I remain poor and empty; unsatisfied, I carry my thirst into the world around me. . . . O, I know it; this desire will not continue to be an eternal torment. He who placed this thirst in the soul will quench it one day. When I shall be able to exchange the desert here below for the joyful fields of Eden, where rolls the river of life, then will the burning thirst of the soul be quenched."

But it is resignation, silent submission to the will of God, which Spitta's harp prefers to sing. "I accept what Thou dost assign me; I renounce what Thou takest from me; whither Thou leadest me, I will go; what Thou forbiddest, I will flee from; do as Thou wilt, I am content provided that I be not separated from Thee. . . . I do not wish what my will would have, it is Thy will alone that calmly and tranquilly I will always take as my rule; I wish no longer to walk in my own ways; led by Thy hand, I will thus begin, pursue, and finish all things."

The death of one of his children inspired in Spitta this admirable hymn: "Take what is Thine, O God, take it; I will not torment myself on that account. What comes from Thee is a gain, whether Thou givest or takest away. I lay upon the altar of burnt-offering what is dearest to me, a part of my heart, that it may form a sacrifice to Thee. This dear treasure came from Thee; it remained Thine, and must now be for ever Thine. Help me to be consoled." . . .

One of the masterpieces in the collection is the piece entitled the *Angel of Patience*: "A silent Angel passes through this earthly vale; the Lord has sent him to console us for what is lacking to us on earth. In his look is peace, a sweet and tender benevolence. O, follow always here below the angel of patience. . . . Ever faithful, he leads through all earthly sufferings, and joyously speaks to Thee of a fairer time. When thou art ready to be overcome, he says to thee, Be of good courage. He helps thee to bear thy cross, and makes all things work together for thy good. . . . He changes even the bitterest grief of the soul into sweet melancholy, and plunges the stormy heart into a silent

humility. He gradually brightens the gloomy hour; and heals every wound, although not quickly yet surely."

And we have this soothing Song of Death: "What is this you are doing? Why will you weep and break my heart? We are together in the Lord, and everywhere we shall so remain. Neither space nor time will break the bond which unites us. They who have found each other in the Lord will continue to meet in Him."

It is with these songs of Spitta,¹ whose sweetness cannot be reproduced in any translation, that we terminate the record of a period which unquestionably belongs to the most beautiful and most fruitful epochs of religious thought in Germany. Splendidly inaugurated by the bold endeavour of Schleiermacher, continued not without success by the labours of Neander, Nitzsch, and Ullmann, carving out its own way between the last powerless efforts to rejuvenize an ageing rationalism, and the rash but not less vain undertaking to restore the old dogmatic system by lending it a new meaning, it opens a vast field for imaginations desirous to see Christianity reconciling itself with modern science and civilisation. Literature itself, and poetry in particular, sympathetic on the whole rather than hostile, concur in glorifying the excellency of the Gospel. Alas! the future was not to realize such seductive promises; and the abyss between contemporary thought and faith, that had in appearance at least been filled up for a time, was not long in opening up again in a deeper and more threatening form.

¹ Among the more recent religious poets of Germany, we may mention Julius Sturm. His collections (*Fromme Lieder*, 1852. *Gedichte*, 1854. *Zwei Rosen oder das Hohe Lied der Liebe*, 1854), although feebler than those we have just passed in review, enjoy great popularity among the pious public. In our own day, Karl Gerok, pastor at Stuttgart, has also won a great reputation by popular collections of religious poems, entitled *Palmblätter*, 1857, 51st ed. 1883 [English Translation by J. E. A. Broom, Lond. 2nd ed. 1885], *Pfingstrosen*, 1866, 9th ed. 1886, and *Blumen und Sterne*, 1868, 10th ed. 1882. [Some of the Hymns of this period are translated in the *LYRA GERMANICA*, by Catherine Winkworth. First Series, 1855. Second Series, 1858. Cf. Historical Notes to the *Lyra Germanica*. By Th. Kübler, 1865.]

SECOND PERIOD.

FROM STRAUSS TO THE PRESENT TIME.

1835-1888.

INTRODUCTION.

I.

DURING this period, as in the one we have just reviewed, a marked influence was exercised on the religious and theological movement by the political events of the time. From 1830 to 1848, we see a slow but continuous progress of liberal ideas going on in Germany. Under the pressure of public opinion, several of the Governments, especially those in the south of Germany, enter frankly on the path of constitutional reform. They do not show themselves hostile to attempts at ecclesiastical reorganization in the sense of a greater autonomy of the Church as a whole in relation to the State, or of the particular parishes towards the higher authority in the Church; and they tolerate the establishment of free communities by the Friends of Light and the Neo-Catholics. In opposition to the Romantic School, whose reign was of short duration, young Germany becomes inspired with more humanitarian tendencies, without, however, succeeding in forming a compact school. Owing to the incessant action of this party through the press, in public instruction, and in the domain of literature proper, the cultivated classes remove more and more from Christianity. Social questions raised by writers who were inspired by French Communistic ideas, were now discussed in the journals and partly put into practice. Frederick William III., the intelligent and firm restorer of the Prussian monarchy, after the disasters of the Empire, was succeeded by his son Frederick William IV. (1840-61), a prince of an irresolute

character, in whom imagination and feeling often obscured reason. Carried away by an infatuation for the art and piety of the Middle Ages, he represented romanticism on the throne; and, in spite of his good intentions, neither understood the needs of his time nor his duties as a sovereign. Almost all his attempts at political or religious reform miscarried miserably.

Then came the revolution of 1848, with its storms, its luxuriant outburst of utopias, and its chimerical hopes, followed promptly by a reaction which was not slow in passing beyond its proper goal, and which was in nowise justified by the occasional excesses of the period of ebullition which had just been passed through. This reaction likewise made its effects felt in a very regrettable manner in the ecclesiastical sphere. The union between the Governments and the representatives of orthodoxy became more intimate, and contributed to discredit both by driving them to undesirable measures of repression. The theological movement was violently checked; reactionary ministers, more zealous to strengthen power than to advance science, filled the universities with mediocre professors who had given proofs only of orthodoxy; and an analogous pressure was brought to bear on the licentiates and students of theology which brought about a sensible diminution of their number. The abyss continued always to deepen between lay society and the Church.

If we would take note of the deplorable influence which the reaction exercised in all spheres, we have only to refer to the two greatest literary successes of these melancholy years: the poem *Amaranth* by Oscar von Redwitz (1849), and the anonymous romance, *Eritis sicut Deus* (1854), which issued from the press of the Rauhe Haus Institution of Hamburg. The "*Amaranth*" is a chivalrous poem of a sweet and insipid kind, in which the author makes a display of a silly piety while celebrating the peaceful delights of aristocratic life. Count Walter, a scion of the German nobility of the Nineteenth Century, transported into the times of the Crusades, after an

adventurous peregrination in Italy, where the gilded snares of a seductive syren await him, is touched by divine grace, and returns to the orthodox arms of his fair bride. Such is the subject on which the effeminate imagination of the poet has woven an interminable and wearisome romance in verse, which for several years was the theme of conversation in the literary drawing-rooms of Germany. As to the *Eritis sicut Deus*, it is a romance in prose, directed against the critical School of Tübingen. The leading disciples of Baur, such as Strauss, Schweigler, and Vischer, appear in it in turn, and expound their theories with the practical commentaries which it has pleased the author to join on to them. According to the views of this writer, pantheism leads fatally to immorality, and the doctrine of Hegel justifies the vilest and most disloyal acts. These professors, who can speak so well on æsthetics and philosophy, are simply dishonest men. But is it necessary to impute the aberrations of their conduct to the vices of their system? Does orthodoxy, which the author, moreover, has prudently omitted to represent in the book, always give a diploma of virtue, and does error infallibly engender vice? This book, in which there abound sensual descriptions which are but too successful, sins from the point of view of art not less than from that of morals. Its influence is bad, and the popularity it enjoyed in orthodox circles was one of the most saddening signs of the time.

II.

In proportion as the billows of the reaction rose high, the United Church, which was the work of Frederick William III. and his counsellors, was threatened in its very existence. Instead of leading to spiritual peace, the Union, established by royal decree, became a veritable apple of discord among the Christians of Germany. Instead of promoting progress, it used up the best forces in barren struggles. Incessantly assailed by the theologians of the Lutheran party, threatened by the royal power itself, defended with talent but without

success by the disciples of Schleiermacher, and become the impregnable asylum of the rationalists who did not cease to exalt it, the Union had never taken deep root among the people. It had not succeeded in becoming a real power.

It is true that the Constitution of 1850 in Article 15 secured to the Protestant Church of Prussia its full independence; but this Article remained a dead letter, and the hopes to which it had given birth were not long in being changed into bitter disappointments. Under the pretext of giving to the Church its autonomy, and putting its government "into the right hands," the king detached from the Department of Public Worship a particular section, which was placed no longer under the direction of the Minister of Public Worship and the control of the Chambers, but depended directly on the King, who was from that time charged to administer the Church in his quality of Supreme Bishop. By a decree of the 29th June 1850, this section of the Department of Public Worship was converted into a higher Ecclesiastical Council (*Oberkirchenrath*), all the members of which were appointed by the king, and to it was entrusted the higher administration of the Church. A project for the organization of parochial councils, elaborated at the same time, remained on paper for ten years; and it was only under the ministry of Bethmann-Hollweg that there was any approach to putting it into execution in a timid way as regards its form, yet without sufficient guarantees of success. The presbyterial councillors were to be nominated out of a list drawn up by the pastor and the patron of the church. The sarcasms uttered, and the bad will openly manifested against the project by some, were matched with a corresponding inertia and a want of confidence too well justified on the part of others. The creation of local Synods in the six eastern provinces of Prussia encountered the same difficulties, and broke down on the same obstacles.

On the part of the Government, we find the maintenance of the *status quo*, and a declared sympathy for the old order

of administering the Church by the State, with some feeble concessions made to the liberal aspirations of the time. Among the theologians we find barren discussions on dogmas and the confessional divergences which were of no interest to the laity, accompanied with clerical pride which would bear no lessening of their authority and no division of their power. And finally, in the masses we find profound indifference and systematic abstention from taking any part in religious matters. Such was the state of things with which we are now met.

We have spoken only of Prussia. If we glance over the history of the other German States, we see that in them the Protestant Church has passed through almost exactly the same phases. Except in a few unimportant modifications, the institutions of the Church preserved everywhere the character which the Reformation gave to them; namely, dependence on the State, the preponderating action of the pastoral body, and the limited and hardly sensible influence of the theological Schools on the masses. Piety is preserved, but it is without expansive force or striking character. It is owing to the instincts peculiar to the Germanic race and the power of their traditions that it is preserved, at least wherever the breath of the age and the corroding action of the Positivist systems do not penetrate through books, journals, and societies founded on socialistic principles. In all the States where the Union was established it was saluted at first with joy, then arose more or less lively oppositions, according to the political passions which provoked them or made an auxiliary of them. The people applaud or despitefully treat the Union, or are indifferent in its regard, but from motives which are mostly foreign to the religious consciousness. Kept far apart from the affairs of the Church by an organization which interdicted access to them, the people did not catch the purport of the debates which were then agitated, and they mixed with them only when the spirit of party drove them to it. Even in Oldenburg, in the Grand Duchy of Baden, and more recently in Hanover, where synodal institutions were introduced, and

where, owing to the habits of parliamentary life and the vitality of the political liberalism, the laity were called to exercise action in the councils of the Church, we still find the people as a whole little prepared for such institutions. The ecclesiastical struggles thenceforward had for their object only to displace the majority, to overthrow a ministry of public worship, and to make the preponderating power of which the sovereign disposes serviceable for the advantage of the party that triumphs.

Such was notably the character of the ecclesiastical struggles, of which the Grand Duchy of Baden was the theatre about the middle of this period. The autonomy of the Church, which was proclaimed there with great demonstrativeness, was but a vain form, since nothing was really changed in the relations between the Church and the State, as the higher Ecclesiastical Council was appointed by the prince, and he exercised the right of a suspensive veto over the decisions of the National Synod. Formerly it was orthodoxy, and now it was rationalism that sat in the Councils of the Government, and dictated its decrees in matters relating to the Church. That was all the difference. It is true that owing to the influence of Schenkel, Rothe, and the Protestant Union (*Protestantenverein*) which they created, we see the development of a new ecclesiastical theory which, under the pretext of reorganizing the Church according to the principle of the liberty of the particular community, lands in the most dangerous confusion of Church and State. This theory starts from the erroneous supposition that all the citizens of a particular district are Christian, often it is true without being conscious of it, and that they are accordingly called to take an active part in the affairs of the Church. Universal suffrage is thus identified with universal priesthood, and the civil community with the religious community. The boundaries of the Church are regarded as the same as those of the State, and the prince remains the supreme guardian of the interests of both. It is evident that this theory does not succeed in freeing itself from the bonds of territorialism. Its

ideal in ecclesiastical matters is a National Church organized according to the principles of democracy. Accordingly, in an exclusively Protestant State, there would be no reason for maintaining distinct institutions for the civil interests and the religious interests, since they thus become so completely amalgamated, and since the electors who have to regulate them are the same. This is, in fact, the underlying thought which is hidden in the theory of Rothe, according to which the purpose of the Church is to dissolve itself insensibly so as to lose itself in the State. The most untoward result of this tendency is that it keeps up the distrust of evangelically-minded men regarding the liberties of the Church, and that it throws them towards the reactionary party which, by its blind resistance to the most legitimate aspirations, gravely compromises the cause of the Gospel which it professes to serve.

III.

During this Period, Germany appears as if wearied and disabused of the great philosophical systems and investigations after the rigorous effort which marked the first thirty years of the Century. The system of Hegel, which presented such lofty views, soon issues under the leadings of the philosophical radicalism in a complete bankruptcy, and even in the negation of philosophy. Deserting metaphysics, and even psychology, the intellects of the time throw themselves with ardour on the study of nature; and a frenzied thirst for reality is opposed to idealism. Feuerbach and his School play in Germany a part analogous to that of the French Positivist School. Religion is no longer considered as anything more than the confused dream of sick imaginations. It is necessary as quickly as possible to cure humanity of it. Enfranchised from the idea of God, which oppresses it like a nightmare, humanity will no longer encounter upon its path those obstacles created by fanaticism and superstition which arrest the emancipation of human reason and the rehabilitation of the flesh. Alongside of this deluge of naturalism, a

small number of philosophers still defend theism with more patience than talent or success.

In speculative theology we remark the same weakness and the same lassitude as in philosophy. At the beginning of this period we find among the theologians formed in the School of Hegel, a confused fermentation with a marked tendency towards orthodoxy. The Hegelian Right under the ministry of Altenstein, exercises a short but undisputed domination; it shows, however, no taste nor capacity for criticism, and it confines itself to the circle of speculative labours. The School of Schleiermacher mostly also inclines and attaches itself more and more to positive theology, explaining the old dogmas by theories more or less ingenious and profound, and reducing miracle to its simplest expression by disengaging it from the legendary elements which it may contain. The School continues its useful and laborious work of mediation between extremes; but it lacks energy, courage, simplicity, and popularity, and it draws upon itself the reproach of being illogical and undecided. In criticism it gives itself to incessant gropings after the authenticity or non-authenticity of the sacred writings, and to the distinction between history and myth. The old doctrine of plenary inspiration is undermined, stormed, and even abandoned, while the theologians do not renounce on that account the founding of the authority of the Bible on its infallibility.

Alongside of the School of Schleiermacher, the Modern Orthodoxy, under the auspices of Hengstenberg and Stahl, becomes more active and stirring, more compact, and more popular. Doubting nothing and receding before nothing, it knows how to profit dextrously by the political circumstances of the time so as to attain the supremacy. It soon reigns supreme at the Court as well as in the Universities. Deriding or disdaining all philosophy and all serious criticism, it supports itself on written law rather than on liberty, resuscitating the letter of the old Confessions of Faith instead of taking account of the real religious needs. By the mouth of one of its most authorized representatives, it proclaims the

necessity of a turning back of the movement of science; and not only of theological science, but of all the sciences and of all the modern intellectual culture.

Independent of the political events, what concurred in favouring the advance of this tendency was the want of great individualities capable of leading or guiding the young generations. About the commencement of our period the chief leaders of modern thought had just passed away: Hegel in 1831, and Schleiermacher in 1834. Everything seemed to promise a long era of peace; as the debates between the Hegelians and the disciples of Schleiermacher regarding the relations between the Idea and feeling, concerned only the form and not the foundation of the faith. The Old Rationalism was conquered; and those of its representatives who still remained, were living apart by themselves. Then it was in 1835 that Strauss's *Life of Jesus* burst forth like a thunderbolt from a clear sky, dissipating the illusion of a reconciliation between science and faith. It marks the coming in of a new School, which, with singular ardour and varied chances of success, undertakes the struggle against orthodoxy now given up by rationalism. It is in the name of historical criticism that this School professes to storm the old theological system by concentrating its attacks upon its very foundations, the Bible, the New Testament, the Apostolic Christianity, the Epistles of Saint Paul, the four Gospels, and the Life of Jesus. It is these attacks, as well as the defence which was opposed to them, that we have now first to review.

CHAPTER I.

STRAUSS.

I.

BIBLICAL Criticism had made but little progress since the discussions in the last century which had been occasioned by the publication of Lessing's *Wolfenbüttel Fragments*¹ and the labours of Ernesti, Michaelis, and Semler. Eichhorn, in his *Introduction to the New Testament*,² had taken up again Lessing's hypothesis of a primary Gospel written in Aramaic, of which our first three Gospels were modified translations.³ This hypothesis enjoyed great favour although it is in complete disaccordance with what we know of the literary habits of antiquity. Later on, owing especially to a short Essay published by Gieseler, it was generally admitted that the common source of the Synoptic Gospels was oral tradition, which was stereotyped in a sort, and which for a longer or shorter time had sufficed for the needs of the Church. As to the fourth Gospel, it had been comparatively neglected by the Rationalists; but the theologians of the School of Schleiermacher, following the example of their master, made it their favourite Gospel. After the unfortunate attempt by Bretschneider, no one dared any longer to contest the authenticity of the Gospel according to St. John. In order to maintain its apostolical origin, its defenders did not hesitate to sacrifice the Apocalypse, and even the Gospel

¹ [Fragments of Reimarus, translated from Lessing, by Rev. C. Voysey, Lond. 1879.]

² Einleitung in das N. T., Jena, 3 vols., 1803-14.

³ Historisch-Kritischer Versuch über die Entstehung und die frühesten Schicksale der Schriftlichen Evangelien, Gött. 1818.

according to St. Matthew, the mysticism of St. John making the balance incline in his favour. This procedure, it must be admitted, furnished but an indifferent guarantee for the historical truth of the Gospel narratives. In this relation theologians were living in a strange security. Some bold spirits ventured indeed to relegate to the domain of legend and myth the miraculous birth and ascension of Jesus Christ, which are found related only in the three Gospels that had issued from tradition. But no one asked whether the fourth Gospel was so well established that similar attempts might not extend to other facts also, or even to the whole life of our Lord.

The remarkable labours of historical science with regard to the sources of Greek and Roman history had brought to light the important part played by myth and legend in these primitive periods. De Wette in his own way had undertaken to show the important place which is to be assigned to them in the writings of the Old Testament. Was it not possible to apply the same process to the New Testament, and to see in the miracles of Jesus a simple reflection of the faith in the supernatural which animated the Church of the First Century? This is the question which Strauss's celebrated book put to the theology of Germany in 1835.

II.

DAVID FRIEDRICH STRAUSS¹ was born at Ludwigsburg in 1808, of parents who were in easy circumstances. His father, a man of feeble intellect, of moderate capacity, and

¹ Cf. E. Zeller: Strauss nach seiner Person und seinen Schriften geschildert, 1874. Biedermann: Strauss und seine Bedeutung für die Theologie, 1875. Reuschle: Zur Erinnerung an Strauss, 1874. W. Lang: D. Strauss, Eine Charakteristik, 1874. T. Schmidt: D. F. Strauss. Bilder aus dem geistigen Leben unsrer Zeit, 1875. Hausrath: D. F. Strauss und die Theologie seiner Zeit, 2 vols., 1876-78. Gottschall: David Strauss, 1876. Strauss's Complete Works have been edited in 12 vols. by Dr. E. Zeller, 1875-77.—Cf. also Colani: Le docteur Strauss, Revue de Théologie, 1 série, xi, pp. 20 and 129. Strauss's Essais d'histoire religieuse et mélanges littéraires, in French, by Ch. Ritter, with an Introduction by E. Renan, 1872. V. Cherbuliez: Etudes de littérature et d'art, 1873.

attached to the principles of a narrow orthodoxy, was ruined by the result of certain ill-conceived commercial enterprises. His mother was a woman endowed with much understanding and courage, and she practised a simple trustful religion that was indifferent to external forms, but full of love for nature. She did not cease to continue in spiritual communication with her son, and to do justice to the sincerity of his intentions.¹ These early family impressions exercised a decisive influence on the mind of Strauss, who, moreover, like all his Swabian countrymen, tended in his character to extremes. In his father, he saw religion separated from morals; in his mother, he found morals separated from religion; and he concluded that they were independent of each other. In like manner, at a later date, becoming disgusted with the pious verbiage and the heavy pietism of converted Swabian shoemakers and tailors, he declared that Christianity was absolutely irreconcilable with modern culture.

In his thirteenth year, Strauss was sent to the seminary of Blaubeuren, where his character was invigorated by its firm austere life of study, tempered by relations of friendship and the lively enjoyment which he found in excursions among the mountains during his holidays. It was at Blaubeuren that he formed his intimate friendship with Christian Märklin, his fellow-pupil, who was destined like himself to a theological career from his infancy, and who was about to pass through the same crises and torments as himself. The young pupils of the seminary had the good fortune to find in their masters Baur and Kern, two distinguished philologists who were able to inspire them with the passion for science, and whom they found again six years later as professors in the University of Tübingen. At the outset of their philosophical studies they were struck by a sort of infatuation for Jacob Böhme, and more especially for Schelling, whose speculative genius they admired, and whose mystical enthusiasm they shared. Strauss also formed an acquaintance with Justinus Kerner, whom he

¹ Cf. *Kleine Schriften. Neue Folge* (1866): *Zum Andenken an meine gute Mutter.*

visited in his idyllic residence of Weinsperg. The question of the supernatural already occupied his thought. Nevertheless, his infatuation for "The Clairvoyante of Prevorst," that interesting young girl who foretold that he would always remain a believer, did not last long. While still a student at the university, he published a treatise in which he maintained that all these phenomena of magnetism, which were then making a great noise, had nothing in them but what was emphatically natural.

The arrival of Baur at Tübingen opened new horizons to the young students. His lectures on the history of dogmas and of the Church, the reading of Hegel's *Phenomenology*, and Schleiermacher's *Dogmatics*, produced in these boiling spirits a powerful fermentation, which was not long in provoking a discordance between their scientific consciousness and the traditional faith, that became more flagrant every day.

Strauss completed his Tübingen studies by a visit to Berlin. Hegel had just died, but Schleiermacher was still lecturing, and Strauss followed his prelections with great interest. On his return to the south in 1830, he exercised for a year the functions of assistant pastor in a Swabian village, trying to accommodate his heresies to the exigencies of his ministry as well as he could. His correspondence with his friend Märklin, who found himself in the same position as he was, sheds a curious light on this period of crisis, which was rather of an intellectual than of a moral kind. Strauss suffered much less than his friend. "It is necessary," he wrote to him, "to have a thought in reserve, and to judge of everything by it whilst speaking, however, like the people." In 1831 he was appointed a teacher in the seminary of Maulbronn, and a year later, tutor in that of Tübingen. His prelections were acceptable, and time had matured his thought. The fundamental characteristic of his intellect is clearness and the need of precision. He possessed a marvellous perspicuity, which enabled him to disentangle the most complicated questions, to elucidate the opinions of others, and to translate unintelligible thoughts into a limpid style. A

master of form, dominating his materials admirably, and endowed with that plastic power which excels in making an era or an individual live again, Strauss is an artist and a *littérateur* still more than a scholar or a critic. He hardly drew more from the system of Hegel than a method of reasoning; and this he did by taking away from it every mystical aspect, and reducing it to a cold and dry pantheism.

In 1835 Strauss published his *Life of Jesus*.¹ In this celebrated work he proposes to attack the Christian Supernatural in its very source. With the methodical gravity of the magistrate who proceeds to an inquest, he wishes to work out the balance-sheet of contemporary theology, in order to determine what ideas it ought definitely to reject. Strauss undertakes to enter upon an impartial but rigorous criticism of received opinions, making it turn on the person of Christ, the central point of theology. The *Life of Jesus* is not, as its title might lead one to suppose, an attempt to reconstruct the biography of Christ, nor even a complete study of the four Gospels. Strauss limits himself to an examination of one question, which may be put as follows: In the actual state of criticism, what are the narratives in the Gospels which it is possible to consider as legendary? It is a sort of preparatory criticism, the aim of which is to eliminate from the Gospels all that is suspicious. This is so true that Strauss does not give himself the trouble to explain the birth of Christianity. He says, indeed, that the Christ of the Gospels is the product of the imagination of the Church. But as to this Church itself, who then has created it? In order to explain the supernatural halo which surrounds the person of Christ, Strauss prefers the term "myth" to that of legend. Now a myth being an idea exhibited under the form of a fact, or an idea put on the stage and represented in action, everything seems to be said when the mythical character of a narrative has been

¹ Das Leben Jesu, kritisch bearbeitet, 2 vols. 1835. [The Life of Jesus, critically examined. Translated from the fourth German edition by Marian Evans (better known as George Eliot), 3 vols. 1846.]

demonstrated, whereas with the legend it is still necessary to seek to determine the fact in its historical truth. And that is a kind of trouble which Strauss does not give himself.

He deals with the question of the authenticity of the four Gospels only in order to call attention to the fact that it is not guaranteed by testimonies going so far as to cramp or hinder internal criticism. Oral tradition had been existing for some thirty years before being fixed on parchment, and from the beginning of that time it was capable of undergoing change. But at what point was it able to transform the life of our Lord into a myth? The space of time which tradition had at its disposal was evidently much too short for this transformation. As regards the fourth Gospel, according as its apostolical origin is or is not held, the judgment on the facts which it contains will undergo great modification. Strauss had neglected this point in the first edition of his book; in the third he acknowledged his error, and repaired it by declaring himself undecided on the question of the authenticity of St. John; and, finally, in the fourth edition he lands in an energetic negation of that Gospel. Strauss saw himself forced to attribute the fourth Gospel to an able forger, who wished to pass himself off as the Apostle John. The certifications of the origin of the four Gospels do not guarantee the historical character of their contents; and the question to be dealt with is to determine by what signs the true is to be distinguished from the false. In this regard Strauss makes much in particular of the contradictions of one Gospel with itself or with the other Gospels. He further lays it down as an absolute principle, that miracles are impossible, so that every narrative which is in disaccordance with the laws of nature is pronounced to be mythical.

The narratives which are connected with the birth of John the Baptist are, in Strauss's view, poetical myths. That prophet having afterwards played a great part, and having been found in relation with Jesus, the Church judged it appropriate to glorify him in this way. The two Genealogies of Jesus have nothing historical about them; they are the work of

Judaizing Christians, who believed that the Messiah must necessarily descend from David. The history of the birth, baptism, and temptation of Jesus are myths designed to establish His supernatural origin. Jesus was a disciple of John the Baptist, whose work He undoubtedly only wished to continue at the outset; but by degrees He came to believe Himself the Messiah, and hoped to found a political kingdom by supernatural means. Putting the moral law above the Mosaic law, He virtually abolished the latter; and pagans were to form a part of the Messianic kingdom after they had been circumcised. Jesus made missionary journeys. He did not perform miracles, but He could heal demoniacs; and on that account all sorts of marvellous facts have been attributed to Him. He did not foretell His death and His resurrection; He did not institute the Lord's Supper. The disciples, convinced that the Messiah could not remain in the tomb, had visions and hallucinations which showed Him to them risen again.

According to Strauss, two factors contributed to the formation of the gospel myths: first, the expectation of a Messiah, which was widely diffused in the First Century; and secondly, the belief that Jesus was this Messiah. When once this desire and belief had reached their maximum of intensity, those who held them could not but be disposed to be satisfied with the realization of a minimum of the Messianic characteristics.

The hypothesis of Strauss does in no way solve the problem it deals with. In point of fact it suppresses it; for it amounts to affirming that Christianity is a variety of Mosaism, which is false. If the Apostles believed in the Messiahship of Jesus, His person must have singularly surpassed all ordinary proportions. Strauss speaks of the Messianic hopes as of a substance which, after having fermented, had individualized itself in the image of Christ; but ideas by themselves alone do not ferment, as the Hegelian philosophy would have it. In reducing Jesus to the proportions of a common rabbi, Strauss as a critic put himself out of the position of being able

to explain anything, and he has given proof of possessing very little historical sense.

The *Life of Jesus* made a startling and profound impression. It was like a clap of thunder from a clear sky. After violent struggles, philosophy and religion in the schools of Schleiermacher and Hegel had just signed a treaty of peace which gave every promise of lasting. The work of Strauss, in which the author displayed a rare power of discussion and a calm firmness far from all passion or sneering, raised one of those questions of which the significance is understood not less by the multitude than by the scholar. In the opinion of everybody, Christianity would crumble into dust if the life of its founder ceased to be an historical reality. Accordingly there arose a prolonged cry of surprise and indignation, followed by a deluge of abusive pamphlets and refutations and apologies, all of which were feeble, and which clearly displayed the confusion and disorder in which Biblical Criticism was then found.

Strauss lost his appointment as tutor in the seminary at Tübingen. He barely replied in a few somewhat lively words to the abuse which was showered upon him, but he set himself to study coldly the works of his adversaries. Two years afterwards he published an apology for his *Life of Jesus*, in reply to the attacks of Steudel, Hengstenberg, Julius Müller, and Ullmann.¹ In this discussion, as well as in the following editions of his work, he made important concessions to his adversaries, chiefly in regard to the spiritual power which must be recognised in the Founder of the Church. (He admits that Jesus attained the most elevated degree of the religious life, a degree which cannot be surpassed, although in other spheres, and notably in that of philosophy, it is possible to go beyond Christ.) Strauss further consents to other amendments of his work. He admits that Jesus may have been conscious of His Messiahship from the outset of His career, that His whole life must have had an extra-

¹ Drei Streitschriften zur Vertheidigung meiner Schrift über das Leben Jesu und zur Charakteristik der gegenwärtigen Theologie, 1838.

ordinary character, and that by His power over the souls of men, to which there was perhaps conjoined a physical force analogous to magnetism, He performed cures which could not but appear miraculous. But owing to his concessions, Strauss falls in more than one place into the defective exegesis of Paulus, and his criticism wavers in uncertainty between doubt and negation.

In 1839 the heads of the radical party at Zurich offered Strauss a chair of theology. The appointment was made in spite of a lively repulsion manifested by all classes of society. However, in consequence of a petition supported by more than forty thousand signatures, demanding the removal of Strauss, the Zurich Government deemed it necessary to make the new professor retire from his office before he had even taken possession of his chair. This measure, however, was not able to save the Government. As to Strauss, this new experience was above his power of endurance, and he could no longer restrain the irritation which was working in his soul.¹ In the fourth edition of the *Life of Jesus*, which was printed in German characters in order that it might be more easily read by the people, he withdrew all the concessions he had made, and even suppressed the closing chapter on the personality of Jesus. "My recent work," he says in the preface, "has consisted in sharpening my good sword which I had myself blunted."

It may be said that it was at this time that Strauss broke finally with Christianity. It was the moment of a moral crisis in his life, of which God alone knows the history. But it is to be regretted that a nature so well endowed as his was, allowed itself to be turned from its path at this point in great measure by the chafings of this struggle. What services might not have been rendered to the cause of the Gospel by one who in an address delivered at the funeral of his brother uttered these beautiful words: "In the rich and powerful

¹ [Cf. The Opinions of Professor D. F. Strauss, as embodied in his Letter to the Burgomaster Hirzel, Professor Orelli, and Professor Hitzig at Zurich. Translated, Lond. 1844.]

organplay of human life, fate allowed our friend but a single key, that on which there is written in large black letters: *Renunciation*. Ah! that is a sad tone for the vulgar ear which demands full sounds, a brilliant tune, and impressions always new; but it is a tone which also demands a master, and which can form masters. It is a keynote which can produce sounds of a beauty and depth which no other attains. The man who fully accepts the renunciation which is imposed upon him as his vocation, may reach an internal joy for which the favourites of fortune might envy him. It is in this sense that our friend accepted his malady; it was *like a task which had been imposed upon him from on high*, and the accomplishment of which constituted his special calling. He drew up a plan of life accommodated to his sickly condition, and he followed this plan with inflexible rigour. Action on the large scale was interdicted him, and he applied himself to show himself faithful in little things. . . . While we were struck only by the privations which were imposed upon him, he appeared sensible only to the goods which still remained to him. And thus it was that this invalid was able to strengthen those who were more robust than himself. Thus it was that this man, though thrown down, could be a support to others who remained erect. Thus it was that this unfortunate one was even the most effective of consolers."¹

III.

(In the same year, 1840, Strauss published his *Christian Dogmatics*,² which, as has been somewhat wittily said, has the same resemblance to a system of dogmatics as a cemetery has to a city.) The author declares that he has sought in this work even more than in his *Life of Jesus* to deserve the reproach of giving nothing which specially belongs to himself;

¹ Kleine Schriften. Neue Folge, S. 343-345.

² Die christliche Glaubenslehre in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung und im Kampfe mit der modernen Wissenschaft dargestellt, Tüb. 2 vols. 1840. Cf. Reville: La dogmatique de Strauss. 2 serie, v. p. 23.

he wished only to sum up and set forth the balance-sheet of the results obtained by modern science. The subjective criticism which every separate individual practises resembles the pipe of a pump which every vagabond can stop up for a time; but the criticism which is exercised objectively in the course of centuries dashes along like a river with foaming floods, against which all sluices and dykes are powerless. A general survey of "the dogmatic credit" of the present generation appears so much the more necessary to Strauss because most theologians cherish great illusions in this regard. They speak in much too disdainful a manner of the breaches which the criticism and polemics of the two last centuries have made in the old dogmatic system; and they esteem much too highly the equivocal resources which they believe they have found in the theology of feeling and in the mystical philosophy of our century. It is imagined that the case has been already won with reference to numerous problems which are still pending; but it might very well be that these cases may be lost in one and the same day, and that the hopes founded upon the new mines may be absolutely deceived. Bankruptcy would then be inevitable, and this is precisely what Strauss strives to show.

With this purpose in view, he successively examines and expounds the question of the origin of every doctrine in the Bible, its developments in the ecclesiastical writers, its deterioration in the hands of heretics, and finally its ruin as consummated by the modern philosophy. What remains of each dogma after having passed through this career, is an abstract, speculative, and pantheistic idea. Preserving the attributes furnished by religion, Strauss replaces their personal subjects (God, Jesus Christ, the Sinner, the Believer) by an abstract and collective subject (the law, the human race). Such a substitution cannot be legitimate so long as Strauss does not show by what illusion the human spirit has been forced to personify ideas before perceiving them under the form of abstract truths. In Christology, Strauss lands in allegory. The qualities and functions which the Church

attributes to Christ absolutely contradict each other when united in an individual; but in the idea of the species, on the contrary, they perfectly harmonize. The human species is in fact the union of the two natures: God incarnate, or the infinite descended into the world, and the finite remembering its celestial glory. The human species is the child of the visible mother and the invisible father: Nature and Spirit. It performs miracles, for in the course of the ages it always subjects the elements more. It is without sin, for its development taken in its totality is pure and without spot, and the defilement of the individual does not affect the species. It dies; it rises again; it ascends to heaven; and in rising above personal, national, and planetary existence it celebrates its union with the celestial and eternal spirit. (It is therefore humanity, and humanity alone, which is the true Man-God. But humanity ought to confine its hopes within the horizons of the earth. The belief in a future life is the last enemy which science is called to conquer.)

Giving up specially theological work, Strauss found subjects on the confines of religion and history which he treated with rare felicity. His biographical sketches are written with unquestionable talent. Strauss unites to a high degree a poetical and serene imagination with a style that is forcible, exact, and quite French in its precision. Mingling the study of lofty religious problems, from which he has never been able to cut himself away, with that of characters strongly moulded, and reflecting the spirit of their time, Strauss has renewed and extended the art of biography, and has been able to give it a peculiar charm and interest. Yet let us observe that in spite of this attentive investigation of facts, and this perfect clearness of exposition, he always seeks to dogmatize. He writes history only in order to have the opportunity of affirming ideas which are dear to him. In 1847 he published, in the form of a discourse, a pamphlet entitled the *Romanticist on the throne of the Cæsars; or, Julian the Apostate*.¹

¹ Der Romantiker auf dem Thron der Cæsaren, oder Julian der Abtrünnige, 1847.

It is a very witty and incisive political satire directed against Frederick William IV., "one of the men whom he most cordially detested," and whom he could not pardon for having made himself the patron of the religious reaction in Prussia. After an edition of the works of the poet Schubart, he then published a monograph on *Christian Märklin*,¹ who became pastor at Calw, and afterwards at Heilbronn, and was the author of a *Critical Study of Modern Pietism*. In this biographical sketch we find a charming account of the years of the infancy and youth of Strauss, who, as we have seen, was intimately acquainted with Märklin. From it we also learn what struggles he had to pass through till he broke with the traditional religious ideas in order to attach himself to the modern speculative philosophy.

Strauss next published an edition of the Dialogues of Ulrich von Hutten, which he completed by a monograph on this religious and chivalrous hero of the Sixteenth Century.² He was the first to dissipate the obscurity which enveloped the life of Ulrich, by referring his principal writings to their true date, and to the events which inspired them. This book is written with an attractive warmth, but it is too lavish of details. Hutten, however, was a man according to Strauss's own heart, one made for struggle and ardent polemics, more of a theologian than a Christian, and the most German of all the champions of the Reformation. He was a patriot who detested the yoke which Rome made to weigh upon his country, and of a morality that was often equivocal, allowing himself to be carried away by his imagination to adventures which the cynical levity of his age does not suffice always to justify. And it is Hutten whom Strauss invokes as the patron or tutelary genius of Germany. The preface to the third volume drew much attention. It dealt with the state of the contemporary theology in Germany. In it the author

¹ Christian Märklin, 1851.

² Ulrich von Hutten, 3 vols. 1859-60. [Ulrich von Hutten, his Life and Times. Translated from the 2nd German edition by Mrs. Sturge, Lond. 1874.]

declares that he attached himself to Baur, and he claims openly his place among the champions of religious liberty. Strauss also published an extensive work on *Reimarus*,¹ which contains at once a biography of that Hamburg thinker, and a detailed analysis of his manuscript on Natural Religion.

(In 1864, on the occasion of the publication of Renan's *Life of Jesus*, Strauss thought the moment was come for entering again into the lists, and he wrote in his turn a new Life of Jesus, entitled, *The Life of Jesus, composed for the German People*.²) Extending the field of his investigations, he does not intend to confine himself to showing what Jesus was and what he proposed, but he now wishes also to show how the legendary narratives of our Gospels were formed. Strauss has assimilated the results of the School of Baur, as he himself admits with laudable sincerity. He thinks that our Gospels were gradually formed by successive additions and intercalations. With Griesbach, he gives the priority to the Gospel of St. Matthew; and with Baur, he relegates the Gospel of St. John to the middle of the Second Century. The new sketch which Strauss gives us of Christ is absolutely lacking in clearness and probability, and can be justified, neither from the point of view of history, nor from that of psychology. In fact, the character of Jesus is represented as the product of the meeting, or as, in a sort, the synthesis of the Hellenic element and the Judaic element, of which Strauss speaks with an irritation that is restrained with difficulty. He makes Jesus into a kind of Socrates, a sage travestied as a thaumaturge by the ignorance and credulity of His contemporaries. While confessing that investigations regarding Christ can only lead to conjectures, he says that the surest thing is to believe in the eternal Christ, that is to say, in the ideal of humanity as we conceive it in the Nineteenth Century.

¹ Reimarus und seine Schutzschrift für die vernünftigen Verehrer Gottes, 1862.

² Das Leben Jesu. Für das deutsche Volk bearbeitet, 1864. [A New Life of Jesus. By D. F. Strauss. Authorized translation, 2 vols., Lond. 1865.]

The violent tone of the preface of this work has been dwelt upon. In it Strauss declares that he is neither a revolutionary nor an unbeliever, but a reformer, the legitimate heir of Luther. He has been driven by duty to come to the aid of those to whom the official Christianity has become insupportable. He wishes to distinguish what is eternal from what is only transitory in the religion of Jesus. He finally explains that the mission of our age is to strip Christianity of its supernatural character. "In order to chase the priests from the Church," he says, "it is necessary to exclude miracles from religion. This is the only means of securing in a final way the conquest of all our liberties, and the development of the political institutions of Germany." Strauss further interposed twice in the debates excited by the new Lives of Jesus. On the first occasion he did so in order to ruin the ideal Christ of Schleiermacher in the name of history;¹ and on the second occasion, in order to unveil the logical inconsistencies of the work of Schenkel, and to contrast with it the robust convictions of Hengstenberg.²

His book on *Voltaire*³ appeared in 1870. It was the fruit of six lectures written for the late Princess Alice of Hesse, and delivered before her at Darmstadt. It presents an agreeable, vivid, and animated narrative. Strauss admires Voltaire as one of the emancipators of the human mind, but he does not forgive his dogmatic indifference. The raillery of Voltaire and the seriousness of Reimarus appear to him as types of the French and the German mind. He seems, however, to fear the charm which draws him towards the philosopher of Ferney; he reproaches himself for it almost as a weakness. His patriotism may be said to have corrupted his criticism. He excuses everything in his hero, Frederick the Great. Voltaire was wrong in reproaching him for loving war too much. Frederick was driven to

¹ Der Christus des Glaubens u. der Jesus der Geschichte. Eine Kritik des Lebens Jesu von Schleiermacher, 1865.

² Die Halben u. die Ganzen. Eine Streitschrift gegen Schenkel u. Hengstenberg, Berl. 1865.

³ Voltaire, Berl. 1870.

draw the sword from the need of aggrandizing the young kingdom of Prussia and raising a rampart against Catholic Austria. In like manner, Strauss maintains that in this sovereign the heart reached the height of genius, although we know very well to what disdain and what cruel extremities his far from generous soul could give itself up.

In his *Two Letters to M. Renan on War and Peace*,¹ which were published in the Augsburg Gazette, and then printed apart for the benefit of a hospital for invalids, Strauss was inspired by the first German victories in the war of 1870. In these Letters he mingles his praises and his imprecations with those of Bismarck's official press. This attitude of the celebrated critic need not surprise us. In 1848, when standing as a candidate for the Frankfort Parliament, he spoke in the electoral assemblies in favour of constitutional monarchy and the re-establishment of the Empire under the hegemony of Prussia. He failed in his candidature, but was elected to the Second Chamber of Württemberg, where he showed himself too Conservative to please his supporters. He then resigned his commission, and cherished a profound dislike of universal suffrage. As a member of the Liberal National Party, he yoked himself to the car of Bismarck, the man who was predestined to give national unity, with military glory and the preponderance in Europe, to the German fatherland. With what devotion did the radical critic bow before the sword of von Moltke! With what want of generosity did he outrage the misfortunes of France, which was represented as guilty of all crimes, and whose corruption was threatening to become a public scourge to Europe! As for Germany, she was without sin; and if Strauss is disturbed by anything, it is by the well-known moderation of von Bismarck! He is afraid that Bismarck will not take enough, and that the guarantees which he was wrenching from France might not be sufficient. It has been well said that this Chauvinism of Strauss constitutes a sort of religion which has its oracles, its prophets, and its mysteries. Even in 1868, in the conclusion of his book on

¹ Krieg und Friede. Zwei Briefe an Renan, 1870.

Ulrich von Hutten, he exclaimed, apostrophizing his hero: "Kindle in us the hatred of all that is servile, of all that is false, of all that is not German." The German people is, in his view, the elect people, and its critics are the prophets of that new future which the Cæsarian democracy dreams of for it. Enraptured by the national greatness, a fierce adversary of Ultramontanism, and uniting the proud assurance of the freethinker to the self-satisfaction of the citizen, in beatific admiration of the lofty deeds of his sovereigns, Strauss is the type of that numerous class of minds who profess with equal ardour the most advanced religious radicalism and the blindest political conservatism.

IV.

In 1872, Strauss published, under the title of *The Old Faith and the New*, a curious book which produced another great sensation in Germany.¹ He has himself entitled it, *A Confession*. Having reached the threshold of old age,—he was then in his sixty-fourth year, and was in a state verging on blindness,—he felt the need of summing up the result of the employment of his life. He wishes to have the satisfaction of being able to say to himself that he has not demolished merely, but has also tried to build up. He is assured, moreover, that he was but the interpreter, the speaking-trumpet, of thousands of souls who had broken with the old beliefs and felt in no way disposed to found a new Church. For his part, he had long since renounced the vain attempt to rejuvenize and spiritualize the old formulas, or to repair structures that were falling in ruins. He had

¹ Der alte und der neue Glaube. Ein Bekenntniss, 1872. This book went through four editions in three months. In reply to his numerous critics, Strauss wrote a supplementary pamphlet, entitled, "A Supplement as Preface to the new Editions of my Work" (*Ein Nachwort als Vorwort zu den neuen Auflagen meiner Schrift*, 1873). In this Supplement he particularly seeks to establish that there can be no intermediate position between his point of view, which is ambitiously designated the modern, and the old Christian beliefs. [*The Old Faith and the New: A Confession*. Authorized translation from the 6th edition, by Mathilde Blind, 2nd ed. 1873.]

resolutely passed the last stage which separated him from pantheism, and he means as little as possible to claim for his system a religious character. It is with a frankness, a lucidity, and an enthusiasm worthy of all praise, that Strauss expounds what it has become common to call the point of view of modern science in opposition to that of Christianity. His book at once captivates and saddens us. A strong but desolating conviction makes itself felt in it. By an art which has nothing forced about it, he has shed over these pages the charm of a marvellous serenity; but at the same time the heart is oppressed, the conscience protests, and thought itself stops incredulous and rebellious before these solutions apparently so simple, so logical, and so luminous. In our critical analysis we shall follow the route traced out by the author himself, who proposed to resolve successively the following four questions: Are we still Christians? Have we still a Religion? What is our Conception of the Universe? What is our Rule of Life?

1. Are we still Christians? In order to answer this question, Strauss passes in review the various Articles of the Apostles' Creed, which is commonly regarded as a summary of the Christian faith; and he asserts not only their profound divergence from, but even their radical contradiction to modern thought. He then shows how faith in the ancient doctrines of the Church has been gradually lost, owing, in the first place, to Rationalism, that timid compromise according to which everything in the Biblical history took place naturally, but as a general thesis at least honestly; and, in the next place, owing to the Modern Theology, which has applied to the Christian dogmas an interpretation more profound, but also more subtle and more artificial. Strauss chiefly attacks Christology. If the progress of the religious life is bound in an essential way and for all time to the person of Jesus Christ, it would be necessary that this life should have existed in Him in a perfect manner: a view which cannot be accepted, as a type or an ideal of humanity is no longer a man. Strauss takes a very exact account of the prejudice done to Chris-

tianity by those who deny the divinity of its founder. "The Christian worship," he says, "is a garment cut out for a Man-God; it becomes loose, and entirely loses its fit, if it is made to cover a mere man." The traditional faith, according to Strauss, is wholly without historical foundation. He sees only obscurity and confusion in our Gospels; they are like different geological strata superposed and juxtaposed pell-mell with each other. It is possible that certain texts represent Jesus as narrower than He was in reality, but it is also possible that others attribute to Him a breadth which He did not possess; and if we take account of the attitude which His chief Apostles took up after His death towards St. Paul, the latter hypothesis becomes the more probable.

Strauss takes pleasure in tracing a parallel between Christianity and Buddhism. He discovers at the bottom of both, a mystical and ascetic element; but while Buddhism issues in nihilism, Christianity stops at dualism. The practical result, however, is the same; they both consecrate the worship of poverty and mendicancy, while discrediting labour. If we were to take the doctrine of Jesus literally, and if theologians succeeded in extirpating the love of money in man, we should fall back into barbarism. Happily humanity runs no risk on this side. But Christianity owes its preservation among the cultivated and industrial peoples of our time only to the corrections which it has had to undergo at the hands of the modern reason, which has been generous enough, or weak and hypocritical enough, to attach these corrections to the power of development in the Christian principle, instead of attributing them to itself. There was nothing more miserable or more sordid than the life in the villages and small towns of Galilee in the time of Jesus. How can we admit that it was able to produce a presentiment and a fertile stimulus for science or for art? Human existence was the object of such disgust in the bosom of the oppressed and fallen race, which then vegetated on the banks of the Jordan and the Sea of Galilee, that the most distinguished minds would no longer take any knowledge of them. All reform appeared to them trouble

thrown away; they willingly abandoned the world to the prince of this world, to the devil; and they confined themselves to expecting, with all the ardour of a fevered imagination, that salvation and deliverance which, according to the ancient predictions and the recent commentaries, were about soon to descend from the heavens. What is there astonishing then in the fact that Jesus was able to pass Himself off for the Messiah, especially when, after His death, His disciples believed that they saw Him again living in the midst of them! Strauss declares that it is humiliating for human pride to compare the prodigious effects of the belief in the resurrection of Jesus Christ with its superstitious origin. For the historian this resurrection is entirely baseless; it can only be called a world-wide deception, a colossal humbug. Jesus Christ would have vainly taught and practised during His whole life the truest and most beautiful maxims, along with the most exclusive and intolerant ones (which, it is well known, make most impression on the masses), yet His doctrines would have vanished like leaves carried away by the wind, if these leaves had not been picked up and put together, and reunited in a compact volume by the illusory faith in His resurrection. What was the real end of Jesus? It is no longer possible to know this now; probably He ended by despairing of Himself and of His cause. The Jesus of history and science is no longer more than a problem, and a problem cannot become the object of faith or the rule of life. In the Middle Ages, Christianity was not content to be carried along on the line of the asceticism of the Christ of the Gospels; it sought to outdo His austerities. Love, which is sometimes represented as the most exquisite fruit of Christianity, sprang up elsewhere as savoury and even more disinterested than on the soil of Palestine. You find it in Buddhism and among the Stoics. The idea of human fraternity was born in the noble spirits of Greece and Rome, when the barriers which separated the peoples were thrown down. And, moreover, it was imposed by force upon the Jews who were scattered through all countries.

The modern world is removing farther and farther from

the pale conceptions of the Christian mythology. It no longer understands the cycle of the festivals of the Church, and still less does it participate in the emotions which they awoke of yore. "How can we seek," says Strauss, "a support for our activity in a faith which we no longer have, or in a fellowship with the presuppositions of which we have finally broken? The Sunday worship supposes the adoration of Christ, with reading the Bible, faith in its inspiration, and the celebration of the sacraments, a hypocrisy which we will no longer practise. Our children ought not to be marked by any particular sign; let them confine themselves to be men; it is men that we would make of them. We might indeed accept a festival of humanity, and we might drink willingly together of the same cup; but blood is the last thing we would ever think of putting into it." The present humanity, glad to live and act, can no longer find the expression of its religious consciousness in the cross, the symbol of humanity under its saddest form, of humanity conquered, broken, paralysed in all its members. Thus does Strauss justify the categorical "no" with which he believes that his first question should be answered: Are we still Christians?

We will not dwell upon what is superficial and unjust in the criticisms which Strauss directs against Christianity. We will confine ourselves at this point to remarking that his conclusions are franker and more logical than those of a considerable number of modern theologians who claim for themselves and their system the right to be called "Christian," although they have decidedly broken with the most essential characteristics of Christianity.

2. But does the rupture with Christianity imply also the negation of the religious sentiment? Looking at the origin of this capacity for religion, Strauss inclines with the Epicureans to find it in fear. This explanation applies especially to polytheism, as it divinizes the numerous and terrible powers of nature which man sees rushing upon him without always succeeding in escaping from them or conquering their disastrous effects. As to Monotheism, it is the religion of a horde

who express under the image of a redoubtable and invisible chief the high opinion which they have of themselves. The modern idea of God may be contemplated under two different aspects; that of the Absolute, the heritage of the Greek philosophy; and that of personality, the legacy of the Jewish and Christian religion. The latter is much more exposed to the attacks of science than the former. Owing to the advance of Astronomy, the old personal God has, so to speak, lost His dwelling, the heavens; and modern reason has also taken away from Him His court, the angels and saints. Prayer being generally considered inefficacious, ought to be suppressed. "If, while believing no longer in the efficacy of prayer, I continue to pray, I give myself up in my own regard to a puerile play which the momentary emotion that I experience may in rigour excuse, but which, when it is looked at more closely, is neither dignified nor free from danger. As Kant has remarked, the attitude of him who prays is already shocking in itself."

Strauss clears away the so-called proofs advanced in favour of the existence of God, just as old-fashioned pieces of artillery are relegated to the depths of an arsenal. He conceives God only as the substance of the world which manifests itself in an infinite variety of phenomena, each of them admirably realizing the purpose in view of which it is produced. Since the only rational manner of conceiving what exists, is unity in plurality and plurality in unity, nothing remains but the universe as the most elevated idea to which we could attach ourselves. Similarly, Strauss energetically rejects the idea of the immateriality of the soul which has been invoked in favour of its immortality. The soul is united in such an indissoluble manner with the body, that the one cannot be conceived without the other; there is nothing incorporeal but what does not exist. It is necessary, therefore, to renounce the unreflecting and selfish pretension of a future state of reward and of a finishing completion of man in another existence, which humanity has too long entertained; and this all the more that the universe would be greatly embarrassed to find "a place wherein to put all these defunct souls."

Man lends to the divinity what he would like to be himself, but does not succeed in being; he asks from his God what he would like to possess, but is not able to procure for himself. It is therefore not only from our feeling of dependence on the universe, but also from the need of reacting against this dependence, that Religion flows. In the same ratio as man succeeds in dominating nature by science, does he clothe himself with the attributes which the impotent wishes of the preceding generations lent to the gods. Nevertheless, even at the terminus of this path which reason opens to us, it will always remain possible for us to formulate wishes. Man will never come to satisfy all his desires. But at least this rational means of crowning his efforts by labour is the only efficacious and only legitimate one, whereas the expedients to which religion has recourse are only agreeable means of deceiving ourselves. To wish to cut out a shorter way by means of prayers, sacrifices, and faith, is to nourish oneself on chimeras and to prepare bitter deceptions. It is precisely because this need of abridging is the characteristic element of all the existing religions, that religion itself appears to Strauss to rest on an illusion. Instead of considering it as a privilege, he would rather be disposed to regard it as a weakness of human nature, which may be excused in the age of infancy, but from which humanity ought to emancipate itself in its period of maturity.

Religion and intellectual culture marched in concert as long as the development of humanity was effected by the aid of the imagination; but in proportion as reason takes its place, and as the study of nature and her laws advances, the domain of religion tends to contract from day to day. It is like the territory of the Redskins, now always taken away more and more from year to year, by their neighbours the whites. What remains to us to-day is the very Essence of all Religion, the feeling of free and joyous dependence on the universe; not as on a brutal power under the yoke of which we bend with a mute resignation, but as on an order of things endowed with reason, harmony, and goodness, to which we abandon

ourselves full of loving confidence. If any one wishes to continue to call this feeling religious, Strauss is not opposed to it. He considers that one may feel towards the universe the same piety as the believer feels towards God, but on the express condition that this piety does not translate itself into the form of a worship. If, on the contrary, any one denies this feeling the right to call itself religious, Strauss easily consoles himself. For he does not hold the view that we must answer affirmatively the second question which he has raised: Have we still a Religion?

In order to avoid the confusion of terms and the misunderstandings which might result from it, it would, in fact, be more suitable to use another word than piety to designate the respectful admiration which the spectacle of the grandeur of the universe and the beauty of its laws forces from us, and which has nothing in common with the sentiments of adoration and filial submission which the believers of all religion feel towards God. Precision of language and of idea could not but gain by doing so.

3. What is the Conception of the Universe of Strauss and his adherents? The universe presents itself to them as an infinite whole of globes exhibited in the most diverse phases of development, and revealing in this eternal cycle of variations and changes an always equal fulness of life. Death, that terror of men of all religions, does not exist. When a being disappears, it is to reappear under a different form. All in the universe is movement, activity, life.—We will not follow Strauss in the brilliant description which he gives of the origin of our planetary system and of the succession of the various periods which the earth has had to pass through before receiving its actual form. Strauss appropriates the theory of Darwin to explain the origin of life on the earth, and the passage from inorganic existences to organic existences. To remove all difficulties, it suffices to admit that the materials and forces already existing were mixed according to peculiar laws in that primitive age, which was so different from the actual condition of our globe. All that lives has the desire

and capability to develop itself by passing through an infinite variety of forms from the simplest beginnings, and these forms are either similar or superior. In the present day, we have no other choice among views for the explanation of the universe, but that between the Biblical doctrine of supernatural creation by the word or will of God and the theory of the celebrated English naturalist.

Strauss exalts Darwin as one of the greatest benefactors of the human race. He has delivered us from the faith in miracles. "We other philosophers and critics," he says, "had vainly decreed the downfall of miracle; our sentence made no impression, because we did not succeed in rendering miracle superfluous by putting in its place a natural force, wherever its presence hitherto appeared indispensable." Strauss hails with enthusiasm the discovery of this great law of the struggle for existence, which explains the secret of all the transformations which the principle of life has undergone in its gradual ascension from the inorganic kingdom to the organic kingdom, and from the purely animal kingdom to the human race. When we have recognised the fact that nature proceeds by the most insensible gradations, while employing the most extensive spaces of time, we possess the key to all the enigmas of the universe; and especially when we remember that the intermediate species which mark transitions, just because they present a feebler and less accentuated type, have been necessarily condemned to disappear.

Emphasizing the close affinity which reigns between man and the animal, Strauss maintains that the diversity of their capacities rests only on differences in degree. Do we not find among horses and dogs that are of a noble breed and well trained, the sentiment of honour and a sort of conscience? It is the faculty of thinking attached to that of forming words, which, by enlarging and developing the brain, has determined the superiority of man over the other beings of his race. But this faculty itself is explained by the various influences to which the brain is subject. If under certain conditions motion is changed into heat, why should heat in its turn not

change under different conditions into feelings and thoughts? Philosophy, the victim of the dualistic conception of the world, has long floundered between materialism and spiritualism. In the present day she is moulting, but wings, thanks to the discovery of Darwin, are shooting forth upon her again; and the task which the labour of innumerable series of human generations may set before themselves, will be in accordance with the highest conceptions and the most fruitful presentiments of the sages.

The universe, then, is only matter put in motion and developing itself, that is, elevating itself by infinitely varied and most frequently unexpected combinations to always higher forms. Doubtless our earth will also be destroyed one day, as all planets will be in their turn. Arrived at this stage, she will either have failed in attaining her end; or this end did not imply an eternal duration, but was realized at every point in the history of her development. The universe is not at any given moment more perfect than at the moment which preceded it. In it there is no difference between yesterday and to-day, because all the phases of its development, and all the degrees of its ascension and decadence, exist simultaneously, and mutually complete each other to infinity.

4. Such being the new conception of the world destined to take the place of the old, what will be the new Rule of Life which it implies?

In the race of the animals from which man was to arise, sociability is found in a high degree, with a capacity for developing the external members, the organ of the voice, and the brain, from which there was a right to expect marvellous results. The primitive history of humanity, it is true, offers us only the picture of savage struggles, amid which, in the various rival tribes, the individuals sinned, suffered, and learned much. Yet already at this time we perceive the dawn of a new era. An activity of a new kind characterizes the coming in of the moral order. Each individual seeks to determine himself according to the idea or the ideal which he conceives of the species. To realize in ourselves this

perfect type of man, and to further the realization of it in our fellow-men, such is the sum-total of all our duties. "To injure no one in his rights, to help every one within the limits of what is possible, not to forget for a moment that I am a man, and that others are so too," constitutes, according to Strauss, the substance of all morality. Nature not being able to rise higher at a given point of the universe, folds back, as it were, upon herself, in an individual of a more perfect species. The mission of man is to permeate and dominate the animal nature which is in him by the higher faculties which he possesses. His vocation is to study nature and to reign over it. He finds in thought a safeguard against sensuality and its power.

As we cannot follow Strauss in the application which he makes of his principles to the various social problems in detail, we must limit ourselves to a few rapid indications of it. It is the Germanic race as much as, and more than, Christianity, which has elevated woman and ennobled the idea of marriage. In barbarous ages, adultery might suffice as the one reason for divorce; but the progress of morals has revealed a multitude of incompatibilities and differences of sentiment, which, though less coarse, render a beneficial prolongation of the conjugal life just as impossible. War is undoubtedly an evil, but it is indispensable to the development of humanity and to the advance of its culture. The Peace Alliance pursues a chimera. Why does it not also think of decreeing the abolition of storms? Just as electricity will always continue to be accumulated in the clouds, so will the firebrands of discord be kindled from time to time among the peoples. The Nations and States of the earth will never be separated from each other in a way conformable to their needs or their interests. The principle of nationalities, which is nothing else but the theory of races applied to civilised society, will still prepare many a struggle for humanity. Only Ultramontanists and the members of the International, by destroying the very idea of a fatherland, will not dispute over a question of frontier; but at what a price!

Passing in review the various forms of Government, Strauss without hesitation grants the preference to Monarchy, at least in what concerns the Germany of the Nineteenth Century. The reasons which he gives for his view are so curious, that it is worth while quoting them: "In the monarchical form there is something enigmatical and even visibly absurd in appearance; but that is precisely the motive for the preference which it is proper to grant it. Every mystery appears absurd, and yet there is nothing more profound; there is neither life, nor art, nor State without mystery." Truly a strange enigma, we may well say in our turn. Strauss, who has chased the idea of the supernatural from religion, recalls it and places it in the State, that is to say, precisely where it has nothing to do. He has penetrated into the sanctuary of Christianity and has found it empty; and, *per contra*, he apotheosizes the monarch on his throne. But let us hear the sequel of his reasoning: "It needs researches particularly profound, and a look particularly penetrating, to understand that it is precisely in this elevation of one individual alone above the struggles of interest and party, above the doubts which might paralyse his authority, and above all the changes around him which death naturally brings, that the strength, the blessing, and the incontestable superiority which must be recognised in monarchy, rest." Strauss casts a look of profound pity on "those poor Frenchmen who have extirpated their dynasty with an irreverent haste, and who now, tossed to and fro between despotism and anarchy, can neither live nor die." On the other hand, he congratulates his countrymen on the fact that, "in consequence of the high facts and events of these last years, the dynasty of the Hohenzollerns has shot profound and inextricable roots beyond the frontiers of Prussia into all the German States and hearts."

And among the various forms of royalty, it is absolute monarchy which has the sympathies of Strauss. It could not well be otherwise. God dethroned from the heavens must be replaced by Caesar on earth. Strauss speaks with almost undisguised disdain of parliamentism, "that foreign ideal

which some would like to plant in Germany." To surround the monarchy with republican institutions is "a pure French phrase," which will soon seduce no one. The surest support of the throne is a powerful nobility, in possession of large estates and valiant in war. As to the citizen class, the hour of its abdication has sounded; for long it has not corresponded to the new wants and exigencies of the time. In the eyes of Strauss it is evidently too liberal. The black speck on the horizon is the social movement; it is the fourth class, that of the working class, who in turn demand a share of power. Strauss does not love the masses; he calls them the Huns and Vandals of modern civilisation, and accuses the Governments of having already granted them too many concessions. No one has the courage to propose repressive measures, but they could not be rigorous enough, "provided that the statesmen in whose hands our destinies are found, do not show themselves too tender!"

Yet Strauss does not despair. The events of those last years rejoiced his heart, while at the same time they had singularly spoiled the position of the democracy. "After the Goethes and the Humboldts had left us, then appeared the Bismarcks and the Moltkes, whose greatness can be all the less denied because it appears in the domain of external and tangible facts. And it is from the nobility that these heroes have sprung.¹ History will continue to be a good aristocrat although with feelings of benevolence for the people." Strauss is a passionate opponent of universal suffrage. Only notables, that is to say, only men in easy circumstances, have the right to be electors; and the deputies should not receive any payment, that we may be sure of removing from the Chambers all those who are not rich. Strauss also raises his voice violently against the abolition of capital punishment.

¹ Strange it is to find the New Evangelical Gazette, the representative of extreme orthodoxy, joining with Strauss in this depreciation of Humboldt. In one of its numbers about that time we read: "The worship devoted to this eminent naturalist was only possible in a time of national indigence. To-day, when we possess greater things and greater men, we may give up exaggerating the value of this scientist."

To him, as to De Maistre, the executioner is one of the most important functionaries in the State; he exercises a real social priesthood.

Such is the political ideal of the new religious radicalism. When man has dried up the springs of his moral energy, he is condemned to seek his support in material force, and to offer incense to those who represent it. All comment on this position would be superfluous. But what a strange aberration of mind, which prefers the Germany of the Bismarcks and Moltkes to that of the Goethes and Humboldts! And what else is it but pure nonsense, or a shocking want of logic, when Strauss says somewhere: "In France, what is admired is the power of phrasing; in England, the power of practical sense; and in Germany, the power of the ideal." Yes; we have seen these German idealists at work, and Strauss was worthy to edit their catechism. This catechism is very simple at bottom. Its decalogue may be summed up in a single law: the great principle of Darwin, the struggle for existence. The most valiant strugglers, the best equipped by nature and science, and the least scrupulous as regards conscience, are the greatest. It is to the strongest races that the empire of the world belongs. Ply your elbows without being troubled by the twitchings of conscience, and you will yet come to do great things. Might overbears right. Generous and sentimental France professes to make war only for ideas, and is captivated by an inconsiderate passion for those who can charm her by beautiful theories and eloquent discourses. England, preferring the lessons of Cobden to those of Darwin, seems to have adopted as a principle, existence without struggle; she withdraws her interest from the affairs of the world only to think about enriching herself and enjoying her riches. Germany alone has understood the true modern wisdom; and the future will belong to her, unless there arise from the vast plains of the East a stronger and less scrupulous nation, whose success will still better crown the struggle for existence.

At the close of his work, Strauss explains his view

regarding the relations of Church and State ; and it need not be said that he applauds with both hands the religious politics of Bismarck. As far as concerns himself and his friends, they ask for themselves only what Diogenes asked from Alexander, that they may no longer in the future find the shadow of the Church upon their path, and that they shall be no longer obliged to concern themselves with religion in any manner whatever. Above all, there is to be no reconciliation of Christianity and modern thought ! If the old faith was absurd, the modernized faith—that of Messrs. Bluntschli and Schenkel, and their friends of the Protestant Union—is doubly and trebly so. The old faith was at least in contradiction only with reason, but the modern faith contradicts itself at all points : how therefore can it accord with reason ? “ Is it not a lugubrious thing to be wishing to hold a meeting for edification on the denuded site, as yet insufficiently levelled down, on which arose the powerful edifice of the Church which has just been demolished ? ” Is it not better to say : All or nothing ? Moreover, the idea of such modern communities belongs to the pastors who have divorced themselves from the reigning Church, and who desire to preserve for themselves a sphere of activity, and not to the laymen, who, when they have become strangers to the doctrines of the Church, prefer to abstain purely and simply from all worship. Can men meditate only in a church, or be edified only by a sermon ? Are not science and art, poetry and music, powerful means of edification and of culture, even for the people ? (Let it not be imagined that the *Nathan* of Lessing, and the *Hermann and Dorothea* of Goethe, are more difficult to understand, or contain less salutary truth, or fewer precious maxims, than an Epistle of Saint Paul or a Discourse of Jesus Christ !)

In the ether into which our great poets raise us, and in the floods of harmony which our great composers shed over us, all human sufferings are soothed ; and we see wiped away as by magic all the stains of what, in spite of the most serious efforts, we cannot cleanse ourselves. But this

impression, Strauss is obliged to admit, lasts only a few fugitive moments, and the delicious refreshment does not extend beyond the sphere of the imagination. From the time that we descend again into the rude reality, and into the midst of narrow conditions of life, the old miseries seize us again and assail us on all sides. Against remorse and the tortures which the consciousness of these stains prepares for us, Christianity offers us the remedy of the redemptive death of Christ. It opens to the soul, when unsettled by seeing itself exposed in the world to the strokes of a brutal chance, a faith in Providence in whose arms we find a safe shelter ; and it illumines the gloomy night of the earth by the perspective of a heavenly and immortal life. That all these consolations are irremissibly lost to those who share his point of view, Strauss does not seek to deny, and it would be puerile to entertain the least illusion on this subject ; but he believes that he can offer to his adherents sufficient compensations.

The charlatan promises to make corporeal sufferings disappear in a twinkling and without pain ; but unhappily experience proves that their victims again feel them just as before. The physician, on the contrary, seeks to heal by means of a slow, laborious, and perhaps painful cure, and he succeeds but very incompletely in the majority of cases. He who knows that in the moral domain likewise, there exists no magical formulas, will hold, in face of the tortures of conscience, to the consolation that he finds in an incessantly renewed aspiration towards the good, and will feel himself driven by the very insufficiency of this consolation to redouble his efforts ; and he will feel even in his non-success the incentive to future progress.

The eclipse of faith in Providence forms a part of the most sensible loss which divorce from the faith of the Church draws in its train. Man sees himself placed without defence in this gigantic machine of the world, provided with toothed iron wheels making a hideous noise as they turn, and with hammers and mallets which fall with deafening din ; and he

is not assured for a moment that he will not, through some unexpected movement, be seized and torn by a wheel or flattened and pounded by a hammer. This feeling of abandonment and of distress is at first terrible. But what good does it serve to cherish illusions? Our desire does not change the world, and our reason shows us that it does in reality resemble such a machine. Although we do not see anything moving in it but inexorable and cruel wheels, there yet flows a beneficent oil in it too. Doubtless God does not clasp us in His arms, but in the depths of our being there open up for us powerful sources of consolation. Chance would, indeed, be a very irrational sovereign of the world; but necessity, that is, the logical concatenation of all causes, what else is it but Reason itself? It teaches us that to claim for ourselves an exception to the realization of a single law of nature, would amount to demanding the destruction of the whole of the universe. We thus, without doubt, by the amiable power of habit, end in accommodating ourselves to a state which is indubitably less perfect than we had wished, but which, taken all in all, is still acceptable. And this all the more, that our existence receives only its form from external conditions and events, while, as regards happiness or unhappiness, it is from the very depths of our being that it springs.

As regards the compensation promised for the loss of the faith in immortality, Strauss confines himself to remarking that he who cannot dispense with it is not ripe for his theory. He who is not content with vivifying in himself the beautiful idea of the eternity of the universe, its progressive march towards the light, and the glorious destinies of humanity; he who cannot find the assurance in his heart of an uninterrupted duration of life and activity, and venerated companions whom death has torn from him; he who is not satisfied by the fruitful activity which he may unfold by his fireside and in his particular calling, by the aid which he brings to the prosperity of his people and the good of his fellow-men, as well as by the enjoyment of the beautiful in nature and art; he who does not resign himself to having a part only for a limited time

in these benefits, and who cannot take it upon himself to quit life, not only full of gratitude for all that it has been given him to do, to love, and to suffer, but also relieved for being delivered at length from a painful and fatiguing toil: well,—Strauss sends such a one to Moses and the prophets, who indeed even themselves knew nothing of a personal immortality, or of a prolongation of life beyond the grave, without their ceasing on that account to be Moses and the prophets.

One does not drive agreeably, says Strauss in conclusion, either on an old worn-away road, to which the faith of the Church may be compared, or on a new road which has been recently laid out, which the modern theory of the world resembles. On the former one sinks every moment into deep ruts, or is stopped by trenches and holes scooped out by the rain and the mountain torrents. It is true that the roadmen seek to repair, well or ill, the damaged places, but it is not possible for them to remedy defects of construction or incorrectness in the route. The attempt has been made to avoid these defects by establishing a new road, but, contrarily, several parts of it are not yet finished, and others are insufficiently so; there are still ditches to be filled, rocks to be blasted away, and the traveller is greatly jolted on stones but recently spread and not yet rammed down. The vehicle also which carries the travellers does not respond to all the exigencies of the position. But these are light inconveniences which would not be long in disappearing, provided that a truthful description of the road and the scenes which it traverses, drew tourists thither in always greater numbers. It will then become manifest that this is the sole road of the future, which has only to be competely finished and more generally travelled over to become convenient and agreeable, while all the efforts and all the expenses of repairing the old road may be considered as lost. No one will then repent of having taken it, nor will he have cause in the end to regret the fatigue and courage called for in examining and preferring it to the old way.

Such are the conclusions of Strauss's book. We may estimate their value in a few words. The supreme law to which all the laws that govern the universe may be reduced, and which is destined to dethrone God, is called Life. What is really the aim of all this movement, of all these evolutions, of all these steps of progress of which the universe is the vast but unconscious theatre? To produce life, and again to produce life, and always to produce life, under forms incessantly varied, renewed, and rejuvenized, which engender themselves, and combine with and perfect each other of themselves. In the bosom of this infinite torrent of life which pours itself through the ages, individual existences appear for some time on the surface of the world, only again to disappear. It is sufficient for them to have been judged worthy of living, contemplating, studying, and comprehending the necessity which has produced them, and which is about to annihilate them. To ask more is to give proof of weakness or of presumption.

And now, in a word, at the risk of being regarded as very hard to please, or very far behind, we admit that this explanation of the universe in nowise satisfies us. What! this simple and charming infant soul, with its divine smile and its loving caresses, fallen as a tender bud before it could expand, has it appeared only for a few moments before our astonished gaze? And this other soul, tried, steeled, purified by long struggles, has it lived, suffered, combated, only because the universe strives to produce life under an infinite and progressive variety of forms, without the least care for their preservation? Ah! I cannot accept that. You tell me that this necessity which governs the world, and which brings about the appearance and disappearance of each of its phenomena, is not a blind chance, but a necessity full of reason. But what kind of reason is it? To put into our hearts those affections, those aspirations, those powerful instincts which unfold themselves only because they are sure to be able to defy time, and yet to have only destruction to offer them; to make so many generations devoted to labour, suffering, and the most poignant

sacrifices, pass over the stage of the world in order to be buried in a nothingness from which they will never emerge again; to affirm that the universe has no other purpose than this eternal circle in which it moves, and whose monotonous stages are called living, dying, appearing, and disappearing: no, I do not find this conception either grand, or strengthening, or even rational. On the contrary, it appears to me full of enigmas and obscurity; more difficult to accept, more embarrassing to the human mind, more opposed to our profoundest instincts, more supernatural, more counter to nature a thousand times, than the conception which it is put forward to replace.

We know what are the difficulties which come into collision with the mystery of the existence of God and of providence, the proof of which, it may be said in passing, is as embarrassing as that of miracles properly so called. But even although I am not able to explain, nor even conceive in my limited mind, a God who is omniscient and all-present, and who governs all things, giving His care specially to each of us, it appears to me not only more consoling and more strengthening, but also more rational, more wise, and more worthy of the universe to admit it than to reject it, even while seeking to understand why my reason does not understand it. Yes; all that passes around us, all that comes to us, all that awaits us, is the work of a God who knows all, who sees all, who holds all things in His hand, who loves and watches over each of His creatures, who hears their sighs, and listens to their prayers, and who is a personal and living God, although His existence and the mode of His activity remain to us impenetrable mysteries. These are the summits of thought which already tower up as clearly supernatural. But these mysteries do not shock us, do not scandalize us, do not discourage us, and do not degrade us, even while dazzling us, and forcing us to lower our head.

Strauss invokes the idea of duty in order to make it the rule of our life. He represents it as that beautiful, great, and fertile idea which of itself persuades us to do to others what

we would that they should do to ourselves, which teaches us that it is more blessed to give than to receive, and that man is never greater than when in view of a higher good he renounces a good of a lower order. We have no fault to find with these maxims; but is Strauss quite sure, in the burning affray between our appetites, lusts, and passions on the one side, and an idea, however great and beautiful it may be, on the other, that the former will not carry the victory, being as they are so powerful, so lively, and so disturbing! Between the lower but present good which is within our reach, so easy to attain, and so seductive, and promising us perhaps a short yet an immediate enjoyment, and the higher good so difficult to realize, so uncertain, and so little attractive, the choice in most cases will, I fear, not be long. Ah! believe it, you require for your theory too much purity in those men who are destined to live but a moment and then to disappear for ever. Moreover, what compensations have you to offer them for their renunciations and their sacrifices? The esteem of the world, the plaudits of the crowd, the remembrance of posterity,—but you know well that glory generally goes by the side of success, of celebrity, of triumphant ability. The esteem of ourselves, the approbation of our conscience, the joy of accomplished duty: yet all that is a very precarious compensation in face of our numerous transgressions and of our infinite obligations. Our conscience tells us that we have neglected the good more than we have realized it. You leave us disarmed against our regret and our remorse. It is not correct to say that these will become the incentives of our progress, for in seeing our faults reproduce themselves and our falls renewed, we are at length seized with a profound discouragement. We say to ourselves that we shall never reach the goal. What good, then, will it do to struggle on? You have in reality no help to offer us that we may be enabled to overcome our passions. We will send then the souls who are sincerely desirous to find help, not to Moses and the prophets, but to the Gospel which speaks to us of a Father who is in

heaven, of a God whose name is deliverance and redemption, and who in Jesus Christ, His only Son, has opened to consciences that labour and are heavy laden, the spring of an all-powerful love which is capable of breaking the yoke of sin, of turning the languid will towards good, and opening to our faith the consoling vistas of the life eternal.

We admit that these truths of the Gospel have never appeared to our eyes in stronger and purer splendour, never have they been seen by us surrounded with more convincing certainty, and we have never blessed God more for having revealed them to us, than after the reading of Strauss's last book. We thank him for the sincerity of his confessions. Unhappily, it is possible that they are those of a large number of our contemporaries. How much we pity them! How, above all, are we moved by a painful pity towards those who, more logical and more penetrating than others usually are, have taken account of the whole bearing of these new doctrines, and have measured the whole void which the loss of the Old Faith leaves behind it! Their moral life, owing to their heroic efforts, may perhaps not suffer; but who can tell the effects which will be produced by this New Faith on a generation which may deliberately embrace it, and which may no longer be benefited in any respect by the counterpoise of the old traditions and the old religious memories? In truth, it sometimes seems that our generation madly squanders the spiritual inheritance derived from its fathers, and that it riotously wastes the treasures of the Gospel, without seeing that what it has preserved of moral valour, delicacy, and thirst for the ideal, comes to it from that very source which it disdains and deserts.

The eyes of the most prejudiced minds should be opened by the political conclusions which Strauss in this book draws with an inflexible logic from his system. At all costs he must have a strong ruling power. To restrain the appetites which he knows, to break the resistance which he foresees, to repel those assaults of covetousness and passion which struggle for their satisfaction, to prevent the explosion of all

those modes of selfishness which are rendered more ferocious by the limited space of time that opens before them, and which, once unchained, would convert the earth into a hideous and sanguinary arena, it is necessary to have some Cæsar or other who knows how to make himself obeyed by the most violent means. Whoever does not place liberty in God, whoever does not respect it in man, cannot place or respect it in society. He is obliged in the name of the public safety, always to suspend it or to trample it under his feet. In order to found the era of progress which you are thus promising to men, you will have to commence by immolating all the forms of liberty; and you will have to force us by fire and sword to embrace each other as brothers.

Strauss was condemned to be an absolutist in politics as he was in philosophy. His Cæsarism thus gave the hand to his theoretical radicalism. All or nothing is his motto. This is why he was the enemy of the parliamentary system, as he was of the conciliating theology. He suspected in all such compromises some undefined weakness of mind, some sort of cowardliness. To speak with Pascal, he did not see that "man does not show his greatness by being at one extremity, but rather in touching both at once, and by filling up all that lies between them; and that to go out of the just mean is to go out of humanity." Instead of breaking with the doctrine of the Church, let us renew its youth by taking account of the legitimate exigencies of science. And may Science in her turn keep within the limits which her own methods prescribe to her! The reconciliation of the scientific spirit with the religious sentiment remains the noblest problem for whose solution we can work; for on this solution depend both our progress as individuals and the wellbeing of society.

A few words may sum up all that need otherwise be said of Strauss's life. He had established his residence at Darmstadt, but in 1872 he removed to Ludwigsburg, his native city,

where he died two years later. In 1840 he had married the opera singer, Agnes Schebest, who made him profoundly unhappy, and from whom he obtained divorce a short time after. At first a radical, and then a conservative in politics, he took part in parliamentary life only for a few months, during the stormy year of 1848.

CHAPTER II

THE RADICAL SCHOOL.

I.

STRAUSS'S *Life of Jesus* was only one of the symptoms of the opposition which the young Hegelian School was beginning to direct against Christianity, and against religious ideas in general. A number of writers, which became more considerable from day to day, entered into the lists to continue the struggle. At their head we find LUDWIG FEUERBACH (1804–1872), a man of great talent. He was the son of one of the most celebrated lawyers in Germany. He had studied theology at Heidelberg; and there Daub succeeded in kindling his enthusiasm for the philosophy of Hegel. Feuerbach went to Berlin in 1824 in order to hear Hegel personally, and it was not long till he gave up the theological career. In his first writing, entitled, *Thoughts on Death and Immortality*,¹ which was published anonymously, he attacked with great energy certain conceptions, the truth of which no one was then contesting. For some time it seemed that Feuerbach was going to devote himself specially to the study of the History of Philosophy, but it was soon seen that he had turned to it only to find weapons with which to equip himself for the great struggle in which he was about to engage.² After having prepared the ground by a work on the relations of Philosophy and Christianity,³ which drew on the

Hegelian system the reproach of being hostile to Christianity, Feuerbach resolutely entered the lists with his book on the *Essence of Christianity*,¹ which made a great impression.

Feuerbach separates himself ostentatiously from Hegel, whose system he calls the Old Testament of Philosophy; and he represents himself as coming to bring in the Gospel. He reproaches Hegel for the duplicity of which he renders himself guilty in reference to religion in not speaking the simple language of truth. The pretended identity of human being with divine being, is at bottom only the identity of human being with itself. In religion man glorifies his own Ego. It is our egoism which places the subject out of ourselves as something objective. The source of religion is the desire to satisfy the selfish wishes of the heart. The imagination creates a Being which renders us this service, and this Being it calls God. Religion is an illusion, or rather a hallucination of the human mind, of which it is important to heal it. For, in the view of Feuerbach, Religion is not only an imperfect or indifferent conception of things, but it exercises a prejudicial influence by mutilating human nature, and taking away from man the sense of the true and the good. Feuerbach represents Religion as a sort of vampire which sucks out the best sap, the moral vigour of man, with the ulterior design of justifying his most immoral acts. He believes himself called to destroy this fatal illusion. He wishes to tear off the mask from this great historical hypocrisy, and to put, as he expresses it, "the dot on the *i* which Strauss had already delineated." Man cannot raise himself above man; *homo homini deus*. The supreme being is man. All theology is only anthropology. It knows nothing but what the study of ourselves has taught us. Christianity transports the feelings, the thoughts, and the

¹ Das Wesen des Christenthums, 1841. [The Essence of Christianity. By L. Feuerbach. Translated by Marian Evans, 2nd ed., Lond. 1881.] This work was completed by his Grundsätze der Philosophie der Zukunft, 1843. Das Wesen Der Religion, 1845. Feuerbach's complete works were published at Leipzig in 10 vols., 1845–6, 3rd ed. 1876. Cf. K. Grün: L. Feuerbach in seinem Briefwechsel und Nachlasse, 2 vols. 1874. Beyer: Leben und Geist L. Feuerbach's, 1873.

¹ Gedanken über Tod und Unsterblichkeit, 1830.

² Geschichte der neuern Philosophie von Bacon bis Spinoza, 1833. Entwicklung und Kritik der Leibnitzschen Philosophie, 1837. Pierre Bayle, 1838.

³ Ueber Philosophie und Christenthum, 1839.

volitions of man, his various relations and his whole being, into heaven; that is to say, he puts them out of the region of reality a second time into the land of dreams and chimeras. God and the heaven of the Christian, is man and the world reproduced as creations of his imagination. This capacity of objectifying himself, of contemplating himself, and of worshipping himself, distinguishes man from the beast; only it is not necessary that he should imagine that what he contemplates and worships is another than himself: for he would then end by becoming strange to his own being and by denaturalizing it. What excesses, what acts of injustice, what crimes has not religious fanaticism committed in the name of this pretended God, who was only man idealized, that is, denaturalized! An inhuman divinity, a sacrificed humanity: these are the fruits of religion. Feuerbach has not wrath and abuse enough to lavish against priests and theologians, "that hypocritical and servile race." There is only one reality; it is man, or rather nature; and it ought to be the only object of all science and of all practice. The last word of both is humanism or naturalism; and this implies an open rupture with the Christian conception of the State or society. It is necessary that politics and the State should cease being theocratic and become divine. In all things man ought to be considered not as a means, but as an end. There are no longer supernatural beings, or sacred persons, but neither are there any more monsters, heretics, or reprobates, from the moment that every one enjoys all his privileges as a man. The eating canker of Christianity, in thought as in life, is the colossal error which declares that the essence of man is unrealizable, and that every man is a monstrous being, a sinner fatally devoted to the transgression of the law and to thwarting the police.

But is not man as the spirit, the human type which we objectify, likewise an abstraction and but a remainder of idealism? Undoubtedly it is so. Feuerbach, in order to be consistent with himself, is obliged to conclude that the Ego of every individual can neither think nor feel anything more elevated than itself. And in man it is the body, or, to speak

the language of our philosopher, it is Nature which is the true Ego, the only reality. "God," he somewhere says, "was my first thought, reason my second, and nature my third and last." "Nature, or, in other words, animated matter," he says again, "is higher than man. . . . Man is what he eats."¹ Nature, violated and outraged by Hegel, takes her revenge in Feuerbach; he shakes the chains of the logical categories with the frenzy of the ascetic who has been long deprived of sensual enjoyments. There is flame in his style, and fury in his propagandism. No one has pleaded with a more infectious passion the cause of the emancipation of nature.

MAX STIRNER (1806-1856), born at Baireuth, studied theology and philology. He became a teacher in various higher educational institutions in Berlin, then gave up his appointments in order to devote himself to literary work, and in the end died in poverty. (In his book on *The only One and his property*,² Max Stirner drew the last consequences of the theory of Feuerbach. "Of all men, he whom I know and love best is myself. The Ego is in my whole catechism. I do what I wish, and what pleases me." Humanity, morality, are words without meaning; they are deceptive and unwholesome words.) Stirner tries at first to demonstrate that this Ego is spirit; but others came and accused him in his turn of duplicity of language. The spirit is equally an illusion, a mirage of matter, which alone is real and eternal. Thought is only one of the forms which matter puts on. It is a secretion of the brain, and is disengaged from it just as the perfume emanates from the flower. Will is a movement of consciousness determined by the nourishment which man has taken. Stirner himself falls into this materialism when he says, "there is nothing real on the earth but myself and the aliments which nourish me."

¹ Was der Mensch isst, das ist er.

² Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum, 1845; 2nd ed. 1882. Cf. Geschichte der Reaktion, 2 vols., Berl. 1852.

Since Max Stirner, LAAS has developed the ideas of the German Positivism with most talent and boldness. The influence of Darwin and Herbert Spencer on this writer is very manifest, but the absence of all religious sentiment, which cannot be said of the English thinkers, is what particularly shocks us in the exposition of his system. His system is in fact a fundamental attack on Idealism. In practice this philosophy issues in the worship of force, and it eulogizes the Bismarckian era of which it may be said to be the poisonous outgrowth. "The primary right of man is that of self," says Laas. . . . "Duties are restrictions imposed on liberty by the necessities of the social order. . . . My rights are my needs, without regard to my duties. . . . The virtues are habitual dispositions and aptitudes which bring about an increase of what is agreeable in society."¹

II.

ARNOLD RUGE² was the chief of the radical school militant. Born in 1802 at Bergen in the island of Rügen, he studied at Jena and Halle, and entered into the "Young Men's League," which aspired at realizing the ideal of a powerful, free, and united Germany. He spent five years in prison as a demagogic agitator, where he applied himself to extensive reading. He then settled at Halle, where he lectured on philosophy for a time. He had been seduced by Hegel's system; but his revolutionary nature was not long in leading him to separate from it, and even to make it the object of his most violent attacks. Ruge sought to popularize his views in a multitude of writings distinguished by the clearness and elegance of their style, and including treatises on *Æsthetics*, philosophical Romances, and polemical Discourses and Articles. The chief medium of his publications was a Review which he edited in concert with his friend Theodore Echtermeyer under the title

¹ Idealismus und Positivismus. Eine Kritische Auseinandersetzung, 2 vols., Berl. 1882.

² Ruge's Complete Works have been published in 10 vols., Mannh. 1846-48. Cf. his autobiographical work: *Aus früherer Zeit*, 4 vols., Berl. 1862-67. Nerlich: *A. Ruge's Briefwechsel und Tagebuchblätter*, Berl. 1886.

of "*The Halle Annals for Art and Science*."¹ In this Review, which was to unite popularity and the interest of variety with scientific depth, he displayed an indefatigable zeal and an always increasing enthusiasm, at the cost of great personal sacrifices. Ruge applied himself to find the true form of free science, and to make his *Annals* the fortress where the defenders of the emancipation of the mind would be always sure to find arms and a refuge.

In Ruge's Review, the modern German philosophy acknowledged that it was only a renewal of the old rationalism with richer constituents, because it understood and mastered superstition which the age of the *Aufklärung* had limited itself to negative. The old Hegelians had left to the Idea the care of gradually realizing itself in history. The ideal is real, they said; for it is on the way of becoming. Every step on the ladder of history is good; for it is the necessary and inevitable result of the preceding stages. This thought satisfies and rejoices the mind for a time, till it conceives this other thought, which is very nigh the preceding one, that every stage implies a following stage which renders it useless. Every stage is therefore bad if it pretends to be anything for itself. The old professors taught the right of all that exists, the new professors established its wrong. They were persuaded that it was sufficient to proclaim the true idea of the Church and the State in order to realize it forthwith. Ruge directed his polemics against all the romantic and conservative would-be of his time in matters of literature, politics, and religion. He had at first taken sides for Prussia and Protestantism, opposing them to the absolutist and Catholic reaction, which had its principal centre in Austria; but his Review, having been interdicted successively at Berlin and Dresden, he took refuge in Paris and London, and raised the standard of humanitarian cosmopolitanism, proclaiming the union of the peoples on the basis of democracy.

We shall not follow Ruge in his numerous political and literary peregrinations; it will suffice, in order to make his

¹ *Hallische Jahrbücher für Kunst und Wissenschaft*, 1838-42.

point of view known, if we sum up his last work, entitled, *Discourses on Religion, its Rise and Fall*.¹ Ruge finds the origin of religion in a fantastic contemplation of nature. Poets have created it, and astute priests have translated it into dry prose, playing upon the superstition of the people. Christianity with its ascetic principles, which pursued the annihilation of man by himself, is only a new edition of Buddhism. The Christian Religion likewise rests on a poetical fiction of nature, although the prosaic New Testament delivers itself to theological speculations, borrowing what poetical force remains in it from the Old Testament. The myth of Jesus Christ symbolizes the physical struggle of summer with winter, of light with darkness; for the infant Jesus is born when the days begin again to increase, and at Easter, Nature awakens from her sleep. If Jesus Christ ever lived, it may be said that he tried to do what the Greeks themselves were not able to do—to conceive religion as humanism. But the God-man of the Christians is a caricature of humanity, and by His ascension He carries us back to impersonal nature. The task of science is to destroy these fantastic conceptions, and to realize the purely human idea of religion, which is atheism. The veritable incarnation of God in humanity, must be sought in history. Philosophy comprehends the essence of God in showing that it is only a vain conception of the imagination. The supreme Being is the thinking man. The supreme good is the free State; but in order to realize it, much labour and money are required. The salvation of humanity lies in material prosperity. On this account it is necessary to break with the dangerous superstition of a state of fall or of sin which impedes human development and discredits labour. Away with divine fear and divine consolation! There is no other consolation than that which man gives himself by his lightning conductors and his steam-engines. Instead of lulling himself with chimerical tales about the future life, it is better to keep to the consoling

¹ Reden über die Religion, ihr Entstehen und Vergehen an die Gebildeten unter ihren Verächtern, Berl. 1869.

certainty that with death all is good, and is definitively at an end. Let truth take the place of legend in all things; and let culture take the place of worship. But humanity is not near attaining this goal. The imagination, not yet regulated by reason and science, has lost almost nothing of its power. The fantastic world of legends dominates the nations with its puerile conceptions. The kingdom of superstition has a prodigious force of life; and religion, even in its state of dissolution and anarchy, still permeates the mind of the peoples and governs them.

After residing at Leipsic, Frankfurt, Carlsruhe, and Paris, Ruge removed in 1849 to London, where he became a member of a European Democratic Committee. From 1850 he lived at Brighton, and supported himself by teaching in various schools as a visiting tutor. In 1870 he publicly threw his influence on the side of the new German Empire, and from 1878 he received a pension of £150 a year (3000 marks) as the reward of his adhesion. He died on the 31st December 1880.

III.

In the School of Feuerbach, GEORG FRIEDRICH DAUMER, born in 1800, occupies an original place. Brought up in the habits of pietism, of feeble health, and often interrupted in his studies, he lectured for some time on History at the gymnasium of Nürnberg. His predilection was for the East. Intoxicated by Schelling's Philosophy of Nature, he published certain writings on religious philosophy, which gave offence by the boldness of their views, and the imperturbable assurance with which he presented the most daring hypotheses as definitely ascertained results of science.¹

It was thus that Daumer put forward an entirely new theory regarding the origin and the primitive seat of the

¹ Urgeschichte des Menschengesistes, 1827. Andeutungen eines Systems spekulativer Philosophie, 1831. Philosophie, Religion und Alterthum, 1833. Züge zu einer neuen Philosophie der Religion und Religionsgeschichte, 1835.

human race. He believes that the Eden of the Bible should be sought for in the islands of the South Sea, in the luxuriant and lavish nature of Australasia, the home of the pisang and the breadfruit tree. He founds upon the etymology of the words Adam and Edom, which indicates that the first men were of a red race. From Australasia, the migration of the peoples advanced into America. Daumer professes to find in the legends, monuments, and usages of Peru, Bolivia, and particularly of Mexico, proof of the high antiquity of the peoples who have inhabited them, as well as unmistakeable traces of the events which the Bible signalizes as having taken place in Egypt during the sojourn that the people of Israel made there. From America men would be carried into Asia by the frozen Behring's Straits. Daumer alleges that the facts and the localities which the Pentateuch transports into the desert after the exodus from Egypt, could not have taken place there, whereas they are perfectly explained when transferred to a vaster theatre and referred to a longer space of time. ("My new geographical and ethnographical system," he modestly affirms, "is to history what the Copernican system has been for astronomy!")

In a treatise on the *Worship of Fire and of Moloch by the ancient Hebrews*,¹ which caused a lively sensation, Daumer maintained that the Biblical Jehovah, in His most ancient form, is identical with the Phœnician Moloch. He is a terrible God, the sight of whom alone causes death. He hates nature and life, and manifests Himself specially in destruction. He exacts human sacrifices, and particularly that of the first-born, which is still attested by the sacrifices of the Mosaic legislation, which are only a symbol, or rather a spiritualization, of the ancient primitive cult. In his *Mysteries of the Christian Antiquity*² Daumer applied the same method to the explanation of the New Testament. By degrees, the party of reform conquered the old Jehovistic

party in Judea; but Christ arose and pleaded the cause of the God of the fathers. He, too, preached hatred of nature and its joys. He demanded abstinence and mutilation; and before dying, He instituted, in remembrance of the ancient sacrifices, an abject repast in which His disciples were to nourish themselves on human flesh and blood. Judas, full of disgust, and not wishing to take a part in them, denounced the horrors of the Christian mysteries.

Mohammedanism, according to Daumer, presents the first advance made upon Christianity. The Koran is the gospel of Natural Religion. Daumer is enchanted above all things with the heaven of Mahomet, that poetical apotheosis of sensual enjoyments. Hafiz,—whom Daumer has translated and imitated in poems which betray his voluptuous imagination,—Hafiz, he says, has corrected the inconsequences of the system of Mahomet; and Daumer calls him the Luther of Islam. The new and definitive religion, of which Daumer announces the coming, is founded on the principle of enjoyment and the rehabilitation of the flesh. He defines it successively as elevation above egoism, and enthusiasm for the Idea. Its characteristic is pathos, aspiration; its task is to trace for man his ideal by calling art to its service. Art is charged to furnish the enthusiasm necessary for the accomplishment of every great human action.

Amid the extravagances with which the negative criticism of Daumer swarms, attention had been drawn to his tenderness for the Catholicism of the Middle Ages, and particularly for the worship of Mary.¹ His conversion to the Roman Church did not, therefore, give much astonishment. The book in which he seeks to justify it, is not the work of a repentant sinner; it is not a humiliation, but a continual glorification of the Ego, which, after his conversion, as before it, plays a chief part in Daumer.² Daumer died at Würzburg in 1875.

¹ Die Glorie der heiligen Jungfrau Maria, 1843.

¹ Der Feuer- und Molochdienst der alten Hebräer, als urväterlicher, legaler, orthodoxer Cultus der Nation, 1842.

² Die Geheimnisse des christlichen Alterthums, 1847.

² Meine Conversion. Ein Stück Seelen- u. Zeitgeschichte, Mainz 1859. Das Christenthum und sein Erheber, 1864. Das Geisterreich in Glauben, Vorstellung, Sage und Wirklichkeit, 2 vols. 1867.

The young Hegelian School, marching on the footsteps of Feuerbach and Ruge, proceeded to make a complete sweep in all spheres. It appears like a steeplechase of negations, provocations, and incendiary paradoxes. Thought precipitates itself towards the void of nothing with a vertiginous celerity, otherwise conformable to the physical laws which regulate the falling of bodies. The Idea is considered less as a being than as a becoming, an incessant impulsion to rise above what is, and to give to itself a form of representation more conformable to nature. The Hegelian quietude, which accommodates itself to what is, and applies itself to find it rational, is transformed into revolutionary agitation. Herwegh, Heinzen, Robert Blum, Marx, and others, were the chief representatives of this revolutionary tendency in the political and social sphere. Freiligrath, Ludwig Börne, Gutzkow, and Mundt, represented it in the sphere of poetry and literary criticism. Karl Vogt,¹ Louis Büchner,² Moleschott,³ Virchow,⁴ and others, have represented it in the sphere of the natural sciences. Everything in their criticism is not to be condemned. Opposing a zeal for the present to a view to the future, and the enthusiasm of the propagandist to the placid admiration of the past, they have satirized the stiffness and pedantry of the German pedagogues, have ridiculed the pretensions of the dead erudition and the routine of the Universities, have laid bare the voluptuousness, the *blasé* spirit, and the egoistic refinements of the Romantic School, and have castigated the falsehoods and sophisms of the jurists and historians who were in the pay of the reaction. Only from their very hatred of doctrinaires they have made themselves sceptics. They have raised the standard, or rather the "red rag," of radicalism and of nihilism; and have professed that their one and only principle was the very absence of principles. The only bond which

¹ Köhlerglaube und Wissenschaft, 1855.

² Kraft und Stoff, 1855. [Force and Matter. Translated by Collingwood, 1864. Natur und Geist, 1857.]

³ Der Kreislauf des Lebens, 1852.

⁴ Vorlesungen über Pathologie, 4 vols. 1862-67.

unites them at bottom, is their hatred of religion and of Christianity.

Among the numerous writings directed against Materialism at this time were those of Liebig, Rud. Wagner, Julius Schaller,¹ Fabri,² I. H. Fichte,³ Tittmann,⁴ A. Weber,⁵ Böhmer,⁶ etc. Christian Theism has found learned defenders in I. H. Fichte, Ulrici,⁷ Trendelenburg,⁸ and others. We may refer more particularly to the writings of CHRISTIAN HERMANN WEISSE,⁹ Professor at Leipsic. In his *Discourses on the future of the Protestant Church*, he endeavours to reduce the essence of Christianity to the three ideas which constitute the basis of the discourses of Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels, namely, the heavenly Father, the Son of man, and the Kingdom of Heaven. In his *Philosophical Dogmatics, or Philosophy of Christianity*, he seeks to idealize all the Christian dogmas, and to reduce them to natural postulates of reason or conscience. The recent systems of philosophy of Franz von Baader, Herbart, Arthur Schopenhauer, and Eduard von Hartmann, present a sometimes striking and venturesome mixture of mystical elements and Hegelian dialectics, and have hardly contributed to re-establish the credit of speculative investigations. E. von Hartmann, in the writings which he has devoted to the question of religion,¹⁰

¹ Leib und Seele, 1852.

² Briefe gegen den Materialismus, 1856.

³ Die Lehre von der menschlichen Seele, 1856.

⁴ Ueber Leben und Stoff, 1855.

⁵ Die neueste Vergötterung des Stoffs, 1856.

⁶ Geschichte der Entwicklung der naturwissenschaft. Weltanschauung in Deutschland, 1872.

⁷ Glauben und Wissen, 1858. Gott und die Natur, 1861, 1866. Gott und der Mensch, 1866.

⁸ Logische Untersuchungen, 1840, 1862, 1870.

⁹ Ueber Begriff, Behandlung und Quellen der Mythologie, 1827. Die Idee Gottes, 1827. Das philosophische Problem der Gegenwart, 1842. Die Christologie Luthers, 1852. Die Evangelienfrage in ihrem gegenwärtigen Stadium, 1856. Reden über die Zukunft der evangelischen Kirche, gerichtet an die Gebildeten deutscher Nation, 1849. Philosophische Dogmatik oder Philosophie des Christenthums, 3 vols., 1855-62.

¹⁰ Philosophie des Unbewussten. [Philosophy of the Unconscious. Translated by W. C. Coupland, 3 vols. 1884.] Die Selbstzersetzung des Christenthums und die Religion der Zukunft, 1874, 3rd ed. 1888. [The Religion of the Future. Translated 1887.] Die Krisis des Christenthums in der modernen

shows such ignorance of the essence and history of Christianity, combined with such contempt for it, yet such a simple faith in the infallible truth of his own renewed system of Buddhism, that it is hardly necessary to devote particular attention to his ideas. The pessimism which he preaches breaks down before the inextinguishable and imperishable need of life which animates all creatures. It has nothing in common with the Christian doctrines of the Fall and Original Sin, which find their complement and their necessary corrective in the doctrine of redemption. At bottom, the Gospel is optimistic, and its optimism is the more efficacious because it indicates the means of translating it into acts and converting it into reality. Hence the special hatred with which Hartmann has honoured it. The fact is an honour and a source of strength to the Gospel.

We need not say much about the writings of FRIEDRICH ROHMER,¹ who has been represented by his friends and disciples as a sort of philosophical Messiah. He attempted a synthesis of the true elements of pantheism and theism, seeking to combine the consciousness of God with His immanence, and representing nature, or the universe, as the body or organism of God.

It is very interesting to observe the evolution of the philosophy of HERMANN LOTZE (1817-1881). Starting from the physical ideas developed in treatises on medicine and natural history, he landed in a sort of idealism, or rather a spiritualistic realism, which he has expounded in works that are justly celebrated.² His system was developed in its

Theologie, 1881. Das religiöse Bewusstsein der Menschheit im Stufengange seiner Entwicklung, 1880. Die Religion des Geistes, 1882.

¹ Kritik des Gottesbegriffs in den gegenwärtigen Weltansichten. Wissenschaft und Leben. Cf. The Author's Article: L'idée de Dieu. Bulletin Théologique, 1862, p. 116.

² Metaphysik, 1841. Medicinische Psychologie oder Physiologie der Seele, 1852. Mikrokosmos, Ideen zur Naturgeschichte und Geschichte der Menschheit, 3 vols. 1856-64, 2nd ed. 1868. [Microcosmos: An Essay concerning Man and his Relation to the World. By Hermann Lotze, 2 vols., 2nd ed., T. & T. Clark. Lotze's Logic, in Three Books, English Translation. Edited by B. Bosanquet, 2nd ed., Clarendon Press. Metaphysic, in Three Books. Ed. by B. Bosanquet, 2nd ed., Clar. Press.] Grundzüge der Religionsphilosophie, 1882. [Outlines of the Philosophy of Religion. Ed. by G. T. Ladd, Boston 1885.]

fundamental conceptions under the influence of Leibnitz and Herbart, although he verges on agnosticism, and professes to be able to know nothing but by the immediate contact in which we find ourselves with objects. The construction of his system is very comprehensive, and it is certainly very beautiful. All souls as well as all beings are connected with each other and form an association or a community of monads, which act upon each other through the bond of the most intimate solidarity. By this action the spirit incessantly disengages itself from matter, and elevates itself to manifestations that are more and more beautiful and pure. A God governs this well-ordered world of beings and spirits. His will of love moves it and diffuses itself over them all, so as to create in them similar feelings and resolutions. He is at once personal and immanent, the soul of souls, the vivifying breath which sustains and transforms the universe. Our thought cannot lay hold of Him; it is by feeling alone that we enter into contact and communion with Him. We know Him only in believing Him.¹

¹ Cf. Caspari: H. Lotze. Eine kritisch-histor. Studie. Bres. 1883. Pfleiderer: Lotze's philosoph. Weltanschauung, 2nd ed. Berl. 1884.

CHAPTER III.

THE NEW BIBLICAL CRITICISM.

I.

WE return to Strauss's *Life of Jesus*. Among the works which attempted to refute it, and to solve the problem it raised, those of WEISE¹ and WILKE² ought to be mentioned in the first place. They both claimed the priority among the evangelists for Mark. With Strauss, they admit the presence of contradictory notices and of legendary elements in our Gospels, but they seek a sure basis on which to construct the history of Jesus. According to their view, only one of the four Gospels possesses all the characters of originality, authenticity, and consequently of credibility. This is Mark, the proto-evangelist, the companion of Peter, whose tradition he records. The Gospels of Matthew and Luke are the work of a compiler; that of John presents a very doubtful claim to authenticity; and Mark itself, although drawn more directly from an apostolic source, is not entirely free from misunderstandings and literary transformations.

BRUNO BAUER attaches himself to Wilke. He was born in 1809 at Eisenberg in Saxony, and he studied at Berlin. At first he marched in line with the Hegelian Right. His *Critical Exposition of the Religion of the Old Testament*³ belongs to this period. In this work he defends the authority of Revelation considered as the testimony of the general consciousness in

face of the affirmations of the particular consciousness. Appointed Professor extraordinarius at the University of Bonn, he suddenly broke with his party, and threw himself towards the extreme Hegelian Left. Two writings, full of rancour and passion, announced this rupture to the literary world. His pamphlet against Hengstenberg¹ has for its object to lay bare the impotence of modern apologetics in presence of criticism, and its want of historical sense. In a pamphlet on the *Evangelical Church of Prussia and Science*,² he shows that the Union is in reality the dissolution of the Protestant Church.

These, however, were mere skirmishes at the advanced posts. A *Critique of the Gospel History according to John*³ was followed by a more considerable *Critique of the Synoptic Gospels*,⁴ in which Bruno Bauer, accusing Strauss of a want of logical sequence, professes to complete and correct him. According to Bauer, the gospel history is the free product of the human consciousness. But it is not the Christian community, as Strauss would have it,—that mystical, vague, and intangible being,—it was the evangelists who invented this history and imagined these myths. And what is most primitive and most truly original in Christianity is not those simple and sublime truths which form the basis of the Sermon on the Mount and the Parables of Jesus; but it is the coarsest and most material elements which the Synoptic Gospels contain, namely, the ideas borrowed from the Messianic and Apocalyptic conceptions of the prophets and of the Judaic gnosis. Mark first invented the history of Jesus in a romance in which the miraculous flows in a full stream. The other Evangelists, with more or less ability and felicity, have embellished this theme, trying in one way or other to spiritualize the primitive data. Bauer, with a perspicacity which is absolutely void of historical sense, discovers everywhere dogmatic intentions. The simplest narratives are represented as monstrous

¹ Herr Dr. Hengstenberg.

² Die evangelische Landeskirche Preussens und die Wissenschaft, 1840.

³ Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte des Johannes, 1840.

⁴ Kritik der evangelischen Synoptiker, 1841, 1842.

¹ Die evangelische Geschichte kritisch und philosophisch bearbeitet, 1838.

² Der Urevangelist, 1839.

³ Kritische Darstellung der Religion des A. T., 2 vols. 1838.

inventions of theologians who make capital of the prejudices and superstitions of the crowd from an interested motive. Bauer constitutes himself the indignant avenger of truth. With an irate hand he lays bare the crimes of theology, and he lashes unpitifully the innumerable offences which it has committed against reason. He denies its scientific value; he hates it with an unutterable rage; he outrages it, and persecutes it with the inverted fanaticism of the old Theologian.

What completely embittered Bauer was his dismissal, which was decided in 1842 by the Prussian Government, although the majority of the Faculties of Theology, when consulted on the subject, had not pronounced in favour of this measure. From that moment the passion and arrogance of Bruno Bauer knew no limits. He ended by looking upon himself as criticism incarnate, as thought made flesh, as the martyr of the absolute Idea. To a new *Critique of the Gospels*,¹ more complete and more radical even than his former publication, (he added a *Critique of the Pauline Epistles*,² in which he pronounces the four Pauline Epistles, whose authenticity had been recognised by the Tübingen School, to be non-authentic, and relegates them to the end of the second century.) In a facetious writing, entitled the *Trumpet of the Last Judgment on Hegel*,³ in which he imitates Pascal's Provincial Letters, he directs a vigorous satire against the modern theology. The numerous quotations with which he garnishes his book are not without point, but he has not the calmness necessary for raillery, if it is to keep in literary form and to strike home. His irony is always brutal and blustering. It does not run smoothly, it is weighted and underlined. His pen is not a stylus, but a club. It does not fence; it does not wound; it fells.

Bruno Bauer was not happier in his other literary efforts.

¹ Kritik der Evangelien und Geschichte ihres Ursprungs, 1850, 1851.

² Kritik der paulinischen Briefe, 1850.

³ Die Posaune des jüngsten Gerichts über Hegel, den Atheist und Antichrist, 1841. Hegel's Lehre von der Wissenschaft und Kunst, 1842.

In 1843 he violently combated the emancipation of the Jews,¹ under the pretext that as sectaries of a backward and fanatical religion, from which Christianity has sprung, and never having done anything for the liberation of the human mind, they could have no right to liberty for themselves. In another writing, entitled *Christianity Unveiled*,² he opposed consciousness to religion, and tried to demonstrate the incompatibility of their reciprocal affirmations. Bauer has equally distinguished himself by a series of works on the Eighteenth Century and the French Revolution,³ in which, always a passionate critic, he exposed the weaknesses, the inconsequences, and the reveries of all those philosophers or statesmen who tried before him to deliver the human race from the yoke of theology. If he is to be believed, nothing was done or said that was really effective till the appearance of his book on the Synoptists. It is Bruno Bauer who was the first to pronounce the word of liberation. In a book entitled *Russia and Germanism*,⁴ he even ends by despairing of the future of Germany. He predicts the impotence of liberal government, because it does not flow from a principle clearly defined. The German intellectual life in his eyes is completely dried up, or at least is reduced to a state of stagnation. Bruno Bauer sees in the German people nothing but the reign of abstraction, of idealism, of phrasing. It is he who explains its political inferiority and its want of national greatness. Nevertheless, Germany is not destined to perish without fruit for the human race. Its mission is similar to that of manure. The Russian State, full of vitality and energy, is called to march at the head of the civilisation of humanity; and Germany will have the honour of being dissolved in this Empire of the future, and of causing the still hard and refractory elements which it contains, to ferment. It need hardly be said that recent events reconciled Bruno Bauer with the genius of his people.

¹ Die Judenfrage, 1843.

² Das entdeckte Christenthum, 1843.

³ Geschichte der Politik, Cultur und Aufklärung des 18ten Jahrhunderts, 4 vols. 1843. Denkwürdigkeiten zur Geschichte der neuen Zeit seit der französischen Revolution, 1843, 1844.

⁴ Russland und das Germanenthum, 1847.

No one will be astonished to find this radical theologian among the incense-bearers of von Bismarck, singing the praises of the new empire founded on force and the logic of principle; a theologian made ready to understand and to serve it!

Bruno Bauer's latest writings relate either to primitive Christianity¹ or to the political questions of the day.² He spent the last years of his life in Berlin, where he died in 1882.

LUDWIG NOACK may be placed under the same category as Bruno Bauer. He is an author of prodigious fecundity, who has applied himself to spiritualize Christianity and to humanize theology. The most curious of his works is a Life of Jesus, for which Noack admits two authentic documents, a primitive Gospel written by Judas, who is no other than the beloved disciple mentioned in our fourth Gospel, and the Pauline Gospel of Marcion. There is nothing stranger than this biography, which terminates by the crucifixion of Jesus in Galilee.³

II.

The Criticism of Strauss was only the prelude to more serious labours on the writings of the New Testament. The issue of his criticism had been to render the gospel history doubtful, without attaining to an explanation of its origin. This is what the Tübingen School undertook to do. It proposed to study the character, the dogmatic tendency, the historical surroundings, and the chronological epoch of every Gospel; to assign to the canonical writings their place in the religious literature of the first two centuries; to make them enter into the general current of history; and, subsidiarily, to utilize the criticism of the New Testament in view of the History of

¹ Philo, Strauss, Renan und das Urchristenthum, 1874. Christus und die Cäsaren, 1877.

² Einfluss des englischen Quäkerthums auf die deutsche Kultur und das englisch-russische Projekt einer Weltkirche, 1878. Zur Orientirung über die Bismarck'sche Aera, 1880. Disraeli's romantischer und Bismarck's socialistischer Imperialismus, 1882.

³ Aus der Jordanwiege nach Golgatha, 4 vols. 1870-72. Also a Sacred History: Von Eden nach Golgatha, Bibl. Forschungen, 2 vols. 1868.

Dogmas. This was in particular the merit of FERDINAND CHRISTIAN BAUR, the head of the Tübingen School.¹ Born near Cannstadt in 1792, the son of a Württemberg pastor, he entered the seminary of Blaubeuren at the age of thirteen, and afterwards studied at the University of Tübingen. Of a solid and reserved character, indefatigable in labour, and given to historical studies rather than to philosophical meditations, Baur unfolded his powers very slowly. Schleiermacher's Dogmatic Theology gave the first impulse to his talent as a writer. In 1824, Baur published his work on *Symbolics and Mythology*,² which is an attempt to elucidate the history of religions, and especially those of the classical antiquity, by applying to them the principles of the modern religious philosophy. This work brought him into notice, and procured his appointment as Professor of Historical Theology at Tübingen.

He occupied his chair for more than thirty years (1826-1860), giving as a professor and writer the example of a life devoted in an entire and exclusive manner to the cultivation of science. Few men have laboured more than he did. The profound seriousness which he carried into all his investigations, the courage with which he attacked errors or prejudices, the scrupulous and firm conscientiousness with which he examined the traditional opinions, with desire only to serve the truth, lend something that is imposing to his appearance. Ferdinand Christian Baur is indeed one of the most eminent representatives of the intellectual nobility of Germany. What he lacks when compared with his rivals, is abandon-

¹ Cf. Uhlhorn: Die Tübinger Schule, 1859. Hase: Die Tübinger Schule, 1854; and Baur's Reply, Tübingen 1855. Zeller: Die Tübinger historische Schule, 1860 (Vorträge und Abhandlungen, Bd. i.). Hilgenfeld: Zeitschrift für wissenschaft. Theologie, 1859, H. 2; 1864, H. 2. Schenkel: Allgemeine Kirchh. Zeitschrift, 1861, H. 1. Ritschl: Jahrbücher für deutsche Theol. 1861, H. 3; 1862, H. 3. Baxmann: Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie, 1863, H. 4. Nefftzer: Les travaux de C. F. Baur, Revue germanique, Jan.-Feb. 1861. Sardinoux: De l'école de Tubingue d'après Uhlhorn. Bulletin Théologique, 1861. Kayser: L'école de Baur. Revue de Théologie, 1 série, ii. Schwalb: La doctrine de Jésus d'après Baur. Revue de Théologie, 3 série, ii. Berger: Baur et les origines de l'école de Tubingue, Strasb. 1867.

² Die Symbolik und Mythologie oder die Naturreligion des Alterthums, 3 vols. 1824-25.

ment, fire, personal sympathy. He resembled Schleiermacher in nothing. By nature he was concentrated, substantial, historical, and in a certain way objective; and he remained confined within the domain of intelligence. He rather recalls Hegel. For him it is the world of thought and of science that alone exists, while the world of practical activity, of moral struggling and of suffering, seems closed to him.

It occurred to Baur that the weak point in the Dogmatics of Schleiermacher was its Christology. He thereupon subjected it to a penetrating criticism. In his judgment, its principal vice is, that it has confounded the ideal point of view and the historical point of view. The person of Jesus cannot have been the incarnation of a type destined to serve as a norm for the following generations. The ideal does not exist in history. The idea does not exhaust itself in a single individual; it expands, disperses itself, "unfolds itself" in the whole of humanity. Here we discover the influence of the Hegelian philosophy, which Baur came under to a high degree. In the same way as Hegel, he has underestimated the importance of personality and that of the isolated events of history. He has undertaken the task of subjecting historical phenomena to a speculative examination, to unravel the inner connection which unites them and which is founded in the very essence of the spirit from which they flow, and to show the dialectical process of their development. Nothing isolated or individual has in his view any value as such.

In a series of remarkable works, Baur has applied this method to the history of dogmas, which he represents as the development or process of the spirit evolving according to necessary dialectical laws. His manner of treating history is the result of learned critical investigations, and of ingenious philosophical combinations; but he spoils his exposition by the employment of endless divisions and subdivisions selected according to quite abstract categories. The History of Dogmas is an intellectual mechanism moved by a special force, a purely logical movement which receives no impulsions from without, and which notably remains without relation to the

History of Christian life and morals. Among his works connected with the History of Dogmas, beginning with his reply to Müller *On the Opposition between Protestantism and Catholicism* (1833),¹ we may next chronologically mention his *Christian Gnosis* (1835),² a historical survey of the Christian Philosophy of Religion. According to Baur, Gnosticism forms the first ring in a long chain of speculative productions, which comes down to Schelling, Hegel, and Schleiermacher. Then followed his essay *On Manichæism* (1836),³ his *History of the Doctrine of the Atonement* (1838),⁴ and a *History of the Doctrine of the Trinity and Incarnation of God* (3 vols. 1841-43).⁵ We have further a concise *Manual of the History of Dogmas* (1847),⁶ which was carried out in a more extensive form in the *Lectures on the History of the Christian Dogmas*,⁷ published after his death. Taking up the History of the Church, properly so called, Baur published, after a most interesting study on the various Periods and Historians of the Science of Church History,⁸ a series of volumes comprehending in succession the whole History of the Church down to the most recent time.⁹ This last publication has been likewise continued in the works edited by his son from his manuscripts.¹⁰

III.

But it is Baur's critical works on the New Testament which have specially made his name celebrated. In contradistinction to Strauss, his point of departure is the critical examination,

¹ Ueber den Gegensatz des Protestantismus u. des Catholicismus, 1833.

² Die christliche Gnosis oder die christliche Religionsphilosophie, 1835.

³ Ueber den Manichæismus, 1836.

⁴ Geschichte der Lehre von der Versöhnung, 1838.

⁵ Geschichte der Lehre von der Dreieinigkeit u. Menschwerdung Gottes, 1841-43, 3 vols.

⁶ Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte, 1847, 1867.

⁷ Vorlesungen über die christl. Dogmengeschichte, Leipz. 1865.

⁸ Ueber die Epochen der kirchlichen Geschichtschreibung, 1852.

⁹ Die christliche Kirche der drei ersten Jahrhunderte, 1853. [Church History of the First Three Centuries. Edited by the Rev. Allan Menzies, 2 vols. 1879.]

¹⁰ Id. Vom 4ten bis zum 6ten Jahrhundert, 1859. Id. des Mittelalters, 1861. Id. der neuern Zeit, 1863. Id. des 19ten Jahrhunderts, 1862.

not of the Gospels, but of the Epistles of Paul, the date and authenticity of some of which, at least, may be better established. Baur gives the utmost care to sketch and fix "the historical figure" of the Apostle of the Gentiles, to separate it from legendary data, and to make it stand forth from the midst of the oppositions which have agitated the life and thought of this great Christian athlete of the first century. This was the basis of operation of the works of Baur, the *δός μου ποῦ στῶ* of his theology. His fundamental idea is already found indicated in his first two writings on the *Derivation of Ebionitism* (1831),¹ which, according to him, owed its origin to Essenism, and on the *Christ Party at Corinth*.² The opposition between Ebionitism or Petrinism and Paulinism, is the key which is destined to open all the doors which had remained hitherto closed to the critical understanding; it is the great discovery which was to enable Baur to pronounce in a sovereign manner upon all the controverted questions of the Apostolic Age. He next developed his views in his work on the *Pastoral Epistles*,³ which he refers to the middle of the Second Century, a period at which the struggle against gnosticism had already begun, and when the Church had already adopted the episcopal organization. A critical study on the purpose and the circumstances which gave occasion to the *Epistle to the Romans* (1836),⁴ and another on the *Origin of the Episcopate* (1838),⁵ directed against the Epistles of Ignatius, the authenticity of which was maintained by Rothe, formed the prelude to his important work on *Paul, the Apostle of Jesus Christ* (1845),⁶ and to another work on the *Canonical Gospels* (1847),⁷ the results of which will be estimated farther

¹ Ueber die Ableitung des Ebionitismus, 1831.

² Ueber die Christusparthei zu Corinth. Tüb. Zeitschrift, 1831.

³ Ueber die sogenannten Pastoralbriefe des Apostels Paulus, 1835.

⁴ Zweck u. Veranlassung des Römerbriefes, 1836.

⁵ Ueber den Ursprung des Episcopats, 1838.

⁶ Paulus, der Apostel Jesu Christi, 1845, 2nd ed. by Zeller, Leipz. 1866. [Paul the Apostle of Jesus Christ, his Life and Work, his Epistles and his Doctrine. Translated by Rev. Allan Menzies, 2 vols. 1876.]

⁷ Kritische Untersuchungen über die canonischen Evangelien, ihr Verhältniss zu einander, ihr Ursprung u. ihr Charakter, 1847.

on. A useful complement to this latter work is formed by a monograph on the *Gospel of Mark* (1851),¹ and by numerous articles inserted in the *Tübingen Review* and the *Theological Annals*, which became in 1845 the organ of the new school. Finally, Baur summed up the most important investigations of his laborious career in his *History of the Christian Church of the first three Centuries* already referred to, and in his *Lectures on the Theology of the New Testament*,² which were published by his son after his death.

We shall now briefly expound the results of Baur's Criticism and his new way of understanding the Apostolic Age. According to his view, Christianity is not a finished, perfect product which has descended from Heaven into the thought of a man and been revealed by his word; it is a complex whole of views and ideas which develops itself progressively. The soil on which it was born was Judaism, a formidable barrier which it succeeded in breaking through only after long struggles. The primitive Christianity was what is called Judæo-Christianity, and the faith of the first Christians may be summed up in this single proposition: Jesus is the Messiah in whom the prophecies are fulfilled. Owing to Saint Paul, however, Christianity became a new principle of life with a universal character, in open rupture with Judaism, the temple, and the Mosaic Law. The opposition between the Judæo-Christianity of the Twelve, who were represented chiefly by Peter, James, and John, and the universalism of Paul, was much more profound, more living, and more enduring than it has been represented to be by the later ecclesiastical tradition, and especially by the Acts of the Apostles. The struggle was prolonged after the death of Paul, and was only terminated in the middle of the Second Century by a compromise which is very faithfully reflected in the works of that epoch.

This struggle between Paulinism and the primitive Chris-

¹ Ueber das Marcusevangelium, 1851.

² Vorlesungen über N. T. Theologie, 1864.

tianity, furnishes the key for the understanding of all the literature of the first and second centuries, and in particular for fixing the authenticity of the canonical writings. Among these writings, those which attenuate the divergences belong to a later epoch, and are to be considered as "tendency-writings" (*Tendenzschriften*) designed to reconcile contrary opinions by weakening them and blunting their angles. The Epistles of Paul, in which we find traces of the heat and passion evolved in this struggle, are Romans, Galatians, and First and Second Corinthians. They are the only authentic Epistles in Baur's view. The second chapter of the Epistle to the Galatians is, moreover, of capital importance. It gives a narrative of the conference at Jerusalem which is entirely different from that of the fifteenth Chapter of Acts, and it evidently shows the effort of the author of the Acts to efface the remembrance of the divergences which existed between Paul and the Twelve. Paul never alludes to this species of concordat or compromise which, according to Acts xv., had been concluded between him and his colleagues.)

In order to demonstrate the great power, extent, and obstinacy of the Judæo-Christianity down to the middle of the Second Century, "Baur puts stress upon the passionate polemic of Paul against the Twelve, the incessant disputing of his apostolical authority, and the portrait of James drawn by Hegesippus, which represents him to us as an ascetic Jew. He also dwells upon the assertion of Sulpicius Severus, that the community of James observed the law and circumcision down to the destruction of Jerusalem under Adrian; the importance attributed by the Church to the Apocalypse, which represents a tendency entirely opposed to that of Paul; the Judæo-Christian elements which are found in the Synoptic Gospels, especially in Matthew, under the form of the narrowest particularism; the considerable part played by Montanism in the Churches of Asia; the Judaizing character of the oldest doctors of the Church, such as Papias, Hegesippus, Justin Martyr, and the authors of such writings as

the *Pastor of Hermas* and the *Clementine Homilies*, which, enjoying an authority almost canonical throughout a very extended circle of readers, contain overt or dissimulated attacks against the apostolical authority of Paul. It was only in the middle of the Second Century, in consequence of the necessities of the common struggle against Gnosticism, and owing to the persecutions of the Roman Emperors, that the need was felt to come together, and that the hitherto preponderating Judæo-Christianity made concessions in the interest of the unity of the Church. It is from this epoch that we have to date the mediating writings, Acts, Epistles, and the so-called apostolic Gospels; that is to say, those that were placed by pious forgers under the ægis of venerated names, a species of fraud which, moreover, was considered perfectly inoffensive and legitimate in those times, distinguished as they were by the absence of historical criticism and of literary sincerity.

Our canonical Gospels, according to Baur's view, are not the oldest documents of this kind. There was a primary nucleus of legendary narratives, known under the names of the Gospel of the Hebrews, of Peter, of the Ebionites, of the Egyptians, etc. The Gospel of Matthew is the one which has preserved most resemblance with these primitive Gospels; it reproduces their Judæo-Christian character, but already modified and altered by later additions and revisions. Luke is of Pauline origin, but this Gospel has been similarly retouched in consequence of the requirements of the process of conciliation, and by the intercalation of elements borrowed from the Petrine tradition. Mark is of a still more recent date; it effaces completely the antagonism between Ebionitism and Paulinism by leaving out all the points in dispute. Of all the Gospels it is the one most suspected by the Tübingen School. But it is above all in the Acts of the Apostles that the ravages of this work of mediation or conciliation may be caught in actual process. It is an apologetic essay by a Paulinian, planned in the intention of favouring the approach and union of the two parties by presenting to us a Petrine

Paul and a Pauline Peter.¹ For this object, the author of the Acts arranges and modifies at pleasure those historical facts which trouble him. Baur specially invoked in favour of the inauthenticity and the dogmatic tendency of the Acts, the circumstance that in it Paul appears as fulfilling all the prescriptions of the law. He betakes himself to the religious festivals of his people; he subjects himself to a Nazarite vow; he circumcises Timothy, the son of a Greek; he addresses himself in his missionary tours always first to Jews; and his preaching is in all points conformable to the Petrine type. And on his side, Peter shows liberal and universalist tendencies which are incompatible with what tradition has informed us of his character.

(But the objective mainstay of the critical works of the School of Baur, is the Gospel of John. The question of the authenticity of this book is relegated to a secondary place; it is its character and tendency which Baur specially applies himself to bring into light.) An attentive examination of the contents, composition, and general plan of this Gospel, reveals its idealistic character. The historical materials are only the convenient settings of a work of high metaphysical speculation. The personages brought forward all represent ideas, principles, and tendencies which are in conflict with each other. The facts and acts attributed to Christ are only starting-points, or we might say, pretexts for His discourses. The whole of the work betrays a logical methodical plan, of striking dramatic effect. The Prologue would alone suffice to prove the dogmatic character of the book; it contains its programme. The meetings, contrasts, and oppositions between light and darkness, life and death, the spirit and the flesh, the Christ and the children of the Devil, are pushed to the extreme in order to render the struggle more dramatic. To these considerations have to be added doubts regarding the probability of the historical narratives, as well as the discourses

¹ Schneckenburger in his learned work on the Acts of the Apostles (*Ueber den Zweck der Apostelgeschichte*, 1841) had already developed this idea, but he defended the authenticity of the Acts, attributing it to Luke.

attributed to J  sus, so different from those of the Synoptic Gospels, the striking analogies of the doctrine of the Logos and the personal Paraclete with Gnosticism and Montanism, the intentional divergence from the Synoptic Gospels regarding the day of the celebration of the Eucharist, which recalls the paschal controversies between the Churches of Rome and those of Asia.—The question of the importance of the patristic testimonies in favour of the authenticity of the fourth Gospel, neglected by Baur, was treated by Zeller in a remarkable article.¹ Finally, the T  bingen School also insisted on the differences which exist between the Apocalypse and the fourth Gospel, pointing out that all the characteristics which evangelical or ecclesiastical tradition brings to us of the Apostle John, as well as the whole character of the Asiatic school of the second century, apply in a very exact way to the author of the Apocalypse, and not to the author of the fourth Gospel.

In the criticism of the Epistles of Paul, the T  bingen School shows a boldness and a distrust that are unparalleled. Only the four large Epistles—Galatians, 1 and 2 Corinthians, and Romans—are admitted to be authentic, because they only represent the struggle against the Judaic Christianity in all its force and all its truth. The Epistles to the Ephesians, Colossians, Philippians, Philemon, and Thessalonians, are distinguished by a certain meagreness of idea and a colourless exposition. There is revealed in them a manifest impoverishment of the Pauline doctrine of faith with an approach toward the doctrine of salvation by works; and the practical tendency predominates in them. Moreover, we find in these Epistles, and especially in the first of them, a very considerable development of Christology, in the doctrine of the personal pre-existence of Christ and His activity as the Creator of the world. The doctrine of   ons begins to break forth; and these metaphysical speculations join on to a pronounced ascetic tendency which implies a necessary relationship with Gnosticism, Montanism, and other phenomena posterior to the Apostolic Age. Finally, in the Pastoral

¹ Theol. Jahrb  cher, 1845, II. iv.

Epistles, the traces of a later epoch are still more perceptible, such as the systematic polemic against heresy, and the representation of the ecclesiastical organisation as regulated and revolving around the episcopate. Baur believes that these Epistles may be placed near those of Polycarp and Ignatius, at the very epoch at which Catholicism took form.

IV.

The importance of Baur as a critic has been compared to that of Niebuhr for Roman History, and that of Wolf for the works of Homer. He imposed on himself the task of tracing the historical genesis of the writings of the New Testament. (It is owing to Baur that the historical conception of the Canon has now taken the place of the dogmatic conception of it. He has given the most fruitful impulse to those researches which have as their object to determine the character, the tendency, and the age of the various documents which remain to us from the primitive Church. This is his enduring merit and his undisputed glory. As to his results themselves, science cannot but be far from accepting them as final. It is hardly possible not to be struck from the outset by the defects and deficiencies of this criticism.) Baur, after all, is a schematic spirit. He cannot liberate himself from the empire which is exercised over him by preconceived ideas and the Hegelian categories. He has neglected too much all that does not bear on the alleged tendency which has to be discovered at the basis of every writing. What in his view is to be alone decisive of the character and origin of the various writings of the New Testament, is the alleged dogmatic struggles of the primitive Church. Persons are sacrificed to ideas, moral probabilities to logical necessities. Hence we have forced interpretations, rash judgments, hasty conclusions; and hence the taking up of a position which ends by a sort of voluntary blindness as to the value of the solutions proposed, which are most frequently more difficult to admit than the difficulties which they pretend to solve.

What is particularly wanting in Baur, is a serious attempt to take account of the Founder of Christianity and of the person of Jesus, to expound His teaching, to reconstruct His life, to interrogate His consciousness, and to examine the principles and ideas which He has developed. (What was the Christianity of Jesus; and in what relation does it stand on the one hand with Petrinism, and on the other with Paulinism? Such is the great and fundamental question which Baur's criticism has passed over in silence.)

And Baur has himself felt this deficiency. In the preface to his History of the Christianity of the first three centuries he says: "Can one speak of the essence and contents of Christianity without making the person of its founder the principal object of investigation, and without acknowledging that the original character of Christianity consists precisely in this, that all that it is, it is only by the person of its founder?" In a study on the meaning of the expression "the Son of man,"¹ Baur strives to reconstruct, by means of the historical data which the Gospels furnish us, the consciousness which Jesus had of Himself, and His Messianic character, but the results at which he arrives are vague and contradictory in the extreme. Sometimes he admits that the historian finds in Jesus certain characteristics which indicate that He possessed qualities unknown to other men; sometimes he affirms that it is less the original person of Christ than faith in His person which has been the basis of the historical development of Christianity.

Baur has himself described the true originality of his point of view as lying in the attempt to explain the historical origin of Christianity, that is to say, to strip it of its supernatural character. It may be said that in this relation he was in accord with one of the most widely spread tendencies of our time. But the question just is, to know whether this tendency is legitimate, or whether it responds to the exigencies of the religious consciousness, as well as to those of science rightly understood. In any case, the delicate problem which

¹ 'Ο υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, Zeitschrift für wissenschaft. Theologie, 1860, H. 3.

Baur sought to solve is far from being solved. Even in the domain of history, the negation of miracle raises considerable difficulties. The resurrection of Jesus and the conversion of Saint Paul are the two points which neither Baur nor his disciples have been able to explain in a satisfying manner. And yet it is on these two points that all the history of the Apostolic Age turns. Paul was undoubtedly the favourite object of the investigations of the Tübingen School, the attentive and penetrating study of whom revealed to it, so to speak, the secret of the Apostolic Age; and it is a strange and significant fact that Paul has become the witness of most formidable weight against the dogmatic principle which Baur applied to his historical construction. How is the conversion of Paul to be explained; and how are we to comprehend his activity, his thought, his character, his whole life, if we take away the supernatural fact which dominates it, namely, the appearance of the risen Lord on the road to Damascus?

V.

The labours of the master were supplemented by those of his disciples. Among them we put in the first line ALBRECHT SCHWEGLER (1819–1857).¹ Like Baur, Schwegler was the son of a Württemberg pastor, and he is without question the most brilliant member of this group. During his sojourn at the University of Tübingen, he caught the enthusiasm for Hegel and Strauss, and devoted himself passionately to the study of history in order to get rid of the doubts that agitated him. In the crisis which he passed through, he believed that he had found rest for his understanding in connection with Baur. He travelled, wrote articles in the theological journals, and lectured on philosophy as a *Privat-docent*.² He made his first impression in the literary world

¹ A Biographical Sketch of Schwegler is given in the third volume of his *Roman History*.

² See his *Geschichte der Philosophie im Umriss*. 11 Ed. by Köber, 1881. [Translated with Annotations by Dr. J. Hutchison Stirling, 11 Ed. 1888.]

by a *History of Montanism*,¹ which drew a good deal of attention. The examination of the paschal controversies of the second century led him to doubt the authenticity of the fourth Gospel. In 1846, he published a *History of the Post-apostolic Age*,² which for the first time gave a survey of the results of Baur's criticism, and presented the means of measuring them in all their extent. This work drew on Schwegler all the animosity of the adversaries of the School. It is a bold, picturesque, often strained and arbitrary exposition of the views of the master; it presents a special pleading, a sort of juvenile provocation, rather than a scientific argumentation. Exaggerating the thought of Baur, he reduces Christianity to a meagre Ebionitism, and seeks with a manifest partiality to strengthen the alleged opposition between Petrinism and Paulinism. Schwegler, like Strauss, possessed great formal ability; he had, in a high degree, the gift of embracing an extensive range of material, of arranging it in a luminous manner, and of expounding it in an attractive style. Discouraged and wearied by the resistance which increased around him in consequence of the reaction brought about by the events of 1848, he threw himself into the teaching of classical antiquity, and prepared the materials for his *Roman History*, of which he published himself the first two volumes (1853–57). He had previously published an edition of the *Clementine Homilies* (1847), and of the *Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius* (1852).

EDUARD ZELLER is to be placed at the side of Schwegler. He was born in 1814, became professor successively at Berne, Marburg, and Heidelberg, and since 1872 he has been Professor of Philosophy in the University of Berlin. More reflective, more circumspect, and more careful than Schwegler, he advances slowly, giving account of every step which he takes. He wrote a series of solid articles in the *Theologische*

¹ *Der Montanismus und die christliche Kirche des 2ten Jahrhunderts*, 1841.

² *Das nachapostolische Zeitalter in den Hauptmomenten seiner Entwicklung*. 2 vols., 1846.

Jahrbücher, which he edited from 1842 to 1857; and among them we may specially mention those on the historical testimonies for the Gospel of St. John, on the Apocalypse, on the Gospel of Luke, and the Acts of the Apostles. He also wrote a sketch of the History of the Church.¹ His most remarkable work in this department of Biblical Criticism is his Critical Investigation of the Acts of the Apostles.² It is the ripest fruit of Baur's critical school. He was also compelled by his advanced opinions to abandon the teaching of theology for that of philosophy. His *History of the Philosophy of the Greeks* and that of the *German Philosophy since Leibnitz*³ are held in high esteem. We may also refer to his *Exposition of the Theological System of Zwingli*.⁴

In the heart of the Tübingen School there arose a series of divergences, corrections, and even retractations. The most fruitful and indefatigable writer of the School is without contradiction ADOLF HILGENFELD. He was born in 1823 near Salzwedel, in Prussian Saxony. He is Professor at Jena, and has been since 1857 editor of the *Jahrbücher für Wissenschaftliche Theologie*. He claims to have succeeded in moderating the pace of contemporary criticism, and to have substituted the historical literary method for Baur's "tendency criticism." The dogmatic shade of a writing is not in fact, according to Hilgenfeld, the only criterion which ought to decide on its character, its authorship, and the date of its composition. He examines the external testimonies, the historical circumstances, and particularly the various sources which have served as the basis of our Gospel compositions.

¹ Geschichte der christl. Kirche, 1847.

² Die Apostelgeschichte nach ihrem Inhalt und Ursprung kritisch untersucht, 1854. [The Contents and Origin of the Acts of the Apostles critically investigated, etc. Translated by J. Dare. 2 vols., 1875-76.]

³ Die Philosophie der Griechen, 4th ed., 5 vols., 1876. [Translated in parts.] Geschichte der deutschen Philosophie seit Leibnitz, 2nd ed. 1886.

⁴ Das Theologische System Zwingli's, 1853. Zeller's *Vorträge u. Abhandlungen*, 3 vols., are also of interest and importance. They contain an excellent study of Greek Monotheism, Biographical Essays on Wolf, Fichte, Schleiermacher, and Baur, an interesting parallel between Strauss and Renan, etc.

He places them much earlier than Baur. He carries the primary elements which constitute the Gospel according to Saint Matthew, back to between the year 50 and the year 60 A.D., and attributes them to the Apostle himself. The revisions which they have undergone, may go back to about the years 70 to 80. As to Luke, he dates it from 100 to 110 A.D. Mark is placed between the two, not as their summary, but as an intermediate link, as a sort of recast of the primary Matthew in the sense of a tolerant and conciliatory Judaism. For the Epistles of Paul, likewise, Hilgenfeld stops at a middle term between the judgment of Baur and the traditional opinion; and he recognises the First Epistle to the Thessalonians, the Epistle to the Philippians, and the Epistle to Philemon to be authentic. Hilgenfeld goes farther than Baur only in what concerns the fourth Gospel, the composition of which he draws back to the Valentinian gnosis about the year 130. Among the numerous works of Hilgenfeld, we may mention his writings on the Clementine Homilies, on the Gospel of John, on the Gospel of Mark, on the Speaking with Tongues, on the Epistle to the Galatians, on the Apostolic Fathers, on the Four Gospels, on the Jewish Apocalyptic views, on the festival of Easter, and on the canon and criticism of the New Testament.¹

KARL REINHOLD KÖSTLIN, born in 1819 at Urach, in Würtemberg, became Professor of Theology at Tübingen in 1849, but from 1857 he has lectured on Æsthetics. Köstlin takes almost the same point of view as Hilgenfeld. He specially occupies himself in submitting to a severer examination the various elements of which the canonical Gospels are composed.

¹ Die clementinischen Recognitionen und Homilien, 1848. Die Evangelien und die Briefe des Johannes nach ihrem Lehrbegriff, 1849. Das Marcusevangelium, 1850. Das Urchristenthum, 1855. Novum Testamentum extra canonem receptum, 4 vols. 1865-67; 2nd ed. 1876-84. Die Kanon und die Kritik des N. T. in ihrer geschichtlichen Ausbildung und Gestaltung, 1863. Die apostolischen Väter, 1853. Die Evangelien nach ihrer Entstehung und geschichtlichen Bedeutung, 1854. Die jüdische Apokalyptik, 1857. Die Propheten Esra und Daniel und ihre neuesten Bearbeitungen, 1863. Historisch-kritische Einleitung in das N. T. 1875. Ketzergeschichte des Urchristenthums, 1884.

According to Köstlin, Mark is the primary Gospel, and it served as a basis for the other Gospels; not indeed our canonical Mark, but a Petrine and semi-universalist Mark, which, combined with the *λόγια* or Judæo-Christian discourses of Matthew, produced our first Gospel, and was finally summarized in our Mark. The two most remarkable works of Köstlin are his study *On the Origin and Composition of the Synoptic Gospels*,¹ and his book *On the Johannine System of Doctrine*.² What he here establishes on the subject of the authenticating characteristics of the teaching and discourses of Jesus, of the individual, living, and harmonious manner in which the historical events are related, and of the sober simplicity which is the striking feature of our Gospels, is the best refutation of the mythical theory of Strauss. We have not here the fantastic echo of the visionary spirit which is alleged to have animated the primitive Church, but rather the faithful testimony of a sure documented tradition, at least in its general features.

GUSTAV VOLKMAR, professor at Zurich, represents the extreme Left of the school of Baur. Born in 1809 at Hersfeld, in Hesse, the political reaction which was in full swing about 1854 compelled him to leave his own country and to settle in Switzerland, where he became a professor at Zurich in 1863. He has been a very prolific writer. He first contributed, by his investigations concerning the Gospel of Marcion, to rectify certain conjectural views as to the second century of our era. In his writings on the *Religion of Jesus* (1857), and on the *Origin of our Gospels* (1866), he combined Baur's tendential criticism with the opinions of Wilke and Bruno Bauer. He starts from the idea of a primitive Gospel of Mark which was lost, and of which our canonical Gospels came to be free and arbitrary reproductions in the service of the Pauline party, which was at first oppressed and then became triumphant. Volkmar applies himself with indefatig-

¹ Ueber Ursprung und Composition der Synoptiker, 1854.

² Der johanneische Lehrbegriff, 1857.

able ardour to search out the motives of the divergences of Matthew and Luke from the Gospel of Mark, in order properly to establish their dependence. This supposed Mark must have been a writing directed by a disciple of Paul against the Apocalypse; and the other Gospels must have likewise had as their object the combating of the offensive returns of the Judæo-Christianity. As to the Gospel of John, of which the origin comes down to the second century, Volkmar seeks, by numerous points of comparison, to show its dependence on the writings of Justin Martyr. (Thus, according to Volkmar, the Apocalypse is to be regarded as the only authentic document of primitive Christianity.¹)

KARL JOHANN HOLSTEN, born in 1825 in Mecklenburg, after having been for eighteen years professor in the Gymnasium at Rostock, was called to Berne in 1870, and to Heidelberg in 1876. Holsten has turned his attention more particularly to the theology of Saint Paul.² He has especially applied himself to resolving the psychological problem which is presented to criticism by the conversion of the Apostle. In a remarkable treatise on this subject, Holsten goes back to the old hypothesis of a vision. Saul must have found in the traditional Messianism the principal features of the figure of Christ which he alleges appeared to him. Of an earnest nature, easily excited, and subject to attacks of epilepsy, he was otherwise predisposed to falling into states of ecstasy.

We may also refer to TOBLER, a pastor in the canton of

¹ Das Evangelium Marcions, 1852. Die Quellen der Ketzergeschichte bis zum Nicænum kritisch untersucht, 1854. Die Religion Jesu, 1857. Die geschichtstreue Theologie, 1858. Der Ursprung unserer Evangelien nach den Urkunden, 1866. Die Evangelien oder Marcus und die Synopsis, 1869, 1875. Handbuch der Einleitung in die Apocryphen, 2 vols. 1860-65. Kommentar zur Offenbarung Johannis, 1862. Paulus' Römerbrief, 1875. Jesus Nazarenus, 1881.

² Zum Evangelium des Petrus und des Paulus. Die Christusvision des Paulus, 1868. (See Beyschlag's refutation of this hypothesis, *Stud. u. Kritiken*, 1864, H. 2, 1870, H. 1, 2.) Inhalt u. Gedankengang des Briefes an die Galater, 1859. Das Evangelium des Paulus, 1881. Die drei ursprünglichen noch ungeschriebenen Evangelien, 1883.

Zurich, known for his remarkable works on the fourth Gospel.¹ He admits a much older date for its composition than the Tübingen School does. The author must have written his Gospel at a time when the *ἐκείνος* referred to in chapter xix. 35, who is no other than the Apostle John, was still living. Tobler invokes the numerous ecclesiastical testimonies in favour of the antiquity of this Gospel, and the exact knowledge of places and times which it reveals. The author must have been a Jew by birth, converted to Christianity, and desirous of bringing his co-religionists to it. He must have received a learned Alexandrian education, and have found himself in relation with the disciples of the Baptist and with the Apostle John. And, finally, he could not have been an entirely insignificant and unknown person. Now all these features are found united in *Apollos* (Acts xviii. 24-28), who was the first to apply to the glorified Christ the doctrine of the Logos which he had drawn from the writings of Philo. He brings the gnosis of his time into the service of Christianity, and puts his speculations under the authority of the most venerated among the Apostles. The Gospel was written at Ephesus in view of the Church at Corinth, in order to conquer the last Jewish opposition with the arms of a higher science and knowledge of Scripture.

Among the disciples of Baur, *ALBRECHT RITSCHL* departed farthest from the views of the master in the direction of an approach towards positive theology. He was born at Berlin in 1822, and was educated by his father, the Superintendent-General of Pomerania from 1828 to 1854, who afterwards became an honorary member of the higher Ecclesiastical Council at Berlin. Ritschl studied at Bonn, Halle, Heidelberg, Tübingen, became professor at Bonn in 1852, and at Göttingen in 1864. His first literary work was a solid treatise on the relations between the Gospel of Marcion and that of

Luke.¹ Then in his book on *The Origin of the Old Catholic Church*,² he showed what is false and arbitrary in the use which Baur makes of the words Paulinism and Petrinism; and, in particular, he contested the long domination of the latter view to the middle of the second century. In a second edition of this work, which was completely recast, Ritschl departs still more from the views of Baur, and shows that Catholicism was not born of a sort of compromise between Judaic Christianity and the doctrine of Saint Paul, but that it was the development, or rather the decadence of the latter. The great merit of Ritschl is his exposition of the Pauline doctrine, in the course of which he points out certain so-called Judæo-Christian elements which constitute in some sort the neutral ground on which the union of Paul with the Twelve could take place. Ritschl has also applied himself to a profound criticism of Montanism and of the Clementine Homilies, which, according to him, made far too strong an impression on the mind of Baur, who makes them the starting-point of his whole criticism. The head of the Tübingen School attached an exaggerated importance to this tendential romance of the second century, and he has accentuated too much the solidarity which may have existed between the Essenian Ebionites and the Apostles. Ritschl also seeks to signalize in the Epistles of Paul and in the Synoptic Gospels points of connection for the authenticity of the Gospel of John. We shall afterwards have to refer specially to his works on the doctrine of the Atonement and his dogmatic position generally.

Ritschl is not only celebrated for his works and the numerous articles which he has inserted in the theological reviews,³ but he also exercises great influence in his professorial chair, both by the religious spirit and the nobleness which characterize his teaching, and by his calm, thoughtful, and serene method, which of itself inspires confidence in his hearers.

¹ Die Evangelienfrage im Allgemeinen u. die Johannesfrage insbesondere. Zür. 1858. Ueber den Ursprung des 4ten Evangeliums. Zeitschrift für wissenschaftl. Theol. 1860, H. 2.

¹ Das Evangelium Marcion's und das canonische Evangelium des Lucas, 1846.

² Die Entstehung der altkatholischen Kirche, 1850; 2nd ed. 1857.

³ Especially in the Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie, 1857-68.

It may be said that owing to the distinguished works which have sprung from Baur's School itself, and the rigorous application of his historical method, the results, and even the most fundamental results, of the master's criticism have been overthrown. If, as most interpreters now admit, the Gospel of Mark, in which the antithesis between Paulinism and Petrinism appears neutralized, is the oldest of the Gospels, the first link in the chain of the Hegelian deductions is broken, and the origination of Christianity cannot have presented the spectacle of such a passionate struggle as the Tübingen School would have it. The same holds good with regard to the Acts of the Apostles. Even although a tendency to conciliation may have to be recognised in it, it does not follow that the book of Acts must necessarily be regarded as inauthentic, and all the less as experience shows us that the disciples of eminent men always oppose each other with more zeal and fierceness than do the chiefs of the school themselves. As to the controversy with regard to the Gospel of John, it is undoubtedly not exhausted, but the opinion that the origin of this Gospel must be sought in the innermost circle of the Apostles gains ground more and more.) Finally, the authenticity of most of the Epistles of Saint Paul is generally acknowledged at present, owing to the retractations that have sprung from the Tübingen School; and these are, we repeat, results obtained by means of scientific investigations alone, independent of any particular theory as to the inspiration or authority of the Holy Scriptures.

VI.

The Tübingen School has not had the monopoly of Biblical Criticism, although we find nowhere else works which are so considerable and original, and which better complete each other. It is impossible to refer here to all the names of those who have written on Biblical Criticism in this period: we must limit ourselves to mentioning the most prominent of them.

GOTTFRIED CHRISTIAN FRIEDRICH LÜCKE (1791-1855)¹ was born near Magdeburg, and studied at Halle and Göttingen. He came under the powerful influence of the writings of Herder and Schleiermacher. Surrounded by a circle of distinguished young men, animated by the noblest aspirations after what is great and beautiful, and cultivating with taste exegetical studies, he became one of the most eminent representatives of that new theology which was trying to reconcile science and faith. Of an essentially receptive nature, he could throw himself lovingly into a noble and elevated subject, assimilate it perfectly, and reproduce it with that felt conviction which personal experience always gives. There was in him an artistic element, which enabled him to throw a vivid colouring on all that he touched; and it may be added, in order completely to characterize him, that he had a predilection for Latin, and that he used this language with great dexterity.

In 1816 he became a *Privat-docent* at Berlin. Two years later he was appointed professor in the newly founded University of Bonn, and in 1827 he went to Göttingen. All the branches of theology formed part of his teaching, but he cultivated exegesis by preference. It is also to Biblical science that his most important writings belong, including an *Outline of New Testament Hermeneutics*,² and a voluminous *Commentary on the Writings of John*.³ The Hermeneutics of Lücke have become classical. It may be said that they definitively fix the principles which ought to regulate the subject. In order to interpret the Bible, the religious sense is no less necessary than philological and historical knowledge. Like alone perceives like. "He alone," says Lücke, "really seeks, who aspires to find; he alone fathoms, who is filled

¹ Cf. Redepenning: *Protest. Kirchenzeitung*, 1855, N. 10. Ehrenfeuchter: *Studien u. Kritiken*, 1855, II. 4. J. Müller: *Deutsche Zeitschrift*, 1855, 16, 17.

² *Grundriss der N. T. Hermeneutik und ihrer Geschichte*, 1817.

³ *Commentar zu den Schriften des Johannes*, 4 vols. 1820-32, 3rd Ed. 3 vols. 1840-56. *Versuch einer vollständigen Einleitung in die Offenbarung des Johannes*, 2nd Ed. 1848-58. [Commentary on the Epistles of St. John, with additional Notes. By T. G. Repp. Bib. Cab. xv.]

with love; he alone finds, who increasing in love receives light from on high." Lücke demands that the theologian shall unite an ardent piety to an independent science.

The mystical element which is found at the basis of his character, and which induced him in his lectures to fuse Dogmatics and Ethics in order to make but one science of them, and which made him conceive the design of writing a history of Christian mysticism, drew him also towards Saint John, "the chief Gospel, the most delicate and most profound of all the Gospels." In the four volumes which he devoted to the subject of the writings of John, he tried to prove that the fourth Gospel and the Apocalypse might have been written by the same author; and he combined, in a manner that was often ingenious although not always decisive, all the arguments which may be adduced in favour of this thesis. Lücke contributed to a great number of theological reviews, and with the plastic talent which distinguished him, he excelled in biographies and obituary notices, as witness those on Schleiermacher, Planck, and De Wette.

FRIEDRICH BLEEK (1793-1859) may be placed by the side of Lücke. He possessed gigantic knowledge, and he was characterized by an impartiality that has become proverbial.

Born in Holstein, he made excellent progress in philological and theological study at Kiel and Berlin; and in the latter city, under the direction of Schleiermacher, he became a *Privat-docent* in 1818. He was appointed professor at Bonn in 1829, and there for thirty years he occupied the chair of Holy Scripture. His works all belong to the department of exegesis and sacred criticism. Besides numerous articles scattered in reviews, we may mention his *Introduction to the Epistle to the Hebrews*,¹ his *Contributions to the Criticism of the Gospels*,² his *Introduction to the Old Testament*, and his *Introduction to the New Testament*,³ his *Synoptic Explanation of the*

¹ Der Brief an die Hebräer erläutert durch Einleitung, etc., 3 vols. 1828-40.

² Beiträge zur Evangelien-Kritik, 1846.

³ Einleitung in das A. T. Herausgegeben durch seinen Sohn, 1860, 4 Ed. 1878.

first three Gospels,¹ and his *Lectures on the Apocalypse*.² All these writings, although addressed only to scientific students, are distinguished by great clearness, a severe method, and a singular solidity of judgment. Bleek always gives proof of the most scrupulous impartiality, and keeps the engagement which he entered into with himself to accept only what is in his view sufficiently established by documentary evidence. Without being at all sceptical, he distrusts hypotheses, is conscious of the real limits of science, and continues every investigation till the beam inclines to one side or other. Further, there is no mere brilliancy, nothing ingenious, and almost nothing original in his writings, the results of which inspire all the greater confidence from their being presented in the most sober and modest manner.

Schwarz has said of Bleek, that he is the disciple of Schleiermacher who has best and most resolutely preserved the critical spirit and the sense of truth of the master. His Introductions to the sacred books are models of simple, lucid, and substantial exposition. They show that positive faith and historical criticism do not exclude each other, even although the investigations often issue only in putting a point of interrogation. Among the books of the New Testament, Bleek likewise had a marked predilection for the Gospel of Saint John. He maintained its authenticity against the Tübingen School, while showing that down to its least details the Fourth Gospel gives proof of greater historical and even chronological exactness than the Synoptic Gospels, as shown by its account of the journey to Jerusalem, the festival of the Passover, and its mode of celebration in the East, etc. He also adduces the numerous historical testimonies which exist in its favour. And he asks how it happens that this Gospel is found to be accepted by all parties from the time of the

Einleitung in das N. T., 1862, 3rd ed. 1873. [Introduction to the Old Testament, translated by G. H. Venable, 2 vols. 1869. An Introduction to the New Testament, translated by W. Urwick, 2 vols., T. & T. Clark.]

¹ Synoptische Erklärung der drei ersten Evangelien, 2 vols. 1862.

² Vorlesungen über die Apocalypse, 1862. [Lectures on the Apocalypse. Translated and edited by S. Davidson, 1875.]

formation of the canon, if it was produced only in the middle of the second century?

There is nothing more striking than the contrast between Bleek and RUDOLPH STIER (1800-1862),¹ who is the representative of an edifying and mystical exegesis. Born at Fraustad in the province of Posen, he terminated his unfinished studies at Berlin and Halle. Of a poetical and enthusiastic nature, he threw himself headlong into the romantic and patriotic aspirations of his student days. Connected with Jean Paul, he imitated his pretentious style and mannerisms in literary essays² which he afterwards disavowed. It was the experience of trials, sorrow of heart, and study of the Bible, which converted this ardent and passionate nature to Christ. Bengel's *Gnomon* and the Biblical Commentary of J. F. von Meyer of Frankfort became his constant reading. He then met at Berlin a group of Christians, awakened like himself to the religious life, including Tholuck, Bethmann-Hollweg, and Baron von Kottwitz. At the same time, he attended the lectures of Neander and Lücke, without, however, finding them orthodox enough. He then spent some years in the pastoral seminary of Wittenberg, where he formed an intimate friendship with Rothe and Krummacher while visiting constantly the house of the elder Nitzsch, whose daughter he afterwards married. In 1824, Stier was appointed Professor in the Missionary Institution at Bâle. He then became pastor successively at Frankleben near Merseburg and Wichlinghausen in the Wupperthal; and he became afterwards superintendent of the church at Schkeuditz and at Eisleben.

Almost all his writings treat of the Bible, which was the object of the patient and passionate study of his whole life. His commentaries on the *Words of the Lord Jesus*,³ on the

¹ Cf. Nitzsch: Stier als Theologe, 1865. A biography of Stier has been published by his sons: Dr. E. R. Stier, 2nd ed., 1871.

² Krokodileier, Träume und Märchen.

³ Die Reden des Herrn Jesu, 7 vols. 1842-48, 3rd ed. 1870-74. Die Reden des Herrn Jesu vom Himmel her, 1859. A popular edition also appeared under

Words of the Apostles,¹ and the *Words of the Angels*,² have had considerable success. In addition to these, he produced a *Commentary on the Psalms*,³ on the *Second Isaiah*, the *Book of Proverbs*, the *Epistle to the Ephesians*,⁴ the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, and the *Epistles of James and Jude*.⁵ His exegesis is based on an absolute faith in the inspiration and infallibility of the sacred text. To Stier, the personality of the writer is effaced; it disappears almost entirely before that of the Holy Spirit, who is the *auctor primarius* of the Scriptures. It is He who has given to the Bible, whether taken as a whole or in its details, its admirable arrangement, and who has communicated to the various passages their profound and mystical sense; and it is the same spirit which has established the harmony between the Old Testament and the New Testament, and between the Gospels and the Epistles. The thought of Stier, or rather what he professes to draw from the Bible, is profound and ingenious, but too prolix and too refined. His works contain treasures of psychological and philological observation; they present a true embarrassment of riches. Stier studies the least shades of the Biblical language, and draws from them fine remarks, although they are sometimes too far-fetched. One also frequently feels the defects that are occasioned by the imperfect philological and historical education of the author.

Happily, these defects are corrected in a certain sense by the absence of systematic spirit and of dogmatic rigour. Stier remains independent of all schools and parties, and in this he is faithful to the traditions of mysticism. He places the Bible above all the dogmatic systems and all the confes-

the title: *Die Worte des Worts*, 3 vols. 1857. [The Words of the Lord Jesus, 3 vols., T. & T. Clark.]

¹ Die Reden der Apostel nach Ordnung und Zusammenhang ausgelegt, 2 vols. 1824-30. [The Words of the Apostles Expounded, 1 vol., T. & T. Clark.]

² Die Reden der Engel in der heil. Schrift, 1861.

³ Auslegung von 70 ausgewähl. Psalmen, 2 vols. 1834-35.

⁴ Der Brief an die Epheser, 2 vols. 1846. Stier also published an excellent Polyglot Bible.

⁵ [The Words of the Risen Saviour, and Commentary on the Epistle of St. James, 1 vol., T. & T. Clark.]

sions of faith. He reproaches the theologians of the School of Conciliation for their timidity and their illogical inconsequences, and he reproaches the Lutherans for their dogmatic servility and their reactionary spirit. He raised his voice forcibly against the idolatry of the name of Luther.¹ He published a new edition of Luther's Catechism, and a translation of the Bible based on that of Luther, but more faithful to the text, and accompanied with numerous parallel passages chosen with much care. He likewise blamed the excessive use of the old hymns,² and soundly rebuked the attacks directed against the Union.³ We may also mention a *Concise Outline of Biblical Homiletics*,⁴ in which Stier demands a return to a strictly Biblical mode of preaching, which, both as regards form and matter, was to be based on the Bible rightly understood in its marvellous organism, and reproduced by the Holy Spirit in the experience of the individual. He insists on the distinction between missionary preaching and the sermon delivered before a congregation of Christians, and he directs a lively polemic against the routine and pedantry caused by the obligation to preach on the traditional sections of the Bible. Stier himself published several collections of Sermons in accordance with these principles. His bodily sufferings, the inflexibility and stiffness of his character, and the frequently passionate nature of his polemics, as well as his rigid Biblicism, perhaps explain why it was that, in spite of so many fine gifts, he has done so little by personal influence, and why he found himself in a manner isolated during the last twenty years of his life.

HEINRICH AUGUST WILHELM MEYER (1800-1873) deserves to be reckoned among the exegetes of the first rank. He was born at Gotha, became a pastor and then Superintendent and member of the Consistory of Hanöver. His *Critical and*

¹ *Altes u. neues in deutscher Bibel*, 1828. Darf Luther's Bibel unberichtigt bleiben? 1836.

² *Die Gesangbuchsnoth*, 1838.

³ *Unlutherische Thesen, deutlich für Jedermann*, 1855.

⁴ *Kurzer Grundriss einer biblischen Keryktik*, 1830.

*Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament*¹ enjoys great and legitimate consideration in Germany. He has succeeded in uniting earnest Christian convictions and a solid Biblical supranaturalism to a truly scientific spirit; and he has given proof of extensive philological knowledge, great impartiality, and a critical perspicacity that is often remarkable. Meyer made a happy use of the ancient and modern exegetical literature, and was able to keep his book up to the level of the progress of the science through the various editions which rapidly succeeded each other.

Alongside of Dr. H. A. W. Meyer we may also place, in relation to the New Testament, JOHANN FRIEDRICH VON MEYER (1772-1849), a senator of Frankfort, celebrated for his cabalistic studies, and a translation of the Bible, accompanied with a commentary, in which the mystical and allegorical tendency predominates.²

HERMANN OLSHAUSEN (1796-1839), Professor at Königsberg and Erlangen, was the author of several critical works and of esteemed Commentaries on the Books of the New Testament.³

JOHANN HEINRICH AUGUST EBRARD was born in 1818 at Erlangen, where his father was minister of the Reformed Church. He became Professor at Zurich in 1844, at Erlangen in 1847, Member of the Consistory at Spire in 1861, again Professor at Erlangen in 1861, and also preacher of the Reformed Church there since 1875. He continued Olshausen's Com-

¹ *Kritisch-exegetischer Commentar über das N. T.*, 16 vols. 1832. Parts of this Commentary have gone through several editions. Meyer received the co-operation of Lünemann, Huther, and Düsterdieck. Taken as a whole, Meyer's Commentary is justly regarded as a classical work in Germany. [Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament. By Dr. H. A. W. Meyer. Edited by Drs. Dickson, Crombie, and Stewart, 17 vols., T. & T. Clark.]

² *Die heilige Schrift in richtiger Uebersetzung mit kurzen Anmerkungen*, 3 vols., 3rd ed. 1842.

³ *Die Aechtheit der vier Evangelien*, 1823. *Ein Wort über tiefern Schriftsinn*, 1821. *Die biblische Schriftauslegung*, 1824. *Biblischer Commentar über sämtliche Schriften des N. T.*, 4 vols. 1830-1840. The 5th and 6th vols. of this Commentary have been published by Wiesinger and Ebrard, 1852-62. [Olshausen's Commentary on the New Testament. Translated in 7 vols., T. & T. Clark.]

mentary, and is also the author of able and important works on Dogmatics and Apologetics.¹

EDUARD RIEHM (1830–1888), born at Diersburg in Baden, was Professor at Heidelberg for a time, and then at Halle from 1862. He is the author of an excellent Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews, and of a Dictionary of Biblical Antiquities.²

In the department of the Criticism of the Old Testament, we may first mention GUSTAV FRIEDRICH OEHLER (1812–1872). Born at Ebingen in Württemberg, he became Professor at Breslau and then at Tübingen. His *Prolegomena to the Theology of the Old Testament*, and his *Theology of the Old Testament*, are ingenious and substantial works. His sketch of Symbolics has been edited by Delitzsch.³

MICHAEL DRECHSLER, Professor at Erlangen, has written in defence of the unity and authenticity of Genesis and Isaiah.⁴

FRIEDRICH TUCH (1806–1867), born at Quedlinburg, was Professor at Halle and at Leipsic. He is celebrated for his excellent *Commentary on Genesis*.⁵

¹ Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte, 1842, 2nd ed. 1868. Das Evangelium Johannis, 1845. Der Brief an die Hebräer, 1850. Das Dogma vom heil. Abendmahl u. seine Geschichte, 1845–46, 2 vols. Christliche Dogmatik, 1851–52, 2 vols., 2nd ed. 1862–63. Handbuch der christlichen Kirchen- u. Dogmengeschichte, Erl. 1865. Beleuchtung von Dr. Becks Rechtfertigungslehre, 1871. Die iroschottische Missionskirche, 1873. Vorlesungen über praktische Theologie, 1854. Apologetik. Wissenschaftliche Rechtfertigung des Christenthums, 2 vols., 2nd ed. 1878–80. Bonifatius, 1882. Under the pseudonyms of Hammlberg and Christian Deutsch, Ebrard has published a number of novels and dramas in verse, intended to popularize Christianity. [Commentary on the Epistles of St. John, 1 vol. Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews, 1 vol. The Gospel History, 1 vol. Apologetics, or the Scientific Vindication of Christianity, 3 vols. 1886–87, T. & T. Clark.]

² Der Lehrbegriff des Hebräerbriefes, dargestellt u. mit verwandten Begriffen verglichen, Ludwigsb. 1858, 2nd ed. 1867. Die messianischen Weissagungen, 1875, 2nd ed. 1885. Der Begriff der Sühne im A. T. 1877. Kirche und Theologie, 1880. Religion und Wissenschaft, 1881. Handwörterbuch des bibl. Alterthums, 1884. Cf. J. Köstlin: Ed. Riehm, *Stud. u. Krit.* 1884, H. 4.

³ Prolegomena zur Theologie des A. T. 1845. Die Grundlage der A. T. Weisheit, 1854. Ueber das Verhältniss der A. T. Prophetie zur heidnischen Mantik. 1861. Theologie des A. T., 2 vols. 1873–74. Lehrbuch der Symbolik, herausgegeben von F. Delitzsch, 1876. Cf. Knapp: Gustav Friedrich Oehler, 1876. [Biblical Theology of the Old Testament, 2 vols. T. & T. Clark.]

⁴ Einheit und Aechtheit der Genesis, 1838.

⁵ Commentar über die Genesis, 1838. 2nd ed. by Arnold and Merx, 1871.

CARL FRIEDRICH KEIL (1807–1888) was Professor at Dorpat from 1833 to 1858. He was a disciple of Hengstenberg, and the author of an *Introduction to the Old Testament*,¹ and along with Delitzsch of an extensive *Commentary on the Old Testament*,² in which we find numerous archaeological notices and interesting homiletical remarks. Keil is also the author of a *Handbook of Biblical Archaeology*.³ He obtained notoriety by his long and fiery controversy, called the Batrachomyomachia, with his colleague Kurtz, on the union of the sons of God with the daughters of men.

LUDWIG DIESTEL (1825–1879), born at Königsberg, was Professor at Bonn, Greifswald, Berne, Tübingen, and Jena. He developed a liberal spirit, and wrote a remarkable *History of the Old Testament in the Christian Church*.⁴

We may also mention PAUL KLEINERT, born at Vielguth, in Silesia, in 1837, Professor at Berlin since 1867, who is celebrated for his investigations into the history of the law and literature of the Old Testament.⁵

VII.

GEORG HEINRICH AUGUST EWALD, from the publication of his Hebrew Grammar in 1827⁶ till his death in 1875, held a unique place among the exegetes of our time. Independent in character as in conviction, he would become the feudatory

¹ Lehrbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung in die kanonischen u. apokryphischen Schriften des A. T., 3rd ed. 1873. [Introduction to the Old Testament, 2 vols., T. & T. Clark.]

² Commentar über das A. T., 15 vols. 1879. [Keil and Delitzsch's Commentary is translated in Clark's Foreign Theological Library in 15 vols.]

³ Handbuch der biblischen Archäologie, 1876. [Handbook of Biblical Archaeology, 2 vols. 3rd improved and corrected edition, 1888, T. & T. Clark.]

⁴ Geschichte des A. T. in der christlichen Kirche, 1869. Commentar über Jesaja, 4th ed. 1872.

⁵ Untersuchungen zur A. T. Rechts- und Literaturgeschichte. 1871. Abriss der Einleitung zum A. T. in Tabellenform, 1878.

⁶ Ausführl. Krit. Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache, 1827. Ausführliches Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache des alten Bundes, 8th ed. 1870. [Grammar of the Hebrew Language of the Old Testament. Translated by J. Nicholson, 1836. Syntax of the Hebrew Language of the Old Testament. Translated from the 8th German ed. by J. Kennedy, B.D. T. & T. Clark.]

of no party, and he preferred at need isolation to popularity. Unfortunately this creditable independence was allied to a very subjective temperament, which was naturally passionate and violent. In a dictatorial spirit he professed to rule the science of the Bible, but, owing to the richness and originality of his ideas, he has given a fruitful impulse even to his adversaries. Born at Göttingen in 1803, the son of a poor weaver, he began life as a schoolmaster at Wolfenbüttel, and he owed to his persevering efforts and to indefatigable labour, the high rank which he conquered in science. As a Professor at Tübingen and then at Göttingen, Ewald became one of the most distinguished Orientalists of Germany. Having become mixed up with the militant politics of his time, owing to his strong convictions and immovable fidelity to the cause of justice, he was suspended from his functions as a professor on account of his liberal opinions in 1834; and in 1866 he was removed from his office for refusing to take the oath after the annexation of Hanover to Prussia. From that time Ewald became in the German Parliament the courageous defender of the liberty and independence of the people, and a strong opponent of the oppressive policy of Bismarck.

Ewald has written a large number of works on the Old and New Testament.¹ He also published entirely by himself a Review of Biblical Science for many years.² Liberal in his theology, even of advanced opinions, and a member of the

¹ Das Hohe Lied Salomo's, 1826. Die poetischen Bücher des A. T., 4 vols. 1835-37, 2nd ed. 1866. Die Propheten des A. T., 2 vols. 1840, 2nd ed. 1867. Die Geschichte des Volkes Israel, 4 vols. 1843-50, 3rd ed., 7 vols. and Supplement, 1864-68. Die Geschichte Christi und seiner Zeit. Die Geschichte des apostolischen und nachapostolischen Zeitalters, 2 vols. (now in the Geschichte des Volkes Israel, vols. v., vii.). Die Alterthümer des Volkes Israels, 1848. Die drei ersten Evangelien, 1850. Die Lehre der Bibel von Gott, oder Theologie des alten und neuen Bundes, 4 vols. 1871-76. Commentaries on the Book of Enoch and the Sibylline Books. Uebersetzung und Erklärung aller Bücher des N. T., 7 vols. 1870-72.

[Old and New Testament Theology. Translated by T. Goadby, 1 vol., T. & T. Clark. Revelation: its Nature and Record. Translated by T. Goadby, 1 vol., T. & T. Clark. Commentary on the Prophets of the Old Testament. Translated by Rev. J. F. Smith, 5 vols. Commentary on the Poetical Books of the Old Testament. Translated by E. Johnson. Williams & Norgate.]

² Jahrbücher der biblischen Wissenschaft from 1849 to 1865, 12 vols.

Protestant Union (*Protestantenverein*), he nevertheless waged a fierce war against the Tübingen School. One cannot but deeply regret the bitter and passionate tone of his polemics, the hatred and insults which he lavishes on his adversaries, his heated style, the fatuity with which he passes eulogies on himself, and, lastly, his diffuse and pretentious exposition, which is a mixture of criticism and lofty phantasy. Ewald represents the beginnings of the Gospel literature in the same way as was done by Schleiermacher. Tradition has been the common source from which all the writers of the Gospels have drawn. It was incarnated in some sort in those travelling Evangelists, who went about carrying from place to place the remembrance of what Jesus had done and taught. Nevertheless, there was early felt the need of fixing those dear experiences, and of connecting with each other the isolated narratives to which they were attached. There must thus have been formed certain principal groups or bundles of narratives which were the early nuclei of our canonical Gospels. The first attempt of this kind was the Gospel of Philip, which was written in Hebrew, and contained an exposition of the most outstanding facts of the life of Christ and His disciples: "those most elevated peaks around which the other narratives came to float, carried along by tradition." It was a short writing not containing the narratives of the infancy, nor any extended discourses; and it has passed almost entire into our canonical Mark. At the same time there was formed a collection of the sayings of Jesus, which from the first were arranged and grouped according to a convenient plan; and this is still discoverable to-day by an examination of the Sermon on the Mount and the Parables, etc. The author of these discourses, which were written in Hebrew, was the Apostle Matthew; and his work was consulted by Mark and Luke. Along with the Gospel of Philip and the discourses by Matthew, there must have further existed a series of writings from which our Gospels have drawn, and the trace of which it is easy to discover if they are examined with care. Ewald puts forward the boldest hypotheses on this subject as unques-

tionable facts. His judgments are often bizarre, and the inductions which he draws from the style of our Evangelists denote much that is arbitrary.

Along with Ewald must be placed KARL AUGUST KNOBEL (1807–1863). He was born near Sorau in Silesia, and was Professor at Breslau and Giessen. His great knowledge of Oriental antiquity gives him a claim to rank among the greatest Orientalists. His learned work on the *Prophetism of the Hebrews*,¹ and his Commentaries on Ecclesiastes, Isaiah, Joshua, and the books of the Pentateuch,² are much esteemed. His essay on the Ethnological Table of Genesis³ (chap. x.) has been justly remarked, on account of the solid ethnographical investigations of which it gives evidence. In all that concerns the linguistic and archaeological side of the Old Testament, Knobel is without a rival. But the poetical sense, and sometimes also the religious sense, is entirely lacking in him. Knobel attaches himself to the Rationalistic School; but his science, which is always impartial, and his critical sense, which is endowed with a happy gift of divination, have enabled him to reach results which, in more than one respect, may be considered final. In his controversy with Ewald, in particular, the truth is almost always on the side of Knobel.⁴

EDUARD REUSS has taken the same independent position in Sacred Criticism as Ewald. He was born at Strasburg in 1804, and was professor in his native city from 1834 to 1888, when he withdrew from the work of his professorship. Reuss wishes only to be a historian; he makes this his glory and almost his boast. His ambition has been to elevate criticism to the height of history by investigation, sagacity, and impartiality. And it must certainly be said that his criticism, which is always fine, scientific, and proportionate,

¹ *Prophetismus der Hebräer*, 2 vols. 1837.

² Commentaries: *Das Buch Kohelet* (1836), *Jesaja* (1843, 3rd ed. 1861), *Genesis* (1852, 2nd ed. 1860), *Exodus u. Leviticus* (1857), *Numeri, Deuteronomium u. Josua* (1861).

³ *Die Volkertafel der Genesis*, 1850.

⁴ *Exegetisches Vademecum für Herrn Ewald in Tübingen*, 1844.

has attained the very limits of perfection. Reuss takes a stand with the greatest success against the results of the Tübingen School, and particularly in reference to the Epistles of Paul and the too absolute antithesis set up between Judaic Christianity and Paulinism, which, according to that school, dominates the Apostolic Age. The arguments of Reuss in favour of the authenticity of these Epistles, are almost always decisive. He pronounces with less preciseness on the Johannine question. The fourth Gospel appears to him to have a dogmatic rather than a historical character. Its authenticity, however, is not impossible except in the matter of the discourses, which must have been arranged by the author according to a skilfully combined plan, as is attested by the prologue and the methodical succession of the narratives. As to the Synoptic Gospels, Reuss does not believe that science is yet in a position to give a satisfactory solution of the problem of their origin, mode of composition, and relations of co-ordination or independence. He likewise denies the possibility of writing a life of Jesus with the few data which we possess, and in the complete absence of chronological indications. Our Gospels do not pretend to be historical works in the modern sense of the word. Reuss's chief work is his *History of the Sacred Writings of the New Testament*,¹ which has, so to speak, renovated the old science of Introduction. In his hands, Introduction to the sacred Books has become a literary history which, in a series of paragraphs artistically grouped and accompanied by learned notes, treats successively of the origin of these books, of the canon, of the text, of translation and interpretation. He wrote in German, but also in French in order to introduce French readers to the high questions of religious criticism.² We may also men-

¹ *Geschichte der heiligen Schriften N. T.* 1843, 5th ed. 1874. [Translated by E. L. Houghton, 2 vols., Boston 1884.]

² *Histoire de la théologie chrétienne au siècle apostolique*, 2 vols. 1852, 3rd ed. 1864. [English translation, London 1872.] *Histoire du Canon des Ecritures saintes dans l'église chrétienne*, 1864. *La Bible. Traduction avec Introductions et Commentaires*, 12 vols. 1877–79. [History of the Canon of the Holy Scriptures in the Christian Church. Translated by D. Hunter, 1884.]

tion his edition of the Works of Calvin, edited in conjunction with Cunitz and Baum, and his learned Latin monograph on the editions of the Greek New Testament, published on the occasion of the inauguration of the German University of Strasburg in connection with the new Empire.¹

The interesting and instructive works of Professor KARL WEIZSÄCKER of Tübingen may also be placed here. Weizsäcker was born in 1822 near Heilbronn in Würtemberg, and has been Professor at Tübingen since 1861. His *Investigations into the Gospel History*² deserves to be particularly noticed. He appears to incline to the hypothesis of a primitive Gospel of which our Gospels may be imitations, more or less completed by other documents.

As the last important member of this group, we have THEODOR KEIM (1825-1878). Born at Stuttgart, he studied under Baur at Tübingen, became a Professor at Zurich, and then at Giessen. After having made his name known by certain historical monographs of considerable value,³ he developed in a voluminous work, entitled, the *History of Jesus of Nazara*,⁴ the ingenious and solid views which he had sketched in a small treatise on the *Historical Christ*.⁵ Keim examines, with great impartiality, and with a sagacity and critical tact that are worthy of the highest praise, the principal difficulties which are presented by the grave problem which he has undertaken to study. Keeping himself independent amid the various parties, while laying stress on the Tübingen School, Keim blames the disciples of Baur for the

¹ Bibliotheca N. T. Græci ejus editiones ab initio typographiæ ad nostram ætatem impressas quotquot reperiri potuerunt collegit, digessit, illustravit, 1872.

² Untersuchungen über die evangelische Geschichte, ihre Quellen u. den Gang ihrer Entwicklung, 1864. Zur Kritik des Barnabasbriefes, 1863. Das N. T. übersetzt, 1874. Das apostolische Zeitalter der christl. Kirche, 1886.

³ Der Uebertritt Constantins des Grossen zum Christenthum, 1862. Ambrosius Blaser der schwäbische Reformator, 1860.

⁴ Geschichte Jesu von Nazara in ihrer Verkettung mit dem Gesamtleben seines Volkes frei untersucht u. ausführlich erzählt, 3 vols. 1869-72. [History of Jesus of Nazara, considered in its connection with the National Life of Israel, and related in detail. Translated by A. Ransom, 6 vols. 1876-83.]

⁵ Der geschichtliche Christus. Quellenbeweis u. Chronologie des Lebens Jesu. 1866.

cavalier manner in which they often treat the texts, and the temerity with which they replace the received explanations by hypotheses that are advanced at hazard, and are more difficult to admit than the facts whose place they are meant to take. Keim observes great reserve on all the numerous and delicate questions with which the criticism of the Gospels is engaged. More explicit than Reuss, who does not pronounce distinctly on this point, he cannot decide to deny miracles, particularly that of the resurrection of Christ, which seems to him supported by the most solid historical testimonies. Keim considers the Gospel according to St. Matthew to be the oldest and most faithful of our Gospels; and it is according to that Gospel that he attempts to reconstruct the history of Jesus by giving particular attention to the development of the Messianic idea and character. He accentuates the Judaic type in the person of Jesus, lends him very pronounced particularistic views, and believes that, in eschatological matters especially, he shared the rude and erroneous ideas of His time. Keim's work is one of the most complete, most careful, and most ingenious that has been written on the life of Jesus. To a penetrating criticism, resting on the solidest erudition, he unites a powerful imagination, and the marvellous gift of animating and, so to speak, resuscitating before our eyes the past whose history he traces; but he is not entirely exempt from mere ingeniousness and a certain literary affectation.¹

VIII.

Among the scholars who have contributed most to develop Biblical science, either by bringing together the materials relating to the literary history of the Bible, or by co-ordinating and expounding the doctrine which it contains,

¹ Keim also published a third work on the Life of Jesus of a more popular character, and designed for the cultivated laity. It is entitled: Die Geschichte Jesu nach den Ergebnissen heutiger Wissenschaft übersichtlich erzählt, 1873. In connection with this work may be also mentioned his Aus dem Urchristenthum, 1878, and his Rom und das Christenthum, edited by Ziegler, 1881.

we have still to name Baumgarten-Crusius, Credner, and others.

BAUMGARTEN-CRUSIUS (1788–1843), Professor at Jena, applied all the resources of a fine, penetrating, and strictly impartial mind to Biblical theology and to the history of dogmas.¹ CARL AUGUST CREDNER (1797–1857), Professor at Giessen, was the author of works on Introduction to the New Testament and the History of the Canon, which show solid science.² They were the fruit of indefatigable investigation, and are expounded with rare lucidity. HERMANN HUPFELD (1796–1866) was Professor at Marburg and Halle. A pious Christian and a conscientious scholar, he was as scrupulous in his affirmations as he was exemplary and upright in his polemics, but he was heavy and prolix in form. Hostile to ingenious hypotheses and processes of allegorization, he was the author of an excellent Hebrew Grammar, of a learned commentary on the Psalms, and of a pamphlet on the conception and method of Biblical Introduction, which has in a manner renovated this science.³

GOTTHARD VICTOR LECHLER (1811–1888) was born at Kloster-Reichenbach, in Würtemberg. He became Professor at Leipsic, and applied himself in his work on the apostolic and post-apostolic Age to refute the views of the Tübingen School. While admitting to his adversaries the existence of divergences between the teaching of Paul and that of the Twelve, corresponding to the double current of Judaic Chris-

¹ Grundlinien der biblischen Theologie, Jena 1828. Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte, 1832, 2 vols. Compendium der Dogmengeschichte, 1840–46, 2 vols. Einleitung in das Studium der Dogmatik, Leipz. 1820. Handbuch der christlichen Sittenlehre, 1827.

² Beiträge zur Einleitung in die biblischen Schriften, Halle 1832–38. Einleitung in's N. T. 1836. Zur Geschichte des Kanons, Halle 1847. Das N. T. nach Zweck, Ursprung u. Inhalt, 1841–43, 2 vols. Geschichte des N. T. Kanons, Berl. 1859. Der Prophet Joel, 1831. Erörterung kirchlicher Zeitfragen, 1846.

³ Beiträge zur Bearbeitung der hebräischen Grammatik, 1841. Ueber den Begriff u. die Methode der sogenannten biblischen Einleitung, 1844. Ueber die Quellen der Genesis u. die Art ihrer Zusammensetzung, Berl. 1853. Commentar über die Psalmen, Gotha 1855–62, 4 vols., 2nd ed. by Richm., 1870. Die heutige theosophische oder mythologische Theologie u. Schriftterklärung, Berl. 1861. Cf. Richm.: H. Hupfeld, Ein Lebensbild, Halle 1867.

tianity and Pagan Christianity, he affirms at the same time their unity by bringing them both back to the teaching of Jesus Christ, their common master.¹

HEINRICH WILHELM JOSEPH THIERSCH (1817–1885), born at Munich, was first Professor at Marburg, and thereafter became pastor of the Irvingites at Munich, Augsburg, and Bâle. He likewise combated the theory of Baur's School. His works, and in particular his *History of the Christian Church in Antiquity*, are written with rare talent, an attractive warmth, and an unrivalled spirit of piety. They contain

¹ Das apostolische u. nachapostolische Zeitalter, Haarl. 1851, 2nd ed. 1857. Ueber den Begriff der Apologetik. Ein historischer Beitrag zur Bestimmung der Aufgabe, Methode u. Stellung dieser Wissenschaft, Stud. u. Krit. 1839, H. 3 (a remarkable essay). Geschichte des englischen Deismus, 1841. Johann von Wiclif u. die Vorgeschichte der Reformation, Leipz. 1873. [Dr. Lechler died at Leipsic on the 26th December 1888, aged 78. His importance as a theologian, and the special interest of his works to English students of Theology, may justify the reproduction of the following extracts from a recent obituary notice of him:—"Dr. Lechler was one of those theologians of whom Germany is justly proud, who combined vast erudition, indefatigable industry, and an inquiring spirit. He was at once an active worker and a voluminous writer. His was a very busy and productive life, as he long occupied with honour and distinction three offices, those of Professor of Theology in the University of Leipsic, Superintendent of the Lutheran Church in Leipsic, and minister of St. Thomas' Church in the same town. He is the author of numerous works, several of which have been translated into English; and his opinions connected with various critical matters are quoted with respect in theological works of various schools. Dr. Lechler was born at Kloster-Reichenbach, in Würtemberg, in 1811, and studied at Tübingen under the distinguished Ferdinand Baur. His theological studies were chiefly connected with ecclesiastical history, and, curious to say, with men and events connected with England. When a young man he published (in 1841) his History of English Deism (Geschichte des englischen Deismus), a work now out of print, but which at the time was regarded as a valuable record of an important phase of religious thought in England during the eighteenth century. In 1849 he obtained the prize given by the Tyler Theological Association at Haarlem, and in 1851 published a development of his prize essay under the title of the 'Apostolic and Post-Apostolic Times' (Das apostolische und nachapostolische Zeitalter). This work was designed to be an answer to the views promulgated by his former Professor, Dr. Baur, and adopted by the Tübingen School. It made a great impression in Germany, and passed through three editions; and in 1886 it was translated into English by the daughter of the celebrated Dr. Samuel Davidson, and published by T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh. In 1859 he wrote the exegetical portion of the commentary on the Acts of the Apostles in Lange's Bibelwerk, which has passed through four editions in Germany. It has been twice translated into English—in Scotland by Paton J. Gloag, D.D., in Clark's Foreign Theological Library; and in America by C. F. Schaeffer, D.D., in the American Lange Series. Then followed several monographs connected with English Church

views that are ingenious and profound, although sometimes questionable from the historical point of view.¹

BERNHARD WEISS, Professor in the University of Berlin, was born at Königsberg in 1827, became Professor there in 1857, at Kiel in 1863, and at Berlin in 1877. He is one of the masters of the modern Biblical criticism whose sound, well-pondered, and sometimes penetrating judgment carries very great weight in the questions which rise up in this sphere. He is well known from his valuable works on the Gospel of Mark and on the theology of Saint John, and especially by his Biblical theology of the New Testament. Weiss finds in the fact of Salvation as resumed in the appearance of Jesus Christ, the unity of the various doctrines contained in the books of the New Testament. It is

history: in 1862 a Life of Thomas Bradwardine, who was Archbishop of Canterbury in 1349; and in 1867 a Life of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln in 1200. In 1873 he published what he regarded as his greatest work, *John Wiclif and the History of the Pre-Reformation* (Johann Von Wiclif und die Vorgeschichte der Reformation). On the work he spent many years of labour, examining the libraries of Prague and Vienna, and bringing to light many writings of Wiclif hitherto unknown. This work was translated into English in 1878 by the late Principal Lorimer, under the title, "John Wiclif and his English Precursors," and a new edition of it was made in 1884 by Dr. Green. Besides these important works, Dr. Lechler was a constant contributor to the *Studien und Kritiken* and numerous other German magazines, and at the time of his death he was engaged along with Dibelius in the publication of "Tractates on Saxon Church History" (Beiträge zur sächsischen Kirchengeschichte). In private life Dr. Lechler, by his kind and gentle disposition, gathered around him a large acquaintance both of German and English scholars, with whom he carried on a constant correspondence. He has left the impress of his learning and abilities on German theology."—*Scotsman*, Jan. 2, 1889.]

¹ Geschichte der christlichen Kirche im Alterthum, 2 vols. 1852, 2nd ed. 1857. Versuch zur Herstellung des historischen Standpunktes für die Kritik der N. T. Schriften, 1845 (contains valuable contributions to the History of the Canon). Einige Worte über die Aechtheit der N. T. Schriften u. ihre Erweisbarkeit aus der ältesten Kirchengeschichte, gegenüber den Hypothesen der neuesten Kritiker, 1846. Vorlesungen über Katholicismus u. Protestantismus, 1846, 2nd ed. 2 vols. 1848. Erinnerungen an E. A. von Schaden, 1853. Ueber christliches Familienleben, 1855 (an ingenious and profound treatise on the Christian family life), 7th ed. 1876. Die Anfänge der heiligen Geschichte, 1876. Inbegriff der christl. Lehre, 1886. Die Kirche im apostol. Zeitalter, 3rd ed. 1879. Die Gleichnisse Christi, 2nd ed. 1875. Die Bergpredigt Christi, 2nd ed. 1878. Ueber den christl. Staat, 1875. Ueber die Gefahren und Hoffnungen der christl. Kirche, 2nd ed. 1873. C. H. Heller's Leben, 2 vols. 1876. Cf. P. Wigand: H. W. Thiersch's Leben, Bas. 1888. [The History of the Christian Church, translated (by Thomas Carlyle), vol. i. 1852.]

this fact in its concrete richness which has called forth the most varied manifestations in the domain of religious life and thought. According to Weiss, Mark was the primitive Gospel, and it served as a basis for Matthew and Luke. He has devoted particular care to the study of the doctrine of Saint Paul; and he establishes four stages in the development of the religious thought of the apostle to which there correspond four groups of Epistles: the Epistles to the Thessalonians, the four great Epistles (Romans, Galatians, 1 and 2 Corinthians), the so-called Epistles of the Captivity (Ephesians and Colossians), and the Pastoral Epistles.¹

The Biblical sciences are also indebted for much of their progress to WILHELM GESENIUS (1785–1842), who was professor at Halle. Gesenius was one of the first who applied to the study of the Hebrew language the principles of rational philology. His *Hebrew Grammar*, *Thesaurus*, and *Hebrew and Chaldee Dictionary*, are truly classical monuments of patient erudition and of solid linguistic knowledge.²

We may also say as much of the works of GEORG BENEDIKT WINER (1789–1858), Professor at Leipsic, who was the first to study and expound in a really scientific way the principles of the Hellenistic language of the New Testament. Winer also produced a *Biblical Dictionary*, in which he deposited with a

¹ Der petrinische Lehrbegriff, 1855. Der Philipperbrief ausgelegt, 1859. Der Johanneische Lehrbegriff in seinen Grundzügen, 1862. Lehrbuch der biblischen Theologie des N. T. 1868, 4th ed. 1884. Das Marcus-Evangelium u. seine Synoptische Parallele, 1872. Das Matthäus-evangelium, 1876. Leben Jesu, 1882, 2nd ed. 1884. Lehrbuch der Einleitung in das N. T. 1886.

[The Life of Christ, 3 vols., T. & T. Clark. Biblical Theology of the New Testament, 2 vols., T. & T. Clark. A Manual of Introduction to the New Testament, translated by Davidson, 1887.]

² Hebräische Grammatik, 1813, 23rd ed. by Kautzsch, 1891. Hebräisches und chaldäisches Wörterbuch, 1810–12, 9th ed. by Mühlau and Volek, 1882. Id. in Latin, 2nd ed. 1847. Geschichte der hebräischen Sprache u. Schrift, 1815, 2nd ed. 1827. Lehrgebäude der hebr. Sprache, 1817. Thesaurus criticus lingue Hebræe et Chaldaee, completed by Rüdiger, 3 vols. 1829–58. Der Prophet Jesaja Commentar, etc., 3 vols. 1821–29. Cf. Gesenius, Eine Erinnerung für seine Freunde, Berl. 1843.

[Gesenius' Students' Hebrew Grammar, translated by B. Davies, LL.D., 8th ed. 1885. A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament. English editions by E. Robinson, Boston 1836; and S. P. Tregelles, 1846, Bagster.]

conciseness and precision worthy of all praise his stores of valuable historical, geographical, and archæological knowledge concerning Palestine.¹

For the criticism of the text of the Bible, the names which most deserve to be mentioned are after Matthæi, those of Rödiger, Tittmann, Thilo, Theile,² and Lachmann.

CARL LACHMANN (1793–1851) was Professor at Berlin. He was the first to establish the principle that the attempt to find the authentic text must be given up, and that we must limit ourselves to ascertaining the oldest text, which this learned philologist thought might be placed in the time of Jerome.³ CONSTANTIN VON TISCHENDORF (1815–1874), the son of a physician, was an indefatigable traveller, and a Professor at Leipsic. He showed himself to be as bold and even more indefatigable as a textual critic than Lachmann. Tischendorf enriched the science of textual criticism with a multitude of discoveries, the most remarkable of which was that of the *Codex Sinaiticus*, which he discovered in a convent on Mount Sinai and afterwards published in splendid form. Tischendorf published no less than twenty-four critical editions of the New Testament, and was the author of many precious observations.⁴ He likewise examined the question as to the date of the redaction

¹ Grammatik des N. T. Sprachidioms, 1822, 7th ed. by Lünemann, 1867. Biblisches Realwörterbuch, 1820, 3rd ed. 1847. Lexicon manuale hebraicum et chaldaicum, 1827. Handbuch der theologischen Literatur, 1825–40. Comparative Darstellung des Lehrbegriffs der verschiedenen christl. Kirchenparteien, 1824, 3rd. ed. by Preuss, 1866.

[A treatise on the Grammar of New Testament Greek, 3rd ed. edited by W. F. Moulton, D.D., T. & T. Clark.]

² Biblia Hebraica ad ed. Van der Hooght, cum argum. not. C. G. Theile, 1860.

³ N. T. græcum ex recensione Caroli Lachmanni, 1831. Several later editions up to 1850.

⁴ N. T. græce textum, 1841. N. T. græce ex Sinaitico codice omnium antiquissimo, 1868. N. T. græce editio octava critica major, 1872. A critical edition of the LXX. 1850, 7th ed. in 2 vols. 1887. Evangelia Apocrypha, 1873, 2nd ed. 1877. Acta Apostolorum apocrypha, 1851. Notitia editionis Codicis Bibliorum Sinaitici, 1860. Bibliorum Codex Sinaiticus Petropolitanus, 1862. Appendix Codicum celeberrimorum Sinaitici, Vaticanæ, Alexandrinæ, 1867. Synopsis evangelica ex quatuor Evangelis brevi commentario illustravit, 4th ed. 1878. Terre Sainte, avec les Souvenirs du Grand-Duc Constantin, 1868. Anecdota sacra et profana ex Oriente et Occidente, etc., 1855. [Travels in the East, transl. by W. E. Shuckford, 1847.]

of our Gospels, collecting the testimonies of Irenæus, Tertullian, Theophanes, and Tatian, as well as those which are found dispersed in the writings of the heretics and the Apocryphal Gospels. (He thus succeeded in demonstrating that all the writings which form our sacred collection were known and quoted in the first quarter of the second century.¹)

The critical works of Holtzmann, Hitzig, Hausrath, and others, will be referred to in the following chapters.²

Among the critics who have been recently occupied with investigations of the Old Testament, reference must be specially made to JULIUS WELLHAUSEN, who has acquired a great reputation and authority on the subject. This eminent Orientalist was born at Hameln in 1844, and he became successively Professor at Greifswald in 1872, at Halle in 1882, and at Marburg in 1885. His critical investigations into the various writings of the Old Testament and the history of the people of Israel, have been expounded with rare talent in a series of works which have made a lively sensation, and have called forth burning controversies. Wellhausen determines in a definitive manner the epoch of the Mosaic Legislation, and shows by emphatic proofs that it could only have taken form in the time which followed the return from the exile, or under the reign of Hezekiah at the soonest. The Historical Books make no mention of institu-

¹ Wann wurden unsere Evangelien verfasst, 1865. Haben wir den achten Schrifttext der Evangelisten u. Apostel? 1872. [When were our Gospels written? An Argument. With a Narrative of the Discovery of the Sinaitic Manuscript, 1866. Origin of the Four Gospels. Translated by W. L. Gage, 1868. Are our Gospels genuine or not? A Lecture translated by T. J. Ormerod, Norwich 1869.]

² [Reference may be made to the German discussions of the remarkable treatise entitled the *Διδάχαι* or Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, the publication of which in 1833, by Philotheos Bryennios, Metropolitan of Nicomedia, is one of the most important and interesting facts connected with the earliest Christian Literature. Bryennios (born at Constantinople in 1833) studied at Leipsic, Berlin, and Munich. See for the German literature Dr. Schaff's work: The Oldest Church Manual called the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles. The Didaché and Kindred Documents, etc., 2nd ed., T. & T. Clark.]

tions and laws, which the books of the Pentateuch, or rather of the Hexateuch (the book of Joshua being included along with it), either ignore in like manner, or consider as existing for all time. Thus, on the one hand, the author of the Jehovistic Document knows nothing of the unity of worship which the Deuteronomist demands as an institution which has not yet prevailed in practice. And, on the other hand, the author of the Elohist Document sees the unity of the worship so well established around him, that he transports its origin without hesitation back to the most distant times.¹

[The same line of investigation and criticism has been pursued by BERNARD STADE. Stade was born at Arnstadt in Thuringia in 1848. He studied at Leipsic and Berlin, and became Professor of Theology at Giessen in 1875. His work, while based on the results of Wellhausen and Kuenen, shows special learning, independence, and freedom in its attempts at a new construction of the History of Israel.²]

¹ Wellhausen first expounded his views in a series of Articles in the *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, 1876, under the title: *Composition des Hexateuchs*; then in the 4th edition of Bleek's *Einleitung in das A. T.*, and more fully in his *Geschichte Israels*, 1878, 2nd ed. 1886. See also *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, 2nd ed. 1883, and his *Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten*, 1887. Cf. Naumann: *Wellhausen's Methode kritisch beleuchtet*, 1886. [*Prolegomena to the History of Israel*, translated by J. S. Black, M.A., and Allan Menzies, B.D., 1885. See also Wellhausen's Article on the Pentateuch in the new ed. of the *Encyclop. Britan.* vol. xviii.]

² [*Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 1881 sqq. Stade has edited the *Zeitschrift für A. T. Wissenschaft* since 1881. Cf. R. Kittel: *Geschichte der Hebräer*, I. Important investigations of the text, philology and literary relations of the Old Testament, and elucidation of its contents by the study of the cognate Shemitic languages and literatures, are characteristic of the new Biblical Criticism. Among the great Oriental scholars whose names are identified with these researches, may be mentioned Delitzsch (p. 432), Baer, Fürst, Dillmann, Lagarde, Merx, Nöldeke, Strack, Schrader and Baethgen. Similarly important labours on the New Testament in connection with its philology, exegesis, and canonical history, have been carried on by Cremer, Grimm, Klöpfer, and Zahn. Accounts of the lives and works of these distinguished scholars, with whom Orelli and Christlieb are associated, will be found in the *Appendix*.]

CHAPTER IV.

THE NEW LUTHERANISM.

I.

THE Old Lutherans, who left the Church from fidelity to the old dogmas on account of the introduction of the Union into Prussia, formed an exclusively religious party, which had its confessors and martyrs, but led a somewhat obscure existence. This was not the case with the New Lutherans, as we may call them. This party owed its origin and importance to the revolution of 1848, and the reaction which followed it. It was developed especially in those parts of the country into which the united Church had not been officially introduced, as in Mecklenburg, Saxony, Hanover, and Bavaria. Afterwards, however, it spread in Prussia likewise, and in other districts won over to the cause of the Union. Undoubtedly the Neo-Lutherans have not formed a compact party. The members of which it is composed obey interests which are either purely theological, or ecclesiastical, or juridico-political; yet they are usually leagued together, and lend each other mutual support.

What strikes us, first of all, regarding them is the compromising connection which has been established between the political and the ecclesiastical interests in the heart of the conservative party, and the close alliance formed between the Lutheran pastorate and the feudal party. Its object is to defend the throne and the altar, the two divine institutions which are alike threatened by the democracy, and to combat to the death the anarchy of ideas and the progress of Parliamentary institutions. To shake authority in the

domain of the State by theories subversive of the rights of majorities and of parliamentary control is, in the eyes of this party, to ruin with the same blow authority in the religious as well as in the political domain. Before the rising flood of democratic ideas, which were imported principally from France, and in presence of the danger of a political and social revolution, the conservative party considered how to take advantage of the resources which the Church put at its disposal; and in like manner the Church, threatened by the development of philosophical ideas and the progress of Biblical criticism, sought a refuge in the arms of the State, without seeing that this union in its reactionary spirit was otherwise fatal, and was about to discredit the Church in another way than was done by the Union as decreed in 1817 between the Lutherans and the members of the Reformed Church.

What distinguishes the new Lutheran tendency, in the second place, is the repulsion inspired in it by pietism, which it puts on the same level as rationalism, disparaging and pursuing them both under the common name of subjectivism or individualism. Hengstenberg, in his manifesto of 1840, had already laid bare the alleged weaknesses of pietism, and the importance attributed by it to good works to the detriment of justification by faith alone, as well as its depreciation of doctrine, of the priesthood, and of the Church, together with its separatistic tendency. Kliefoth, in an address to the theological Faculty of Göttingen, renewed these attacks, and made them more definite. He calls Spener an exotic plant in the Lutheran Church; it is he who has weakened and torn it by introducing the fatal leaven of subjectivism. Pietism has made an alliance with rationalism, as Herod did with Pilate. These Neo-Lutherans rank under the category of adversaries of the true faith, Schleiermacher, Neander, and their disciples, as well as the whole so-called school of mediation or conciliation from Ullmann to Hengstenberg himself. They call them ideologists who, cherishing the dream of a Church of the future, have misunderstood the

Church of the present. In their view, the Church is not an idea nor an ideal; it is a fact, an objective institution guaranteed by laws and treaties. Its sphere is not the religious and moral sphere merely, but above all the juridical domain. As to religion, it ought not to be considered specially as a feeling or a direction of life, but as a dogma. The Neo-Lutherans insist above everything on pure doctrine; it is the crown, the inviolable sanctuary, the celestial treasure of the Church. The distinction between the fundamental Articles and the secondary Articles of doctrine, is a diabolical invention designed to seduce the minds of men and to turn them away from the truth. Everything in the true doctrine holds good; everything in it is fundamental. In consistency with themselves, the leaders of this party emulate each other in their eagerness to restore to honour the dogmatic formulæ of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; they strive to inculcate them on the intelligence, or at least on the memory, of the men of our generation who have forgotten them. Faith and inward experience must accommodate themselves to these formulæ as best they can. The essential point is that the confessions of faith, in which religious truth has found its most perfect expression, shall be anew brought into force wherever they have fallen into desuetude, and that they shall be imposed as the supreme rule of preaching and of theological teaching.

Nor is this all. In conformity with its principle, this Lutheran School finds itself compelled to complete and to go beyond its Confessions. In presence of the propositions regarding salvation by the *sola fide*, which are manifestly unfavourable to them, it affirms that the Reformers allowed themselves to be carried too far in their zeal against Roman practices, and that they have not sufficiently brought forward the positive side of the dogma of the Church, or its visible and sacramental character. Accordingly, by putting in place of the act and function of personal faith, the act and function of the sacrament, these theorists make the idea of the Church repose on the latter of the two. All the baptized are born

members of the Church, and constitute an integrant part of the community, for it is baptism which confers faith. Divinely established in its visible organism, the Church has orders to which are entrusted the regular administration of the sacraments and the maintenance of ordinances. To the Protestant dogma of the universal priesthood, they oppose the theory of the clerical priesthood and of the sacramental character of ordination. The Protestant minister becomes again a kind of mediating functionary between the flock and God, and the faithful are reduced to play a purely passive part in face of the Word and of the Sacraments. This is what is called "realism" in opposition to the idealism of which the Lutherans accuse their adversaries of making themselves guilty.

The principal organs of this party have been the *Review for the whole Lutheran Theology and Church*,¹ edited by Delitzsch and Guericke; the *Protestant Review of Erlangen*,² formerly directed by Hofmann and some of his colleagues; the *Saxon Periodical for Church and School*,³ when edited by Kahnis; the *Rostock Ecclesiastical Review*,⁴ when published under the direction of Kliefoth and Mejer; the *Monthly Magazine for the Lutheran Church of Prussia*,⁵ edited by Wangemann; and the *Lutheran Gazette*,⁶ published under the direction of Luthardt. We shall see farther on that facts hardly correspond to theory, and that if the Lutherans reserve all their severity for their adversaries, they show themselves full of indulgence to their own heresies. It suffices them that one should attach himself externally to the Lutheran symbols and adopt the particular words of the order of the

¹ Zeitschrift für die gesammte lutherische Theologie u. Kirche von Dr. Delitzsch u. Dr. Guericke, Leipzig.

² Zeitschrift für Protestantismus u. Kirche von v. Hofmann u. Anderen, Erlangen.

³ Sachsisches Kirchen- u. Schulblatt.

⁴ Kirchliche Zeitschrift.

⁵ Monatsschrift für die evangelisch-lutherische Kirche Preussens.

⁶ Allgemeine evangelisch-lutherische Kirchenzeitung.

To these must also be added the *Dorpat Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, and the *Pastoral theologische Blätter*, founded by Vilmar.

party. It is astonishing to see what divergences from the confessions of faith, and how much independence of the ecclesiastical dogmas, are sheltered beneath the accommodating mantle of Lutheranism.

II.

The head of the Neo-Lutheran party for many years was FRIEDRICH JULIUS STAHL (1802-1861). He was born at Munich of Jewish parents, his father being a cattle-dealer. In his student days he already set himself in violent opposition to his fellow-student, Feuerbach. It was under the influence of Schelling and his philosophy that Stahl joined the Lutheran Church at Erlangen in 1819. He studied law, and was not slow in distinguishing himself by his extraordinary ability. Appointed at first Professor at Erlangen, and then at Würzburg, he was called in 1840 to Berlin, conjointly with Schelling, in order to combat the influence of the philosophy of Hegel. It was from his colleague that he borrowed his polemics against the rational philosophy of *a priori* reason and the pure logical necessities. He demanded a wheel-about of science towards positive doctrines, and he soon exchanged the idealism of Schelling for the Lutheran confessionism. The various works of Stahl show the development of his ideas towards a more and more authoritative doctrine. This is already found in germ, although still skilfully veiled, in his *Philosophy of Law from the historical point of view*.¹ He endeavours to derive the idea of Right and of the State from the Christian revelation. In a criticism of the various juridical systems, he admits only those to be philosophical which regard the world as the product of a free act of God. He establishes the divine right of kings, and the necessity of their consecration; and he condemns revolutions while assigning them a place in the plan of the divine Providence. He demands that the public

¹ Philosophie des Rechts nach geschichtlichen Ansichten, 1830-37, 3rd ed. 1854.

policy shall be regulated according to Christian principles, and that it shall exercise an earnest activity on public morality, on religion, teaching, and literature. As to Christianity, Stahl conceives it only as a State-religion. In his second work on the *Constitution of the Church according to the doctrine and law of Protestants*,¹ he extols the episcopal system as the only legitimate one from the point of view of history.

From the year 1845, Stahl's writings followed each other in rapid succession, either in the form of pamphlets or in large volumes designed to defend the monarchical principle and the Lutheran Church.² Intimately connected with Hengstenberg, he found himself at the head of the confessional minority in the General Synod of 1846. His importance continued to increase from the year 1848. We may follow the principal features in the portrait drawn of him by Schwarz, who has admirably characterized him. Stahl was the chief of the feudal and authoritarian party in the Upper House, in the Councils of the Government, in the ecclesiastical diets, in the pastoral conferences, and in the Christian associations. Faithful to his motto, "I serve," he put his skilful speech and his brilliant talent as a writer into the service of the great cause of order; and he succeeded in disciplining, concentrating, and combining all the reactionary elements of the time. To clothe the egoism of the feudal party with the unctuous forms of Christian piety, to elevate the arbitrariness of absolute power to the rank of a divine institution, to hold up the spectre of revolution and atheism before anxious imaginations, to play with the words of liberty and toleration by giving them an absolutely inoffensive sense, and to insult

¹ Die Kirchenverfassung nach Lehre u. Recht der Protestanten, 1840, 2nd ed. 1862.

² Ueber Kirchenzucht, 1845. Das monarchische Princip, 1846. Fundamente einer christlichen Philosophie, 1846. Der christliche Staat u. sein Verhältniss zu Deismus u. Judenthum, 1847. Ueber Revolution u. constitutionelle Monarchie, 1848. Was ist Revolution? 1852. Der Protestantismus als politisches Princip, 1853. Die catholischen Widerlegungen, 1854. Ueber christliche Toleranz, 1855. Wider Bunsen, 1856. Die lutherische Kirche u. die Union, 1859.

the Protestant consciousness by accusing it of subjectivism: such was the task which this brilliant spirit imposed on itself. All that still remained to him of the idealism of the years of his youth, was employed in furthering the narrow interests of his party. He had the ability to understand his time, and to find formulas for the sad years of fear and oppression through which Germany passed from 1849 to 1858. Endowed with great pliability, and possessing an incomparable clearness and elegance of style, Stahl was an able diplomatist and an eloquent and clever orator; and he succeeded in poetizing and defending, with an appearance of depth and science, the superannuated privileges of the country squires and the crude conceptions of the Lutheran pastors. Elevating their prejudices to the height of principles, he surrounded them with a Christian halo by dexterously pressing the Bible and the religious traditions into their service. He exercised an absolute domination over his whole party, whose noisy enthusiasm must have often filled his fine and cultivated spirit with disgust.

It has been said of Stahl that he was a Prussian Guizot, but it would be more just to compare him to the late Benjamin Disraeli, Lord Beaconsfield. Essentially subtle and insinuating, he adorned his speeches and his writings with fine points and brilliant antitheses, and he excelled in the art of finding formulæ and multiplying definitions. To the most common and brutal truths he could give a peculiar lustre, a sort of nobleness, a certain aristocratic turn. In the midst of the most irritating controversy, he was always full of control. Exclusive and intractable in the matter of principles, he shows a rare politeness and urbanity in his intercourse with men. His habitual tactics consisted in making apparent concessions in order to triumph thereafter on occasion more easily. A consummate dialectician, no one knew better how to juggle with ideas and words. At the same time a formidable sophist, he changed his position and attitude with a perplexing dexterity. He was ready, if necessary, to defend the most diverse theses. He has himself described his true

talent as lying in the gift of seizing great historical conceptions; but his views are merely hollow formulæ; the reality is always submerged and lost in the appearance. Stahl resembles the Catholic controversialists and casuists. His logic is at the service of what is opportune, expedient, and necessary for the maintenance of order and authority, and for the defence of the established powers. He was the Bismarck of thought. With him too, but in the intellectual order, might takes precedence of right; the formula oppresses the truth. What is lacking to him is real sentiment, or the simple and severe sense of truth; in a word, conscience. No flame is ever felt in his speech; it is polished like steel, but dry and heartless. Nor could any one ever surprise an emotion on that face, which was wan and smoothed like parchment, notwithstanding its fine features and its piercing look.

In his works, Stahl has embraced both the science of law and that of faith, the sphere of the State and that of the Church; and by a natural enough confusion, he has treated law as a theologian, and theology as a jurist. Proclaiming their intimate union, he applied himself to making the masses bend under their common authority. In his view, the State is the Kingdom of God upon earth, and the Church is a juridical institution, guaranteed by compacts and administered by the clergy. What the clergy are in the Church, the prince is in the State: he is the vicar of God, His delegate. In the State, God Himself is the true master and legislator. The prince reigns only in His name; his authority rests only on the divine institution of royalty. In like manner, revelation is the authority in the Church, and reason owes it an absolute submission. Revolution and rationalism are the two inseparable scourges of modern times, which undermine the foundations of obedience and provoke the emancipation of man from God. The true sin is individual liberty, free inquiry in matters of faith, and free determination of the will in the State. This diabolical revolt of the subject against

authority in the State and in the Church precisely constitutes revolution and rationalism. This revolution is not an act, or a particular localized fact; it is a permanent state, a bad principle which is always active, a doctrine which, since 1789, seduces and corrupts the peoples. To found the public weal on the will of man, instead of founding it on God's order, is the unwholesome aspiration of the present time. Accordingly the whole programme of the Christian is to break with the revolutionary spirit.

The revolutionary spirit proclaims the sovereignty of the people under the form of a republic, or of a constitutional monarchy in which the king is the slave of the parliament. It claims liberty, that is, the *laissez faire*, in all spheres; equality, that is, the abolition of all the classes and of the whole social organism; the separation of Church and State, that is, the purity of all doctrines and all cults; chartism, that is, the abolition of the natural constitution of the country, and the abolition of all rights acquired in the interest of the people. It calls for a new partition of the States according to nationalities, that is to say, contrary to historical right. In a word, the spirit of revolution seeks to destroy the plan of God, according to which every one has a different position, vocation, and right in society. Rationalism, again, is the emancipation of man from God. Man, according to the rationalist, has no need of revelation, his reason being enlightened enough; nor of grace, his will being strong enough; nor of expiation by the blood of Christ, his virtue being rich enough to be sufficient for everything. Rationalism is faith in man and Satanic adoration of self, replacing faith in God and the adoration of God.

The testing point in Stahl's theory is how to determine the signs by which one may recognise authority and the place in which it resides. There is nothing more uncertain than historical right; nor is there anything more fragile, especially when one is found in presence of a monarchy as young as that of Prussia, and of an idea as contrary to the essence of Protestantism as that of the Episcopate. Stahl never gives

over speaking about divine institutions without definitely finding for them any unassailable foundation. This is the side on which he approaches nearest to Catholicism, and in many respects even remains inferior to it, for there cannot be two systems of authority equally logical and equally perfect. Accordingly, it is to Stahl that what may be called the German Puseyism is to be attached.

III.

For a number of years, the minds of men in Germany were keenly roused by the controversies carried on regarding the idea of the Church and the ministry. It is matter of fact that on this point the doctrine of Luther, and even that of the Symbolical Books, remains in a vagueness calculated to disturb ardent minds. Ought Luther's ideas regarding the Church to be developed in the sense of his doctrine of faith, or in that of his doctrine of the Sacraments? It is needless to say that the Neo-Lutherans chose the second of these alternatives. It is thus that the sacramental idea of the Church was formed. Faith was no longer considered as the condition, but as the result, of the efficaciousness of the Sacraments. The Church, according to this theory, possesses in the Sacraments a treasury of grace, a source of forces which act on man in virtue of the proper efficaciousness resident in the water of baptism, and in the body and blood of Jesus Christ, offered to the communicants in the Holy Supper.

Among the theologians who represent this tendency with most distinction, we may first mention WILHELM LÖHE (1808-1872).¹ He was born at Fürth, was educated at the University of Erlangen, and was pastor at Neuendettelsau from 1837. Gifted with an ardent faith and powerful talent as a preacher, he became the centre of a considerable religious activity which had both a Puseyite and dissenting character.

¹ Cf. W. Löhe's Leben. Aus seinem schriftl. Nachlasse zusammengestellt, 2 vols., Nürnberg. 1873-80.

Löhe, like Ludwig Harms, had, in a high degree, the gift of governing souls. His ascetic writings were much appreciated,¹ as well as his treatise on pastoral theology published under the title *The Evangelical Minister*.² But it was especially his treatise *On the Church*³ which made most impression. In it he developed views which notably diverge from the spirit of Protestantism. According to Löhe, the relation of the Christian with God depends on his relation with the Church. Out of the Church there is no salvation, for it contains in fact all those who are saved. The part of truth which saves in the Church does not reside in the Word of God, which is exposed to the alteration of texts, to the aberrations of interpretation, and to the errors of criticism. This part of truth is found by Löhe in Baptism, which, owing to its sacramental character, escapes from error and alteration. This new theory, however, is still but timidly sketched as yet; Löhe thinks that he must surround it with the trappings of a brilliant rhetoric in order to make it more acceptable.

Löhe's affirmations are bolder in reference to purity of doctrine, which, according to him, is the sign of the true Church. It is impossible that two Churches should have the whole truth at once, since they would forthwith cease to be divided. On the other hand, it is just as impossible to admit that none of the visible Churches possesses it, for that would be in formal disaccordance with the promises of the Lord. One Church alone possesses the truth in its fulness; it is the Church which contains most truth, for to have most truth in this matter is to have the full truth. Now the Lutheran Church possesses in its Confessions of Faith a doctrine that is perfectly pure, and one in which there is not an iota to be changed; for no one has ever

¹ Rosenmonate heiliger Frauen. Wunder- u. Herzensgeschichte aus dem Leben aller katholischen Heiliginnen, 1860.

² Der evangelische Geistliche, Stuttgart. 1847-48, 4th ed. 1872.

³ Drei Bücher von der Kirche. Den Freunden der luther. Kirche zur Uebersetzung u. Besprechung dargeboten, Stuttgart. 1845. See also his Kirche u. Amt, neue Aphorismen, 1858. Saamenkörner des Gebets. Ein Taschenbüchlein für evangelische Christen, Nordl. 1872, 25th ed.

proved that these symbols have been mistaken on a single point.

The work of Delitzsch on the same subject, announced itself by its title and contents as the complement of Löhe's views.¹ FRANZ DELITZSCH was born at Leipsic in 1813, of poor but pious parents, and became Professor successively at Rostock, Erlangen, and Leipsic. He has chiefly occupied himself with the subject of the Old Testament and Biblical Theology. With a science that is almost Rabbinical in its distinctions and subtleties, he combines a mysticism that is ardent and abounding in picturesque images. He has been surnamed "the typical theologian," on account of his passion for symbols. Everything is viewed by him as prefigured in everything, particularly in the domain of the Bible. Delitzsch, whose spirit is rich in original thoughts and ingenious combinations, is always on the watch for a deep meaning. Moreover, he is regarded as among the most amiable personalities that represent contemporary Lutheranism; and in several of his works he has given proof of true breadth, notably in his Commentary on Genesis, for the composition of which he admits the existence of several sources. "The possibility of miracles and prophecies," he says in his Introduction to Genesis, "is guaranteed to the believer by the miracle of regeneration, and the efficiency of the Holy Spirit as attested by his personal experience. The believer likewise keeps an entirely free attitude towards the miracles and prophecies of Scripture; he believes himself neither obliged to admit them lightly, nor to reject them *à priori*. Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty, and consequently also the truly free criticism which is not condemned either to affirm or to deny from preconceived motives, but which finds itself in a condition for judging soundly according to historical data, whether of the past or of the present."²

¹ Vier Bücher von der Kirche, 1847. [See also account of Delitzsch in *App.*]

² Geschichte der jüdischen Poesie, 1836. De Habacuci prophetæ vita, etc., 1844. Das Sacrament des wahren Leibes u. Blutes J. C., 1844, 6th ed. 1876.

Delitzsch does not admit that a distinction is to be made between the visible Church and the invisible Church. The source of life which nourishes the Church is the Sacraments. His whole theory rests on the idea that the Church, being the body of Christ, ought to be founded on His person, corporeal as well as spiritual. The Man-God clothed with His transfigured human nature, acts on the whole physical and moral existence of the members of whom He is the head. Between the Word and the Sacraments there is a difference, which is all to the advantage of the latter. The Word acts only upon those who believe; the Sacraments act invariably upon all those who receive them; and this they do in an irresistible way, *ex opere operato*, for salvation or perdition.

In this first and still timid attempt to identify the visible Church with the invisible Church, there already breaks through the danger which Protestantism runs of seeing itself despoiled of the character which essentially distinguishes it from Catholicism. The object is to substitute for the spiritual bond of the faith which unites the faithful believer to Christ, the more or less external and magical bond of the sacrament. The real aim is to supplant the idea of the community as a religious association grouped around the Word, by that of an institution which is to be the depository and dispenser of means of grace, bestowed by the creative power of God Himself. It is evident that there is only one step farther to be taken to establish the necessity of a priesthood of divine institution

Die biblische prophetische Theologie, 1845. Vom Hause Gottes oder der Kirche, 1848. Das Hohelied, 1851. Die Genesis, 1852, 5th ed. 1887. Die Psalmen, 2 vols. 1859-60, 3rd ed. 1873. Jesaja, 3rd ed. 1879. Hiob, 2nd ed. 1876. Salom. Schriften (Prov., Song of Sol., Eccles.), 1875. Der Ebräerbrief, 1877. Biblische Theologie u. apolog. kritische Studien, 2 vols. 1845-48. System der bibl. Psychologie, 1855, 2nd ed. 1861. System der christlichen Apologetik, 1869. Handwerkersleben zur Zeit Jesu, 1875. [Jewish Artisan Life in the time of our Lord. Transl. by Monkhouse, 1877.] Ein Tag in Kapernaum, 1871.

[A new Commentary on the Book of Genesis, 2 vols. 1888, T. & T. Clark. Also translations of his Commentaries on Job (2 vols.), Psalms (3 vols.), Proverbs (2 vols.), Song of Solomon and Ecclesiastes (1 vol.), Isaiah (2 vols.), Hebrews (2 vols.), and A System of Biblical Psychology (1 vol.), T. & T. Clark. Translation of Commentary on the Psalms, by D. Eaton, 3 vols., Hodder & Stoughton.]

by the intermediation of the Apostles who were the visible representatives of Christ on earth.¹

The principles regarding the Church enunciated by Delitzsch, have been developed by MÜNCHMEYER, inspector of the Church in Hanover, in his essay on *The Dogma of the Visible and Invisible Church*.² He first shows that the Lutheran theory of the Church has not yet received the precision and the development which it requires; and that it is incumbent on contemporary Lutheranism to supply this want. Its task is to apply to the Church the Lutheran idea of the Sacrament, and thus to approach the objective realism of the Roman Church while removing itself more and more from the dangerous spiritualism of the Reformed Churches. Münchmeyer finds the Holy Universal Church realized in a visible historical form. It is a vast institution, a spiritual mother entrusted with bringing forth children to the Lord by the holy act of baptism. It is composed of two elements of equal importance, and clothed with a character equally divine and absolute: a visible element and an invisible element. It may even be said that the latter exists only in so far as the former precedes and constitutes it. The invisible element is the derived element.

Endowed with an existence which is independent of the faith of its members, the Church is composed of the whole of the baptized. The Word of God may indeed prepare the heart and make the first elements of faith spring up, but Baptism alone begets members in the body of Christ. The Church is founded on Baptism. The profession of faith of the new Lutheranism thus becomes more and more explicit.

¹ The two sons of Delitzsch, Johannes and Friedrich, are also known as theologians. Johannes Delitzsch, born in 1846, died in 1876. He published the first volume of an exposition of the doctrinal System of the Roman Church: *Das Lehrsystem der römischen Kirche*. Vol. I. *Das Grunddogma, oder die Lehre von der Kirche*, 1875. Friedrich Delitzsch, born in 1850, has distinguished himself in Assyrian studies, and he occupies at Leipsic the first chair of Assyriology founded in Germany. He has published: *Assyrische Studien*, 1874. *Wo lag das Paradies*, 1881. *Assyrisches Wörterbuch zur gesammten bisher veröffentlichten Keilschriftliteratur*, etc.

² *Das Dogma von der sichtbaren und unsichtbaren Kirche*, Gött. 1854. *Das Amt des N. T. nach der Lehre der Schrift u. nach dem lutherischen Bekenntnisse*.

What constitutes the title of a member of the Church is not the faith awakened, but the baptism received; it is not the personal assimilation of salvation, it is the sacrament administered; it is not the individual conversion, it is the magical action of divine grace. The sacramental theory of the Church is thus complete.

IV.

The most remarkable product of the new Lutheran School is without question the work of Kliefoth on the Church.¹ THEODOR FRIEDRICH DETLEV KLIEFOTH was born in 1810 at Korchow in Mecklenburg. He is Superintendent and Member of the higher Ecclesiastical Council at Schwerin, and is the head and soul of the Church of Mecklenburg, which he superintends in the spirit of an ultra-confessional Lutheranism. His work on the Church is an able and brilliant polemic against the ideas put in circulation by the disciples of pietism and the partisans of the collegial system; it may be called a magisterial rescript against the principles of individualism in matters of religion. The system conceived by Kliefoth has a certain aspect of greatness; its author displays a fruitful imagination, rigorous logic, and historical and philosophical views which are not lacking in breadth. The occasional weak points of his deduction are disguised with wonderful art; and the glittering drapery of the objective form otherwise covers the vices of the subjective reasoning.

Kliefoth examines the idea of the Kingdom of God in its relations to the idea of the Church. If pietism, which occupied itself only with the individual salvation of souls, has identified the Kingdom of God with the Church in such a way that outside of the pious communities there was no place for the

¹ *Acht Bücher von der Kirche*, 1854. *Einleitung in die Dogmengeschichte*, 1839. *Theorie des Cultus der evang. Kirche*, 1844. *Liturgische Abhandlungen*, 8 vols. 1854-61. *Commentaries: Sacharja*, 1861; *Ezekiel*, 2 vols. 1864-65; *Daniel*, 1868; *Offenbarung Johannis*, 3 vols. 1874; and several *Collections of Sermons* from 1834 to 1859. Kliefoth and Meyer have edited the *Kirchliche Zeitschrift*.

action of God and for the activity of the Christian, Kliefoth, on the contrary, would identify the Church itself with this Kingdom. According to his view, it embraces the totality of human existence and of the relations and institutions of which the terrestrial economy is composed. The object of salvation is less the individual man than the totality of the human individuals; humanity taken as a whole, the cosmos. Salvation does not transmit itself by means of individuals to peoples, and thence to the entire world, in order to transform it to the image of Christ. It follows an opposite path; beginning by the action of God on the world in general, it extends through the medium of the peoples and their institutions to the isolated individuals.

If Jesus Christ has implanted salvation in the world, the Holy Spirit by the medium of the Church implants the world in salvation. The great error of Protestantism, according to Kliefoth, who cannot repeat it too often, has been to conceive the action of the Holy Spirit as exercising itself only on individual souls under the form of sanctification, and to have understood nothing of its other manifestations, its restorative action on bodies, on established institutions, and on the totality of the terrestrial order, including the inanimate creation. The Holy Spirit creates the physical and spiritual life, distributes it in bodies, makes sanctified individualities spring from it, and appropriates the order of nature to the order of grace. It thus constructs for itself a dwelling in the bosom of humanity; or rather the world itself in its totality is destined to become this dwelling. The Church is a visible organism, which has its foundations in the Trinity, but which has been brought down to the earth in order to shelter us under its ægis and to embrace us within its bonds. The Church is our mother, our nurse, our teacher.

The necessity of the Sacraments flows, according to Kliefoth, from the very fact of the incarnation. If God has manifested Himself incarnate in the person of Jesus Christ, it must be the case that He continues to manifest Himself in the same way and to dwell among us in a visible

and material manner. The spiritual omnipresence of the Son is not sufficient; it is necessary that He be continually present to our senses. In the Scripture God speaks to man; its object is to nourish in us the divine life, and to shed it forth in thought and in the daily activity. In the Sacrament, on the contrary, God acts with man. He concentrates in a visible act the sum-total of the divine graces in order to confer them upon us. The Sacrament is a creative act; it is the arm of God which fashions the human soul in the image of Christ.

The Word, owing to its spiritual character, may evaporate or be altered; the Sacrament is impressed with an indelible stamp; it is the asylum and the rock of divine truth in the Church.

As the action of God on the world is indissolubly bound to the Church and its means of grace, the distinction established between those who administer and those who receive them (*δόσις καὶ λήψις*), far from having supervened in consequence of a gradual historical development, is of no less than divine origin. The priesthood has a character of indelibility in all points similar to that with which the means of grace themselves are invested. Kliefoth's clerical sympathies stand out clearly from the very vehemence with which he reprehends an age emancipated from all ecclesiastical guardianship. He claims for the priesthood, now fallen from its ancient greatness, the veneration and obedience which past ages accorded to it. According to Kliefoth, the government of the Church constitutes a function, or special ministry distinct from the priesthood properly so called. It is invested with a power divinely conferred, of regulating and maintaining the ecclesiastical ordinances, and of bringing into the vast organism of the Church all that naturally belongs to it. This sovereign authority is exercised at bottom by the celestial Trinity Itself; but it is delegated on earth to the Church, which in turn can invest the State with it. Here, with all deference to our author, we have all the elements of the Catholic dogma of the Papacy under the modified form of Cæsaro-Papalism.

The Church of Kliefoth is not yet the mediatorial Church,

the institution which has all power on earth to bestow salvation. It is almost this, however. For, in fine, from the moment that Christ willed that an institution should represent Him visibly on this earth, and that salvation was attached to the indelible signs with which it marks its members, He must have also invested it with a power of effecting in His room and in His place, salvation in individuals. In truth, there is so little question in the whole of this system of the personal relationship of the soul with Christ, that at moments it seems as if, in order to be saved, it suffices to be put into contact with the establishment in which the Holy Spirit dwells, and in which the Spirit acts by means of the Sacraments.

V.

The *enfant terrible* of the new Lutheran party was AUGUST FRIEDRICH CHRISTIAN VILMAR (1800-1868).¹ He was born at Solz in Hesse, and became a member of the higher ecclesiastical Council at Cassel, and a Professor at Marburg. In concert with his friend the Minister, Hassenpflug, he was the head of the political and ecclesiastical reaction in Electoral Hesse. What was particularly repellent in the proceedings of Vilmar was that he aimed at nothing less than endowing a Church of Reformed origin and sympathies with institutions essentially Lutheran, and even Roman. A man of cultivated mind, well versed in classical and German philology, the author of an esteemed History of German Literature, and a distinguished and beloved professor, Vilmar yet threw himself with a passion verging on fury, into the arms of the reaction. His bitter zeal is perhaps explained by the inconsistencies with which he had to reproach himself. After having belauded "the immortal conquests of 1848," he cursed that "year of shame," and laboured to

¹ Cf. Grau: Vilmar und Von Hofmann, *Erinnerungen*, 1879. Leimbach: F. C. Vilmar, 1875. See also: Dr. A. Vilmar's und seiner Anhänger Stellung zu den wichtigsten politischen und Kirchlichen Fragen, 1865.

extirpate the traces which it had left in all spheres with an incredible violence and cynicism of language.

In a little work which became famous, Vilmar set forth openly the wishes and hopes of his party.¹ The whole theological movement of Germany from the beginning of this century is attacked and branded in this work. The author has not rage and insult enough to pour forth against what he calls "the theology of rhetoric," to which he professes to oppose "the theology of facts." Through the bespattering mud, which is thrown at all the great names of modern theology, we may try to search out the mother idea of this opusculum, which is the maturest fruit of the tendency which we are endeavouring to characterize. It is to Vilmar that the honour belongs of having inscribed on the standard of his party the name "realism," which will remain to it, and which, as will be seen, insufficiently conceals that of materialism; for the rhetoric which the professor of Marburg condemns in the theory of Schleiermacher and his successors, is just spiritualism.

Theology, according to Vilmar, is the science of religious realities. All that does not exercise a direct practical influence on the religious life of the flock, ought to be carefully banished from it. The curiosity which seeks to take account of Christian experiences, and to apply speculative reflection to religious questions, is the most effective means by which the tempter surprises and corrupts the faith of the Church. The devil plays a considerable part in the

¹ *Die Theologie der Thatsachen wider die Theologie der Rhetorik*, 1856, 4th ed. 1876. The same ideas are found in a posthumous work of Vilmar's: *Die Lehre vom geistlichen Amt*, 1870. The salvation of the Church is here represented as contained in the establishment of the Episcopate; the Bishop, rendered infallible by conversion, governs the Church and decerns the pardon of sins. See also his *Vorlesungen über theolog. Moral*, herausgegeben von Israel, 1871 (in 3 parts, —1. The History of the Malady; 2. Its Healing; 3. The Health of the Inner Man). *Lehrbuch der Pastoraltheologie*, herausgegeben von Pinderit, 1872. *Kirche und Welt, oder die Aufgabe des geistlichen Amtes in unserer Zeit. Zur Signatur der Gegenwart u. Zukunft*, 2 vols. 1872. *Dogmatik*, herausgegeben von Pinderit, 2 vols. 1874-75. Vilmar has won a more enduring reputation by his works on German Literature. His *Geschichte der deutschen Nationalliteratur*, 1845, 22nd ed. 1886, has become classical.

doctrine of Vilmar. He pretends to have seen him with his own eyes, showing the hideous grinning of his teeth. Every theologian worthy of the name should have seen him in like manner, and entered into personal struggle with him. All contemporary theology is possessed with a species of concupiscence, the lustful desire to innovate and to discover unknown regions. Its task is not to draw from the source of the Christian experience of individuals, but to transmit from generation to generation, through the medium of the priesthood, the dogmas deposited in Scripture and confessed by the Church.

The realistic tendency of Vilmar stands out especially in the manner in which he ranks the means of grace, of which the Church is the dispenser. He positively places the Sacraments above the Word of God. The Word, passing through the mouth of man to reach the flock, is subject to diverse alterations; the Sacrament requiring complete passivity on the part of him who administers it and of him who receives it, ought to be considered as much more immediately and truly a deed or act of God. The Word acts on man from above downwards through the medium of the Spirit; the Sacrament, on the contrary, acts from below upwards through the medium of the body, and thus arrives much more certainly at the result which it would attain. It is a material act of God. Such is the thought of Vilmar, in all its nudity and in all its crudity. We have added nothing to it, nor have we taken anything from it.

His conclusions rest on very simple argumentation. If Baptism does not confer regeneration *ex opere operato*, conversion and regeneration are two acts which in some sort cover each other, and Baptism ought to follow them, and not to precede them, which would furnish a reason for the view of the Baptists. If in the Holy Supper there is not offered to us a grace of a kind essentially different from that which the Word of God contains, this Sacrament is instituted only in view of those who are weak in the faith, and its

glory would be compromised. To crown his work, Vilmar pretends to subordinate the preaching of the Word to the handling of ecclesiastical discipline. The latter seems to him more efficacious than the former. In any case, it has the precious advantage over it of being within the reach of all the members of the priesthood, as it is more independent than preaching of individual capacities and gifts.

Certain practical directions accompany these theoretical considerations. Vilmar would like to see the number of Sacraments in the Protestant Church increased to five. He holds that it would be proper to add to Baptism and the Holy Supper, the Sacraments of Penance, Confirmation, and Ordination. He would also like to see the celebration of the Mass re-established. Every religious service ought at least to be terminated by the Lord's Supper, although the pastor were to be the only one to communicate. Every day at the hour of Noon, the pastor should go to the church and intercede for his congregation before the altar, prayer at the altar having a particular efficaciousness. In general, among the Neo-Lutherans much is made to turn on the mystery of the Altar, and on the Benediction attached to the liturgical services, and especially to Prayers made when kneeling.

Even Vilmar has been outstripped in these later times by CARL SCHEELE († 1871), the brother of Marie Nathusius, who is celebrated for her religious romances. A disciple of Schleiermacher and Tholuck, and passionately devoted to Jean Paul and the poetry of the Romantic School, he threw himself headlong into an ecclesiastical realism, which is only explained by the mixture of mystical ideas and juridical conceptions which appear to form the essence of his theology. Having been obliged to quit the office of the ministry on account of ill-health, he retired to Wernigerode and gave himself up with an unhealthy violence, which went beyond all bounds, to polemics against the alleged subversive tendencies of

modern theology. His two works on *Intoxicated Science*¹ and *The Ecclesiastical Vocation of Prussia*,² are written in a style of unexampled crudeness, and they hurl anathemas against the most respected names in contemporary theology. He compares the whole scientific work of modern times to the disobedience of Adam and Eve, when they ate of the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil in paradise.

The same tendency has been represented by the periodical called the *Halle People's Paper*, as edited by Philipp von Nathusius, and inspired by HEINRICH LEO (1799-1878), who was Professor of History at Halle, and Member of the Prussian House of Peers. Leo was notorious for his undisguised sympathies for Catholicism, which sprang from a confused mixture of romanticism and Hegelianism. Gifted with a powerful imagination and eminent journalistic talents, Leo belongs properly to no school, church, or party. He has only one cult, that of authority; only one passion, that for the Middle Ages. He multiplies his invectives against the modern State and modern society, and against the mercantile and industrial interests; and he stigmatizes the reign of law as mechanical. In all history, he takes the side of the legitimists, and of Catholicism against the insurrectionism of demagogues. Luther's doctrine regarding the universal priesthood is, according to Leo, the source of all the doctrines which imperil modern society. He is reconciled with Protestantism only because of its Augustinianism and its condemnation of the merit of works. His ideal is Jansenism, which has preserved the hierarchy and the priesthood. But note his contradictoriness. The supreme authority of the Church has proclaimed Semi-Pelagianism, and it has not ceased to be the authority. Leo remains Protestant owing

¹ Die trunkene Wissenschaft u. ihr Erbe an die evangelische Kirche. Ein Beitrag u. Beurtheilung der neueren Theologie in Briefen, Berl. 1867.

² Der kirchliche Beruf Preussens für Deutschland u. sein neues Unionsprincip nach Dorner, Berl. 1869.

to his superabundant vigour and his undisciplined intellect, but there is a certain naturalism in his unsubdued impetuosity. He is an authoritarian Feuerbach, holding doctrinaires in horror.

In the same class of reactionary Lutheran writers, we must include VICTOR VON STRAUSS. He was born at Buckeburg in 1809, and has figured as one of the leaders of the Conservative party. He is celebrated for a Monograph on Saint Polycarp, a series of volumes of religious poetry and romances, and above all by his *Letters on the Art of Government*,¹ in which, in reference to the conflict which arose in Prussia between the king and the Parliament, he openly incites the sovereigns to violate their oath if the good of the State requires it.²

VI.

Among the other representatives of this Neo-Lutheranism, we must name FRIEDRICH ADOLF PHILIPPI (1809-1882). Born at Berlin of Jewish parents, he became Professor at Dorpat in 1841, and at Rostock in 1852. He is the author of a voluminous Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, and of a system of *Ecclesiastical Dogmatics*.³ In the latter work, Philippi, repudiating all speculative construction and all accommodation to modern tendencies, expounds with clearness, but not without prolixity, the Lutheran doctrine as it is to be derived from the Symbolical Books and the works of the dogmatists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

¹ Handbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters, 1830. Die Hegelingen, 1839. Lehrbuch der Universalgeschichte, 6 vols., 3rd ed. 1849-53. Vorlesungen über die Geschichte des deutschen Volks u. Reichs, 5 vols. 1854-66. Aus meiner Jugendzeit, 1880.

² Briefe über Staatskunst, 1866. Meditationen über das erste Gebot, 1866. Essays zur allgemeinen Religionswissenschaft, 1869. And his collection of Religious Novels: Die Schule des Lebens, 1885.

³ Commentar zum Römerbrief, 3rd ed. 1866. Kirchliche Glaubenslehre, 6 vols. 1854-79. Cf. Schulze: Lebensbild F. A. Philippi's, 1883.

JOHANN WILHELM FRIEDRICH HÖFLING (1802–1853), born near Baireuth, became Professor at Erlangen in 1833, and member of the higher Consistory at Munich in 1852. He published remarkable works on the worship and constitution of the Church.¹

THEODOSIUS HARNACK, born at St. Petersburg in 1817, Professor at Dorpat and Erlangen, has maintained Lutheranism against the separatistic tendencies, and particularly against the Moravian Brethren; and he has also occupied himself with Christological and liturgical questions.²

GOTTFRIED THOMASIUS (1802–1875) is undoubtedly to be regarded as one of the most sympathetic representatives of Neo-Lutheranism. He was born at Egenhausen in Franconia, and was reared in the principles of piety by his father, who was a pastor, and by his mother, a woman of great nobleness of heart. It was not till he was sixteen years of age that he left the peaceful life in his father's parish to enter the University of Erlangen as a student. He continued his studies at Berlin, where Hegel made a deeper impression on him than Schleiermacher did. At Halle he entered into intimate relations with Tholuck. As an assistant minister, Thomasius displayed much talent as a preacher and catechist. In 1829 he became pastor at Nürnberg, and in 1842 Professor of Theology at Erlangen. Even a more beneficent influence was exercised on all who approached him by his noble and simple personality than by his writings. His point of view is that of a large Lutheranism which seeks to unite fidelity to the traditional doctrines with an independence of the modern scientific spirit. He has expounded his dogmatic system in a work entitled: *Christ's Person and Work. An exposition of the Lutheran Dogmatics from the centre of Chris-*

¹ Das Sacrament der Taufe, 2nd ed., 2 vols. 1846–48. Die Lehre der ältesten Kirche vom Opfer, 1851. Liturgisches Urkundenbuch, 1854. Grundsätze evangel. luther. Kirchenverfassung, 3rd ed. 1853. In this last work, he expounds principles of ecclesiastical organization that are comparatively liberal.

² Der christliche Gemeindegottesdienst im apostol. und alt-kathol. Zeitalter, 1854. Die Kirche, ihr Amt u. ihr Regiment, 1862. Praktische Theologie, 3 vols. 1877–82. Christus als Erfüller von Gesetz und Prophetie.

tology.¹ Following Dorner, Baur, and Strauss, he draws attention to the fact that the idea of the ταπείνωσις, or the humiliation of Christ, is completely lacking in the old Lutheran Christology; and he desiderates that the incarnation of the Logos be conceived as a veritable limitation of Itself and not as a simple *assumptio*, thinking thus to draw the last consequences of the *communicatio idiomatum*. Yet this has never been understood as a mutual exchange, or permeation of the two natures of Christ, but only as the divinization of human nature. It has also been pointed out to Thomasius that such an exchange, in virtue of which the divine nature would communicate to the human nature absence of limits, and the human nature would communicate to the divine nature its limits, is impossible because it implies an absolute contradiction. It has been added that a real limitation of the divine is possible only if the divine is no longer conceived as the eternal and personal Logos with the metaphysical attributes of omnipotence, omniscience, etc., but only as the *θεῖον*, the consciousness of the divine, or the feeling and love of God present in every man. But in the divestment in the state of humiliation which Thomasius attributes to the Logos, there would be at the moment of His incarnation only a simple analogy with what takes place in the spheres that are known to us. Christ has been able to remain really God in really becoming man by that supernatural power of limiting Himself, in which His humiliation consisted. This doctrine of the *κένωσις*, which has been objected to as a heresy in Thomasius, and which it appears can be maintained only by means of scholastic subtleties, has given occasion to lively discussions.²

¹ Christi Person und Werk. Darstellung der evangelisch-lutherischen Dogmatik vom Mittelpunkte der Christologie aus, 2 vols. 1853–55, 3rd ed. 1887. His other works are also important. Origenes, 1837 (an excellent monograph). Beiträge zur kirchlichen Christologie, 1845. Auslegung des Briefs Pauli an die Kolosser, 1869. Die christl. Dogmengeschichte als Entwicklungsgeschichte des christl. Lehrbegriffs, 2 vols. 1874–76. Cf. Revue de Théologie de Montauban, iii. 297 ss. Thomasius founded the Zeitschrift für Protestantismus und Kirche in 1838.

² See especially Brömel: Was lehrt Prof. Thomasius im 2ten Theil seiner Dogmatik von der Person J. C. im Stande der Erniedrigung? 1857.

WOLFGANG FRIEDRICH GESS, born in 1819 at Kirchheim in Württemberg, became Professor in the Mission House at Bâle in 1850, at Göttingen in 1854, at Breslau in 1871, and in 1880, General Superintendent of the Province of Posen. He is said to have put the dot on the *i* of the doctrine of Thomasius. In his books on *The Doctrine of the Person of Christ*,¹ he maintains that in Jesus Christ an Ego of a divine nature became an Ego of human nature, whereas Beyschlag maintains that Jesus was conscious of having been conceived in an immediate manner by God in the course of time, and that He existed eternally in the bosom of the Father as the impersonal type of man, or as a power which became a person only in the man Jesus.² We shall have occasion to return to these discussions of the Christological problem.

VII.

In the Lutheran camp we find even graver deviations from the official dogma than those which Thomasius allowed himself; and it was the most distinguished theologians of the party who were guilty of them. JOHANN CHRISTIAN CONRAD VON HOFMANN (1810–1877), born at Nürnberg, was Professor at Erlangen from 1838, and member of the Upper Bavarian Chamber from 1863. He severed himself from the Lutheran Orthodoxy, even in regard to the material principle of Protestantism. In addition to a historical monograph on the insurrection of the Cevennes,³ and several works on the Old Testament⁴ and the New Testament,⁵ in which he strives to show that the Bible has importance only as an organic whole, and traces the progressive history of the Kingdom of God, we

¹ Die Lehre von der Person Christi, 1851. Christi Person und Werk nach Christi Selbstzeugniss und den Zeugnissen der Apostel, 2 vols. 1870–78.

² Welchen Gewinn hat die evangelische Kirche aus den neuesten Verhandlungen über das Leben Jesu? 1864. A paper read at the Altenburg Church Congress.

³ Geschichte des Aufruhrs der Cevennen, 1837.

⁴ Die 70 Jahre des Jeremias u. die 7 Jahrwochen des Daniels, 1836. Weissagung u. Erfüllung, 1841–44, 2 vols., 2nd ed. 1857–60.

⁵ Die heil. Schrift N. T. zusammenhängend untersucht, 1862–81, 9 vols.

have a dogmatic work from him entitled *The Scripture Proof*,¹ which has excited lively controversies. Hofmann professes to give us a really Biblical system of doctrine; and he criticizes keenly, and not without reason, the wholly external and atomistic way in which the Scripture has been hitherto made use of in proving the truth of the Christian doctrine. It is necessary to abandon the method of the *loci classici* and the *dicta probantia* in order to examine on every specific point the genesis and historical development of the Biblical doctrine. However, the execution of Hofmann's work does not correspond to his intention. His laborious, subtle, and arbitrary exegesis is applied in the service of a speculative and mystical theology which arrives at no precise result. Hofmann recalls Nitzsch by the obscurity and embarrassment betrayed in his language, in his search for depth and ingenious combinations, and by his incessant effort to adapt modern formulas to scriptural doctrines. Like Nitzsch, he is essentially lacking in clearness and simplicity. But he further strives to show the constant accordance of his theology with that of the Lutheran confessions of faith, which at times is really a Sisyphean labour.

It was in reference to the doctrine of the atonement that this accordance appeared most forced, and that the ideas of Hofmann met with the most lively opposition among the theologians of his party. Philippi first of all,² and after him Thomasius,³ Harnack, Ebrard,⁴ and the whole Dorpat Faculty, entered the lists against him. Hofmann was seconded by some of his colleagues, and defended himself valiantly,⁵ but unsuccessfully, against the reproach of heresy. It is only too evident that on the cardinal doctrine of the atonement, the

¹ Der Schriftbeweis, Nördl. 1852–53, 2 vols., 2nd ed. 1857–60. Cf. Kliefoth: Der Schriftbeweis des Dr. von Hofmann, Schwerin 1859.

² In his preface to the 2nd edition of his Commentar über den Römerbrief, 1856; and then in a pamphlet entitled: H. Dr. v. Hofmann gegenüber der lutherischen Versöhnungs- u. Rechtfertigungslehre, 1856.

³ Das Bekenntniss der luth. Kirche von der Versöhnung, 1857.

⁴ Die Lehre von der stellvertretenden Genugthuung in der heiligen Schrift begründet, 1857.

⁵ Schutzschriften für eine neue Weise alte Wahrheit zu lehren, 1856–59.

Reformers did not think of diverging from the views of Anselm as consecrated by the Church, and that Hofmann in combating the view of the vicarious satisfaction of Christ, departed from the letter as well as from the spirit of the Lutheran Symbols. He held that the idea of atonement should not be separated from that of salvation; it is humanity alone which had need of being reconciled with God by Christ, and not God with humanity. The juridical idea of a substitutionary or vicarious death, with the character of equivalence in the application of the punishment, ought to be replaced by the moral idea of a death for our advantage. Jesus Christ has not suffered what ought to have been suffered by us; He did not know the condemning judgment of God, the remorse of a troubled conscience, or the feeling of an offended law. He suffered as a martyr all the evil which could be inflicted upon Him by the hatred of sinful men against the divine will and the work of salvation. And just as this trial was not a suffering equivalent to what humanity ought to have endured, neither was that which Christ accomplished the equivalent of what humanity ought to have done, but simply the work which the Father had entrusted to Him. In general, Hofmann is not favourable to the view that separates in an arbitrary manner the sufferings of Christ from the whole of His activity, of which they are the crown. While the ecclesiastical doctrine demands for the offended holiness of God an equivalent satisfaction in order that God may be able to pardon, the Scriptures, on the contrary, show that what Jesus did is at once the manifestation of the love of God to men and of His hatred against sin, the horror of which breaks forth in a peculiarly sensible manner in the iniquitous judgment inflicted on Him who was innocent.

(4 Pamphlets). A complete survey of this controversy has been given by Dr. Schneider in the *Deutsche Zeitschrift für christliche Wissenschaft und christliches Leben*, 1860, Nos. 27-28; and by Weizsäcker in the *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, 1858, H. 1: Um was handelt es sich in dem Streit über die Versöhnungslehre?

VIII.

The Doctrine of the Atonement has at all times drawn the attention of Christian thinkers. It presents so much mystery, the mind moves in connection with it in the midst of such difficulties and dashes against such formidable obstacles, that much courage is required to engage in such investigations. The intellect, however, feels a pressing need of clearness, and the soul is tormented by the uncertainties and doubts excited by this doctrine. It is therefore not without painful repugnance that any one would resign himself to avow that this doctrine overturns the fundamental laws of the moral world, or that it is in contradiction with the most elementary and precise data of our conscience. If it were so, we should still undoubtedly have to submit, in presence of the irrefragable testimony of Scripture; but our submission would be purchased at the price of a mutilation which would be infinitely regrettable, and perhaps dangerous. It is therefore a matter of importance that our moral consciousness be reassured and be convinced that, far from being contradicted in its most legitimate aspirations at the foot of the cross, it finds their sanction there, as well as the only lever capable of moving our inert or rebellious nature, and transforming it.

Let us say it frankly, there is nothing more prejudicial to the religious life, both in regard to its purity and development, than the voluntary delay which is adopted in order to retard the solution of the problem. In point of fact, whether it be intellectual indolence or exaggerated distrust of themselves, most Christians draw back before this task. Often there reigns the strangest disaccordance between the language they use and the feelings they experience; and taken all in all, this doctrine of redemption, whether it is tacitly accepted or intentionally ignored, does not exercise the influence on their moral life which it is jealous to produce. Nor is this all. It is not rare to encounter among a large number of theologians, and some of them most eminent, ideas that are frequently contradictory on this subject. Detached frag-

ments of opposite systems are patched together, or intermingle in their mind, without connection, without reason, and without unity. In presence of these facts, we ought to recognise with gratitude Hofmann's attempt to solve the difficulties of this doctrine, as it has been undertaken with independence and in an honestly evangelical Protestant spirit. He does not hesitate to avow that the traditional formulas do not satisfy him; he maintains that they do not appear to give to the scriptural testimony all its right and force; and he regrets that the Protestant theology has not yet revised the doctrine of the Fathers and of Scholasticism on this subject. And while protesting his own accordance with the Lutheran confessions of faith of the Sixteenth Century (which is the weak part of his argumentation), he is not afraid to propose a new theory more in harmony with the data of Scripture and with the needs of the Christian consciousness. His view of this doctrine is so important, that it seems desirable to give some further elucidation and vindication of Hofmann's treatment of it in detail.

The method employed in investigations into the Doctrine of the Atonement cannot but exercise a great influence on the results which are obtained. Hofmann reproaches the old dogmatic theology for having started invariably from an abstract, and, in its way, philosophical conception of redemption. He says that it always commenced by putting these questions: Why is a redemption necessary? In what should it consist? How has it been made possible? According to Hofmann, it is more expedient to start from the fact of redemption itself, and from the testimony which the Gospel History and the teaching of the Apostles give to us about it. There has been a redemption. Under what conditions has it been realized? And what have been its results?

The traditional theory having neglected to secure the natural and only legitimate starting-point in this complicated and arduous question, it is not astonishing that the results to which it has come do not accord in all points with a sound conception of the nature of God and of man, and that in

some respects they even falsify the integrity of the moral order.

The theory bases its argumentation on a discussion on the necessity of reconciling the love of God which would pardon the sins of men, and His justice which should punish them. The love of God, according to this conception, cannot act on the sinner before His holiness, which has been offended by the transgression of the moral law, has received a satisfaction equivalent to the gravity of the offence. How could God, without failing in His majesty as a judge, continue to offer His love to the sinner who disdains and rejects it? The dogma of the vicarious satisfaction or substitution, is the necessary corollary of this first theorem. Humanity, in consequence of sin, which is a violation of the infinite majesty of God, is loaded with an infinite culpableness which can be taken away only by a satisfaction also infinite. No man has been able to offer such a satisfaction; Jesus Christ alone has been capable of doing so, being not only man, but God. And as the divine justice could have declared that it would be satisfied only by punishment, that is to say, by the death and eternal damnation of the sinner, it is the triumph of divine love to have accepted the equivalent satisfaction which Jesus Christ offered to it in dying on the cross. In giving up His Son to be the object of His wrath and curse in the place of humanity, God has made the greatest sacrifice of love which it is possible to conceive. The justice of God being satisfied by the death of the Man-God, His merits may be imputed to us with all safety. Justification is thus the juridical act in virtue of which God absolves the sinner before His tribunal on account of the ransom which another has paid for him.

Such, under its most transparent and most moderate form, is the theory of the Atonement which is professed at present by the defenders of the old dogmatic theology. Yet even under this form, it appears to Hofmann to offer grave difficulties. And, in fact, it is not difficult to discover its vulnerable points. In the first place, is it not manifest that after having put the love of God and His justice into such absolute

opposition, the weight of the argumentation has fallen entirely on the side of the latter? It is not easy to conceive of the God of love as prevented for a certain time from giving free course to the most essential manifestation of His nature. This mode of reasoning has, moreover, the great error of not bringing sufficiently to light that it is of pure grace that we obtain the pardon of our sins. For if all that we ought to do and suffer, has been done and suffered by the God-Man, does it not seem that He has in some sort forced God to pardon us, because He had no longer the right to punish us, the ransom agreed upon having been paid?

These, however, are objections of but little value in comparison with those which remain to be examined. The traditional dogma involuntarily draws from us the question: What is the cause and the real nature of the sufferings of Jesus Christ? The silence of our Confessions of Faith, the repugnance of the old dogmatists to answer this question, and the divergence of the explanations which they have tried to give, show superabundantly that there is a danger against which this theory of the equivalence of the offered merits and the pains undergone, threatens to break. In order that the satisfaction exacted should have been complete, in order that there might be really substitution, Jesus must have taken our place in all points. He must have done our work, and must have endured the same penalties as we had merited. Now it is impossible in point of fact that such a substitution could have taken place. Christ could not be in a position to suffer what we ought to have suffered, because He cannot have known sin or rebellion, any more than the remorse and despair which are its consequence. If Jesus Christ could for a moment, in the excess of His sufferings, call Himself forsaken of God, it was because God in fact, in the midst of the supreme trials which the world had prepared for Him, deprived Him of all special manifestation of His helpful presence. He has had to know the anguish of death and the mysterious horror of its agony like another man; and this is the most natural explanation of the passage, Matt.

xxvii. 46, which has been so strangely abused. But this is far from the impious theory that Jesus Christ on the cross was the object on which the wrath of God satiated and exhausted itself; and that the Father, at the moment when the Son was accomplishing the very work of devotion and love for which He had sent Him to the world, had withdrawn His heart from Him, and had for a moment excluded Him from His divine fellowship. And yet it is to this extreme consequence that the dogma of vicarious satisfaction is logically driven. In affirming that Christ took upon Him our guilt and the penalty of our sins, and that He has been punished in our room and stead, the doctrine of Anselm cannot but issue in this enormity from which certain dogmatic theologians have not shrunk, namely, that Christ suffered eternal death in our place; unless recourse is had to this subtle and ridiculous expedient, that the short duration of the sufferings of Christ was compensated by their infinite value.

Hofmann protests energetically against the theory that thus considers the death of Christ as a punishment, and represents Him to us as exposed to the curse of God, which can only apply to the sinner alone. According to Hofmann's view, Christ underwent the extreme consequences of the hostility which the world opposed to the work of salvation and to the person of the Saviour. He has known all the griefs which flow to the man who is absolutely holy, from His contact with sin. It is the enmity of humanity against God which nailed Christ to the cross, and not the divine wrath. The excess of His sufferings had its source on earth and not in heaven.

Finally, the theory of the imputation of the merits of Christ is exposed to analogous misunderstandings and dangers. In teaching man that his sins have been expiated once for all, he may be led to believe that it is sufficient to take an entirely passive attitude towards this juridical act, whereas the faith which has to appropriate the righteousness of Christ requires from the individual an internal, free, and personal act. The merits of Jesus Christ are imputed to us only

when we declare that we are willing to participate in them in virtue of a spontaneous act, or of a determination of our will. Justifying faith is not so much the means or the instrument by which we lay hold of the righteousness of Christ; it is rather a moral disposition in consequence of which we assimilate it to ourselves.

IX.

But Hofmann does not stop with this impartial and respectful criticism of the traditional dogma. He is anxious to find himself a solution which is better in harmony with the testimony of Scripture and with the needs of the Christian consciousness. With this end in view, he proposes to try another method. He thinks that the examination of what God has really done in order to deliver us from the dominion of sin and to pardon us, will furnish the justest idea of the atonement itself. If we knew no other thing about God than His holiness, we could only expect from Him the punishment justly incurred by our sins; but then it would be the sinner and not the just one whom this punishment would smite. The whole Gospel history teaches us that God has sent His Son into the world in order to convince us of His love, and to assure us of the pardon of our sins. It is therefore grace that has prevailed over justice; yet, not at all in such a way that God would pardon sin without previous expiation, for it is necessary that the gravity of the offence committed against His holiness should not be diminished. It is a matter of importance that the pardon of sin should be surrounded with the serious austerity which properly belongs to the judge who is armed with the right to punish. Accordingly, the facts show us how God has realized this expiation of sin by the sacrifice of His Son. Instead of asking if He has found the means of harmonizing His holiness and His love, we should limit ourselves to inquiring whether in the manner in which He has provided for this harmony He continues to be the holy God even while manifesting Himself as the God of love.

Now, what the testimony of Scripture, corroborated by our experience, teaches in this regard is this: Humanity in its natural condition of sin and rebellion is the object of the justest reprobation on the part of God. Nevertheless, God does not the less wish the salvation of man; for His love, which surpasses all human measure, and which is fruitful in infinite resources, permits Him to love humanity while hating the sin in which it takes pleasure. Only, God must have arranged His plan of salvation in such a way that His benevolent intentions in regard to men should appear combined with the exigencies of his hatred against sin. The whole history of redemption reveals this design, from the incarnation of the Son of God to His bloody and ignominious death, which sums up and concentrates in a supreme pain all the sufferings and all the bitterness which His humiliation brought in its train.

This state of humiliation, which was accepted by the Man-God, opened before Him an abyss of sufferings as unfathomable as the abyss of love which that acceptance reveals to us. Jesus Christ has had to accomplish really, under the particular form of the obedience which our condition imposes upon us, what was His will in His heavenly condition. Now, this obedience borrows what is painful and distressing in it from the power of sin, which puts faithfulness to such a severe trial on earth, and marks with tears and blood the pilgrimage of those who are able to maintain it. Jesus Christ, in virtue of His very holiness, and in proportion to the greater strength which it displayed, could not but be exposed in an entirely peculiar manner to these aggressions of sin in a world that had been given up for so many ages to its ravages. The hostility of the wicked tried and exhausted on Him all its darts and all its rancour, and inflicted upon Him the punishment reserved for infamous men, for blasphemers, for the sacrilegious.

Considered from this point of view, it is not only permissible, but even most correct, to say that if the act of redemption is the most effective manifestation of the love of God towards sinners, it is also the supreme manifestation of

His hatred against sin. For, if all the evils and all the sufferings which reign in this world, and which equally strike the good and the bad, are nothing else than the effect of the hatred of God against sin, Jesus Christ by coming into this world placed Himself in the midst of conditions devoted to the divine wrath. He, the holy One, has breathed an atmosphere which was corrupted and vitiated by sin. He has known all its fatal consequences as they fell furiously upon His person; and at the moment when it seemed to be triumphing, He has made it appear in its most sinister light, and in all the horror of its odious and reprobate display. With what power does not the reprobation which sin inspires in God, reveal itself in this most painful work of redemption! God has willed to pardon sin only at the cost of the unparalleled sufferings of Him who, without knowing it as sin in Himself, exposed Himself to its most deadly blows. The Son exchanged His divine liberty for obedience in the bosom of sinful humanity, and His happiness for the sufferings which are attached to it, in order that He might experience and mortify in His person all the consequences of sin in such a way that the climax of His sufferings was also the culmination of His obedience.

But in what sense can this work of redemption be called an expiatory work? According to Hofmann, expiation is nothing but the reparation of the effects caused by sin, since in Jesus Christ, who is rightly designated by the name of the second Adam, a new commencement of life, of activity, and of victorious struggle against sin is offered to humanity. The work by which He has rendered this new commencement possible to it, is for humanity the expiation of its sins. In reality, it is Jesus Christ Himself who is the expiation, or the personal reparation of the sin of humanity, as He is its incarnate justice. If sin consists in the pursuit of an illusory good out of God and contrary to His will, in Jesus Christ the real good has shone in all its splendour, and has destroyed the *prestige* of false goods. He who recognises in Jesus Christ the only good that is worthy to be loved and pursued, and

who assimilates it to himself by faith instead of being determined by sin whose germ he has inherited in being born of the earthly posterity, is determined by the obedience and righteousness laid up by Jesus Christ. His relationship to God has become changed.

Such is the theory which is yielded to Hofmann by the testimony of Scripture, and approved by the testimony of the Christian consciousness. It is evident that it differs in more than one point from the view of the old dogmatic theology. It has, however, preserved its substance, limiting itself to replacing certain ideas borrowed from the sphere of legal right by certain other ideas belonging to the moral sphere. The result is greater harmony with the scriptural doctrine, and an exposition which presents fewer difficulties for the understanding of Christian truth. The moral consciousness is no longer shocked, and experience comes to confirm the justness of the deductions at all points. It is just in this last relation that Hofmann is particularly strong as against his adversaries. He shows very well that what contributes to our repentance and conversion, is not the idea that Christ has been the object of the divine wrath and curse, and that He has endured eternal death in our place. It has been often said that the most generous motives are also the most powerful. To represent the expiatory sacrifice of Jesus Christ as the supreme manifestation of the love of God in our regard, is to give it its true force. But in order to show it off more, and to reach us more certainly, it is not necessary that the divine love should turn itself away from the Son, and change itself into wrath against Him. It is enough that this love of God towards the sinner does not manifest itself to the detriment of His hatred against sin.

It is on this point, too, that Hofmann's theory separates itself distinctly from all the rationalistic theories which see nothing else on the cross but the simple declaration that God is willing to pardon us our sins. There is more here than a declaration. We see the Son of God, when the victim of the

rebellion of the world against God, break up this rebellion at the price of unparalleled sufferings and of an ignominious death, and by His obedience laboriously conquering and gathering in the bosom of humanity a store of righteousness, a heritage of holiness, owing to which the good surrounds itself with such a light, clothes itself with such attractions, and becomes so really the proper good of humanity after having been alien to it, that humanity is conquered in its resistance, and is made capable by faith of appropriating this heritage and assimilating this righteousness. According to the rationalistic theory, which is obliged to place sanctification before justification, man is declared just, that is to say, is pardoned in the degree in which he sanctifies himself. On the contrary, according to Hofmann's theory, which is also that of Scripture, it is justification which precedes sanctification. Man is pardoned before he is holy, and in view only of his future holiness and righteousness which flow from his union with Christ. The divine love which shines forth in this pardon, is the instrument of his conversion.

We should not part from Hofmann without recalling the great influence which he exercised as a professor by his solid and brilliant teaching. In his day he was unquestionably the chief glory of the University of Erlangen. The controversies which his works have excited have powerfully contributed to advance theological science; and although the subtlety of his exegesis and the obstinacy of his Lutheranism astonish us, as well as paralyse his influence on the development of religious ideas, yet the earnest breath of piety with which he is animated, together with those liberal political convictions for which he has been keenly reproached, is enough of itself to entitle him to a place of honour in the History of modern German Theology.¹

¹ Since the death of Hofmann in 1877 the following works of his have been published: Theologische Ethik, 1873; Encyclopädie der Theologie, 1879; Biblische Hermeneutik, 1880; Vermischte Aufsätze, 1878. Cf. Grau: Vilmar und von Hofmann, Erinnerungen 1879; Kliefoth: Zwei politische Theologen.

X.

CARL FRIEDRICH AUGUST KAHNIS (1814-1888) was born at Greiz, became Professor at Breslau in 1844, and was called to Leipsic in 1850, where his teaching was accompanied with the greatest success. Owing to failing health he retired from the work of his chair in 1886, and died on 20th June 1888. In his turn Kahnis pursued a peculiar course among the Neo-Lutherans, as he separated himself from the Lutheran orthodoxy on the formal principle of Protestantism. After having seconded Leo and the Halle *People's Journal* in their struggle against Ruge, and having broken a lance or two against Strauss and Baur in concert with Tholuck, he was received with open arms at Berlin by Hengstenberg and the pious statesmen and generals who formed the pietistic coterie. But having come into contact with the dissenters of Silesia, Kahnis attached himself to the old Lutheranism, and soon became the favourite orator of the party at all its conferences and congresses, combating the Union and the so-called School of Conciliation with an ardour that was quite juvenile.¹ His first theological productions were two dogmatic studies on *The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit* and *The Doctrine of the Holy Supper*.² He next published a well-executed study on *The Internal History of German Protestantism since the middle of the last Century*,³ in which he combated the Augustinianism and the erroneous dualism of orthodoxy, extolled the true humanism, blamed the narrowness of his party, and pointed out the unappreciated merits of rationalism. More recently still, he undertook to write on an extensive plan a History of

¹ Die Sache der lutherischen Kirche gegenüber der Union. Sendschreiben an Dr. Nitzsch, 1854.

² Die Lehre vom heiligen Geist, 1847. Die Lehre vom heiligen Abendmahl, 1851.

³ Der innere Gang des deutschen Protestantismus seit Mitte des vorigen Jahrhunderts, 1854, 3rd ed. 2 vols. 1874. Along with this work must also be placed his more recent production: Der Gang der Kirche in Lebensbildern, 1881. [Internal History of German Protestantism since the middle of last Century. Translated by Rev. Th. Meyer, 1856.]

the German Reformation,¹ in which he has carried to perfection the literary and artistic qualities which he possessed, and which harmonized so well with the religious spirit which breathes in all his productions.

But the work of Kahnis which caused most noise on its appearance, was his *Lutheran Dogmatics*,² in which he made numerous concessions to modern criticism. In this work, Kahnis shows himself at all points as a son of his age, illuminated by the last rays of romanticism, and spiritualizing the old dogmas while accommodating them to the taste of the time. He is subjective and eclectic at will. Heresies swarm in this book. In the doctrine of the Trinity, Kahnis teaches the subordination of the Son to the Father; he entertains grave doubts regarding the personality of the Holy Spirit; and, in the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, he approaches Calvinistic ideas. But it is his conception of Scripture which especially diverges from that of orthodoxy. He polemizes without hesitation against the idea of an infallible canon, which, moreover, is contradicted by the history of the very formation of this collection of books. He demolishes the official theory of inspiration from being as incompatible with a sound idea of God as with a just idea of man. He brings into relief the human side of Scripture and the progressive character of revelation. And, finally, in order to confirm the faithful and to save the Church, he demands, not a pure and simple resurrection, but a free and living reproduction of the old Confessions of Faith.

Such language could not but cause a lively surprise in the bosom of the Neo-Lutheran party. Nor were protestations against it wanting. Diekhoff solemnly proclaimed it as a fact that the fall of Kahnis was now consummated.³ Delitzsch, in

¹ Die deutsche Reformation, 1872.

² Die lutherische Dogmatik historisch-genetisch dargestellt, 3 vols. 1861-73. 2nd ed. 2 vols. 1874-75. This work is supplemented by his *Christenthum und Lutherthum*, 1871, which completes and gives a more popular exposition of Kahnis's standpoint.

³ In a series of Articles in the *Zeitschrift für die luth. Theologie und Kirche*, 1861.

a pamphlet filled with lamentations over the deplorable errors of his excellent friend and colleague, urged him to repent and to reassure his friends whom he had thus made sad.¹ And finally, Hengstenberg, in the first Numbers of the *Evangelical Gazette* of 1862, made a public execution of the new heretic, declaring that no one had ever been allowed in the camp of the believers to deviate so scandalously from the received dogma. Kahnis gave a vigorous reply to Hengstenberg, and his pamphlet may be considered as one of the best productions that have issued from his pen.²

Kahnis places Melancthon above Luther, and demands that more importance be given to his doctrine of the Lord's Supper as well as to his doctrine of sin and grace, in which he tempers the ideas of Saint Augustine by his appreciation of the classical world. In a word, Kahnis supports Melancthon in his mode of defending the rights of humanity and expounding its part in the work of salvation. He also vigorously points out certain defects proper to the German Reformation, and in particular as to its doctrinalism. In its essence, Christianity is a life, a communion of life with God, and not a doctrine. Doctrines divide, life unites. The Reformation doctrine of the *sola fide* is to be reproduced only with much precaution and tempering, and while recalling that the faith which saves should be preceded by repentance and followed with sanctification. If Kahnis demands a return to the Confessions of Faith of the Sixteenth Century, he does not ask a return to the Theology of the Sixteenth Century. The Lutheran Church being destined to live in the present and in the future, the attitude of its theologians in face of the Confessions of Faith themselves should not be other than a free attitude. Besides, this is what is demanded by the essence of Protestantism and its whole history, and he who does not wish movement and development should break with Protestantism. According to the essence of Protestantism, adhesion to the Augsburg Con-

¹ Für und wider Kahnis, 1863.

² Zeugnis für die Grundwahrheiten des Protestantismus gegen Dr. Hengstenberg, 1862. Cf. Colani: *Revue de Théologie*, 2 série, ix. 97.

fession should be only conditional, and should relate to its essential points. Moreover, the legal character of an ecclesiastical faith is not a sufficient proof of its truth. There is an orthodoxy of which it may be said that the Lord has it in horror; it is that orthodoxy whose representatives could not live without seeking to destroy their neighbours like the fire which exists only to devour. Devoid themselves of spirit and life, these men throw themselves like vampires on all the living forces that they meet in order to suck into themselves to some small extent this precious juice.

This is assuredly very well said; but what we have difficulty in understanding is that in spite of these heresies and that independence of mind which did him honour, Kahnis continued to be considered one of the leaders of the Lutheran party, and to take a part in its most definitely characterized manifestations. In this there was, both on his own part and on that of the party, an inconsistency which we are absolutely incapable of explaining. It is indeed said that Kahnis was a Lutheran in the spirit rather than in the letter of his works, as if this distinction was not already the grossest of heresies. In spite of what is strange in his position, we do not hesitate to admire the courage, the freshness, and the spiritual force of this eminent Leipsic professor, whose true vocation was to be a historian rather than a dogmatic theologian. What he lacked in energy and creative force of thought, was amply redeemed by his vigorous receptivity and the admirable manner in which he could reproduce what he had assimilated. We know of few contemporary theologians who could rival Kahnis in this respect.

There are several other theologians who may be placed along with Kahnis, although they show less talent and independence. CARL ADOLPH GERHARD VON ZEESCHWITZ (1825-1886) was born at Bautzen, and became Professor at Leipsic in 1857, at Giessen in 1865, and at Erlangen in 1866. His *Apologetics*, *Catechetics*, and *System of Practical*

Theology are his best known works.¹—ALEXANDER VON OETINGER was born at Wissust in 1827. He became Professor at Dorpat in 1854. He is the author, among other works, of an esteemed treatise on *Moral Statistics*.²—OTTO ZÖCKLER, born at Grünberg in Hesse in 1833, became Professor at Giessen in 1863, and at Greifswald in 1866. He is the author of a *Theologia Naturalis*, and editor of an Apologetical review, entitled *The Proof of the Faith*, in which he applies himself to the defence of the old theory of miracles.³—RUDOLPH FRIEDRICH GRAU, born in 1835 at Heringen on the Werra, became Professor at Marburg in 1860, and at Königsberg in 1866. Grau has laboured to refute the theory of Renan and Strauss regarding Judaism as a natural product of the Semitic race. He has also published an excellent work on the New Testament from the literary point of view, in which are found many ingenious views as to the causes which have produced the Gospel literature, and on the laws which have presided over its development, as well as on the narrative, didactic, and prophetic form which the thought of the Apostles has assumed.⁴—FRANZ LUDWIG STEINMEYER, born in 1812 at Beeskau in Brandenburg, became pastor at Kuhn, and then at Berlin, and has been Professor in the University of Berlin since 1852. Among other works he is the author of some remarkable contributions to Apologetics, which are mainly designed to defend the supernatural elements contained in our Gospel

¹ Die Apologie des Christenthums nach Geschichte und Lehre, 1866. Katechetik, 2nd ed. 3 vols. 1872-74. System der praktischen Theologie, 3 vols. 1876-78. Die Christenlehre im Zusammenhang, 1880. Lehrbuch der Pädagogik, 1882.

² Die Moralstatistik, 1868, 3rd ed. 1881. Among his other works we may mention: Hippel's Lebensläufe, 2nd ed. 1879. Ueber Goethe's Faust, 2 vols. 1880. Christliche Religionslehre auf reichsgeschichtl. Grundlage, 1885.

³ Der Beweis des Glaubens. Monatsschrift zur Begründung und Vertheidigung der christlichen Wahrheit für Gebildete (from 1865). Since 1882, Zöckler has edited the Evangelische Kirchenzeitung, founded by Hengstenberg. He has also published: Kritische Geschichte der Askese, 1863. Geschichte der Beziehungen zwischen Theologie u. Naturwissenschaft, 2 vols. 1877-78. Die Lehre vom Urstand des Menschen, 1879. Gottes Zeugen im Reich der Natur, 2 vols. 1881. Also edits and partly writes Handbuch der theolog. Wissenschaften. 1882, 3rd ed. 1889.

⁴ Semiten und Indogermanen, 1867. Entwicklungsgeschichte des N. T. Schriftthums, 2 vols. 1870-71. Bibelwerk für die Gemeinde, 1876 et seq.

narratives from the point of view of history.¹—And, finally, CHRISTIAN ERNST LUTHARDT, born in 1823 at Maroldswesach in Franconia, became Professor at Marburg in 1854, and at Leipsic in 1856. Luthardt takes a high place as one of the most active leaders of the Lutheran party. More correct than powerful, he is the author of a great number of works written with clearness, conciseness, and elegance, but they cannot be regarded as profound. His popular Apologetic Lectures have been translated into many languages, and his Commentary on the Gospel of St. John is also highly esteemed.²

We cannot close this chapter without alluding to MICHAEL BAUMGARTEN, the most celebrated deserter from the Lutheran party. A native of Schleswig-Holstein, where he was born in 1812, he soon showed himself honest, courageous, and energetic by nature, and endowed with warm and living piety. He had been trained in the School of Harms, and, on account of his orthodox opinions, he was even excluded as a Privat-docent from

¹ Apologetische Vorträge, 4 vols. 1866-73. 1. Die Wunderthaten; 2. Die Leidensgeschichte; 3. Die Auferstehungsgeschichte; 4. Die Geburt des Herrn. Beiträge zum Schriftverständniss in Predigten, 4 vols. 2nd ed. 1859-66. Beiträge zur praktischen Theologie, 5 vols. 1874-79. Beiträge zur Christologie, 2 vols. 1880-81. [History of the Passion and Resurrection of our Lord, 1 vol. The Miracles of our Lord in relation to Modern Criticism, 1 vol., T. & T. Clark.]

² Apologie des Christenthums, 4 vols. 10th ed. 1885 (Apologetische Vorträge über die Grundwahrheiten des Christenthums, 1864, 10th ed. 1885; Vorträge über die Heilswahrheiten, 1867; Vorträge über die Moral des Christenthums, 1872; Die modernen Weltanschauungen, 1880). Die Lehre von den letzten Dingen, 1861, 2nd ed. 1871. Die Lehre vom freien Willen und sein Verhältniss zur Gnade in ihrer geschichtl. Entwicklung dargestellt, 1863. Compendium der Dogmatik, 1865, 6th ed. 1882. Die Ethik Luthers, 1867, 2nd ed. 1875. Die Ethik des Aristoteles in ihrem Unterschiede von der Moral des Christenthums, 1876. Das Johanneische Evangelium, 2 vols. 1852-53, 2nd ed. 1875. Die Kirche in ihrer Bedeutung für das officiële Leben, 1882. Predigten, 7 vols. 1863-80. Luthardt has also exercised great influence through two periodicals which he has edited: Allgemeine evang.-luther. Kirchenzeitung (from 1863), with its supplement, the Theolog. Literaturblatt; and the Zeitschrift für kirchlich. Wissenschaft u. kirchlich. Leben (from 1880).

[Apologetic Lectures on the Fundamental Truths of Christianity, 7th ed. Apologetic Lectures on the Saving Truths of Christianity, 5th ed. Apologetic Lectures on the Moral Truths of Christianity, 3rd ed. Commentary on St. John's Gospel, 3 vols. St. John the Author of the Fourth Gospel. T. & T. Clark.—Luthardt, Kahnis, and Brückner: The Church; its Origin, its History, and its Present Position, 1867.]

the theological Faculty of Halle, which was then under the influence of Gesenius. His theosophical and mystical tendency carried him in the direction of the views of Hofmann. Having associated himself with the patriotic movement of the German clergy of Schleswig-Holstein,¹ he carried into this struggle the fiery zeal which he afterwards displayed in the ecclesiastical conflicts with which he became mixed up. His Lutheranism, it is true, was based, not on the orthodoxy of the Seventeenth Century, but on the Luther of the first period, on the Reformer, the bold champion of Christian liberty who broke the yoke of the Roman traditions. Like Luther, he appealed to the *testimonium spiritus sancti*, but he had the instinct and ardour rather than the vocation of a reformer. He wrote several commentaries directed partly against the Tübingen School.²

He was appointed Professor at Rostock in 1850, and four years afterwards he published a work on *The Night Visions of Zechariah*,³ which made a considerable stir. In it he handles the most heterogeneous subjects, such as the question of Schleswig-Holstein, the war of the East, the corruption of the Church, and the function of the pastorate. This he does in a prophetic tone, and attaching his views in all sorts of ways to the texts of the Old Testament. In 1856, at the pastoral conference of Parchim, he raised his voice against the legal sanctification of the Sunday, and defended evangelical liberty in energetic terms in the midst of the most violent protestations of his colleagues. Other attempts to awaken the religious life in Mecklenburg, and to interest the laity in the affairs of the Church, had no better success. In 1857 the Consistory of Rostock, at the instigation of Kliefoth and Krabbe, instituted a process of accusation against Baum-

¹ Letter to the Earl of Shaftesbury on the Oppression of the Christians in the Duchy of Sleswick by the Danish Government, 1857.

² Theologischer Commentar zum Pentateuch, 1843-44. Die Apostelgeschichte od. Entwicklungsgeschichte der Kirche von Jerusalem bis Rom, 2 vols. 2nd ed. 1859. Ueber die Pastoralbriefe. [The Acts of the Apostles; or, the History of the Church in the Apostolic Age. Translated by Morrison and Meyer, 3 vols. 1854.]

³ Die Nachtgesichte Sacharjas. Eine Prophetenstimme aus der Gegenwart. 2 vols. 1854.

garten on account of his doctrine, and this led in the following year to his removal from office. His theology was accused of being "negative, subjective, spiritualistic, Pelagian, Antinomian, millenarian, a confused mixture of liberal phantasies and extravagant theosophy." Baumgarten, supported by the professors of Erlangen, Greifswald, and Göttingen,¹ defended himself vigorously in a series of pamphlets.² He appealed to St. Paul and to Luther, showed that Christ is the end of the law, and that the Church is not based on constraint. From that time he carried his protestations and his martyrdom about through all the cities of Germany, demanding justice from the tribunals of his country, and from the national Parliament, delivering lectures on the life of Jesus,³ and telling his own life.⁴ He then became the indefatigable and favourite orator of the Protestant Union (*Protestantenverein*), but he afterwards withdrew from it. Unfortunately the form of his discourses, and still more of his other writings, is often obscure, declamatory, and phantastic. The personal element plays too great a part in them, and there reigns throughout a veritable abuse of the words "inspiration," "prophecy," and "gifts and testimony of the Holy Spirit."

In 1874, Baumgarten became a member of Parliament, and attached himself to the progressive party, continuing to combat the political and ecclesiastical reaction of his time.⁵

¹ Hofmann: Beleuchtung des über Dr. Baumgarten's Lehrabweichungen abgegebenen Consistorial-Erachtens, 1858. Delitzsch u. Scheuerl: Die Sache des Prof. Dr. Baumgarten in Rostock, theologisch u. juridisch beleuchtet, 1858. Gutachten der theol. Facultät zu Greifswald über das Rostocker Consistorial-Erachten, Leipz. 1859. Gutachten der theol. Facultät zu Göttingen über die in dem Erachten des Consistoriums zu Rostock gegen die Theologie des Dr. Baumgarten erhobene Beschuldigung fundamentaler Abweichung von der kirchlichen Lehre. Gotha, 1859.

² Protestantische Warnung u. Lehre, 1857. Eine kirchliche Krisis in Mecklenburg 1858. Der kirchliche Nothstand in Mecklenburg, 1859. Ein fliegender Brief an die deutsche Christenheit, 1871, etc. etc.

³ Die Geschichte Jesu. Für das Verständniss der Gegenwart. Brunschw. 1859.

⁴ Christliche Selbstgespräche, 1861.

⁵ Lutherus redivivus, oder die kirchliche Reaktion, 1878.

CHAPTER V.

THE SCHOOL OF CONCILIATION.¹

I.

BETWEEN the New Lutheranism which would take the Church back to the standpoint of the confessions and orthodoxy of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century and the Radicalism which tends to break with historical Christianity together with the supernatural facts and positive doctrines on which it rests, there has arisen an intermediate tendency which counts numerous and authorized representatives in Germany. This School of Conciliation, as it has been justly called, with its Mediating Theology (*Vermittlungstheologie*), attaches itself directly to Schleiermacher. Its rights have been often ignored by the extreme parties who have had an interest in tracing a fantastic portrait of it, amounting even to a caricature which has been made for the purpose of depreciating it in the eyes of the public. To be just, it must be admitted that its defects have not always been loyally recognised and acknowledged by its partisans, who on that account have not resolutely applied all the resources at their disposal to overcome them. We shall first briefly expound the general characteristics of this School.²

The aim, or, if it may be said, the ambition of the theologians who have attached themselves to this School, is not so much to reconcile scientifically certain heterogeneous

¹ [The Author's designation is retained, but "the School of Mediation" might be adopted as more definitely representative of the German conception.—Tr.]

² Cf. Hagenbach: Ueber die sogenannte Vermittlungstheologie, Zür. 1858. Id.: Ueber Ziel- u. Richtpunkte der heutigen Theologie, Zür. 1867. Lange: Das sic et non oder die Ja u. Nein Theologie der modernen Theologen, 1869.

and contradictory elements (which could hardly be possible), as to reduce to harmonious unity the various factors of which the religious life is composed. It has therefore sometimes been urged against them as a reproach, that they have only from considerations of prudence, and not without anxiety, cast their looks at one time to the left and at another to the right, in order to find a practical mean, and in order to escape from becoming embroiled with any party. But they have not been content with this. Rather have they sought the "just mean" by going straight to the goal, and being preoccupied above all things by regard to truth itself, and not to its practical consequences. They have adopted the persuasion of Pascal, "that we do not show our greatness by being at an extremity, but rather by touching the two extremes at once, and occupying all that is between them." Such a mode of conciliation is pursued by them, not primarily from a view to others, but to themselves, to their own needs, and to their own religious and scientific interest.

The religious problem is founded upon psychological and historical data. The study of the human soul reveals to us the nature of the religious sentiment, its relation with our other faculties, and the special character of its manifestations. The study of history teaches us, on the one hand, how the religious sentiment has expressed itself in the course of time; and, on the other, it shows the events which God has used to awaken, nourish, and strengthen it. What the School of Conciliation proposes, is to explain history by the light of the religious consciousness, and the religious consciousness by the light of history. It finds in this relation the nodus of all the difficulties, and the point at which parties usually divide in theory as well as in practice. It is thus, for example, that the School applies itself to show that if supranaturalism and rationalism exclude each other by their false elements, they may be united by their true elements. Thus the former is right in viewing revelation as a manifestation or special impulse of God, and carrying back to it the origin and development of the religious life in humanity. Again, the second view is right in supposing that this awakening and development of the religious

life have taken place according to rational laws, that is to say, under those very conditions which are made for man here below.

It is possible that this mode of conciliation, when presented as a complete and perfectly luminous explanation of all the questions in dispute, may lead us to expect too much from it. It is possible that science and faith being destined not to combat and exclude each other, but to complete each other, may not be able for a long time still to manifest their agreement on all points. That is a possible condition which they both ought resolutely to accept, but without ever ceasing to pursue this agreement and tending to it by such special means as are at the command of each of them. In all this, however, there is no absolute antinomy.

It is said that we must choose between the modern standpoint of immanence, which excludes miracles and suppresses all authority in matters of religion, and the old standpoint of transcendence, with all the imperfections with which it is infected. But is such a choice indispensable? If God is a personal being distinct from the world, as the religious sentiment desiderates, He has an indelible character of transcendency. And yet God is immanent in the world as science demands; for we cannot represent the world as separated or isolated from Him. It is therefore not exact to say that the two points of view exclude each other. It is more correct to affirm that there is for our intelligence a difficulty here, which up till now it has been incapable of resolving.

The School of Conciliation has been reprehended for introducing miracles into theology, while it yet at bottom participates in the general repugnance of the time for the supernatural. The truth is that it finds itself obliged to refer certain historical facts, and in particular the appearance of Christ, to a special intervention of God, and to the play of laws which it is still ignorant of. It therefore admits the possibility of miracles, while reserving in regard to any particular case the right to test its reality as far as possible, because the School admits that the record of miracles some-

times bears traces of the handiwork of legend. Recognising in the person of Christ a character that is normative for the religious consciousness, it extends this character in a certain measure to the testimony which Scripture gives us of the person of Jesus Christ, as well as to the history of the divine revelations. Without admitting either the infallibility of the canon or the plenary inspiration of the text, and while reserving the right to submit both to the test of historical criticism, the School of Conciliation does not the less proclaim the authority of the Bible in matters of religion. The essential point is to define it correctly. "To submit to authority," as Marheineke has said, "is not unworthy of a free intelligence; but what it ought to reserve to itself, is the right to recognise its necessity."

The same position holds with regard to the relations between the past and the present, and between the Church and the individual. The School of Conciliation does not wish to break with the past or with tradition, because we all depend upon it in a much greater measure than is commonly imagined. It is the past which has formed us, and which still bears us along while determining the present. I spring, not dogmatically but historically, from the Church and its symbols, while reserving to myself the right to liberate myself from them or to correct them in the name of my Christian consciousness. Individualism, rightly understood, finds in the duties which are imposed upon it by the religious association, its natural limits and correctives.

Thus far we have stated the principles on which the School of Conciliation rests; but it does not need to be said that this is an ideal which it has not attained. By its very nature, it is condemned to fall into certain defects which it is also necessary to point out. And, in the first place, the theological productions of this School are often distinguished by designed or involuntary obscurities, by the want of precision in the employment of terms, thereby introducing regrettable equivocations and misunderstandings, and at times by a certain more

or less calculated reticence and silence. Sometimes also it has been possible to point out in some of its representatives a want of courage in their statements of the truth, illogical positions, awkward concessions or compromises, and an anxious search for balancing things, and for peace resulting from the effacement of opinions and the weakening of characteristic points. The epithet "pectoral theology" given to this tendency implies a certain reproach, not because it seeks the seat and origin of religion in feeling or sentiment (*pectus*), but because, owing to the preponderance allowed to sentiment, the rights of reason and of science have been often ignored.

Finally, we ought to point out that this theology has not won popularity, just because it has at times something artificial about it. It does not act on the masses. It does not speak with power to the religious conscience. It does not often inquire into the needs of the people; and it neglects or disdains to speak its language. What is simple is alone truly powerful. Now the capital defect with which this tendency may be reproached, is precisely the absence of simplicity. From these various reasons, and undoubtedly too from distrusting its own strength and not spreading its roots into the life of the community, it has almost constantly entered into alliance with power; and in the name of the alleged solidarity of the conservative interests, it has served the cause of the political and ecclesiastical reaction, especially since 1848. It has also yoked itself to the car of Prince Bismarck, and has glorified the war of 1870, with its violence and its policy of annexation, which its most eminent leaders have urged on with all their might. Most of the theologians of this School, even while continuing to defend the Union by a sort of instinct or from tradition, have been led insensibly to approach the Lutheran Right, thus abandoning to the Radical Party the defence of the liberties of the Church and the vindication of its rights in relation to the State. It is a great mistake of this party to have taken up this attitude of distrust or hostility towards the legitimate aspirations of the community, and in particular of the laity; and we are

persuaded that it is a mistake which will have to be dearly expiated.

II.

It is impossible to enumerate completely, or to make a rigorous classification of the different shades and diverse currents of thought which have met within the circle of this School, and which are reflected with more or less exactness in its religious periodicals. Its principal organs have been the *New Evangelical Gazette*,¹ edited by Professor Messner of Berlin, which is the organ of the Evangelical Alliance, and is said to be further patronized by the higher ecclesiastical council; the *Annals for German Theology and Church*,² published since 1856 under the direction of Liebner, Dorner, and some of their colleagues; the *Theological Studies and Criticisms*,³ which have been already referred to; and the *Protestant Monthly Journal*,⁴ published by Gelzer at Bâle (1852-72).

The man who aspired to the leadership of the School of Conciliation was LUDWIG FRIEDRICH WILHELM HOFFMANN (1806-1873), Superintendent-general of the church, and court preacher at Berlin. Born in Württemberg, and reared under the influence of pietism, he became director of the missionary institution at Bâle, and in 1850 was called to be superintendent of the seminary at Tübingen. Two years later he was called to Berlin to the high functions of preacher to the court, member of the higher evangelical council, general superintendent of the province of Brandenburg, member of the Privy Council, and director of the Cathedral preachers' seminary. Of a character that was at once pliant and ambitious, humble towards the great and haughty to his inferiors, Hoffmann was rather a churchman than a theologian, sacrificing scientific interests to practical necessities. Skillful in guiding the work of restoration without coming too violently in conflict with timid minds or bruising delicate consciences.

¹ Neue evangelische Kirchenzeitung.

² Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie u. Kirche.

³ Theologische Studien u. Kritiken.

⁴ Protestantische Monatsblätter.

Hoffmann became the defender of the Union and of the Evangelical Alliance, rather as it appears from policy than from conviction. Although but a moderate orator, and possessing talent without originality, he played a part which was rather hidden than apparent in the theological and ecclesiastical debates of the time. It was into his bosom that Prussian royalty poured its sorrows and its joys. It was he who drew up the orders which were designed to call the nation to penitence or to thanksgiving. With his hands always raised, he blessed victory even when it was that of might over right, and threw the mantle of his phraseology over the weaknesses and faults of the chosen instruments of Providence. From time to time he gave forth certain oracles regarding the men or the events of the day, mingling the language of the Bible with that of the daily press. His views as a whole were summarized by him in a work, entitled, *Germany past and present, in the light of the Kingdom of God*.¹ It is an odd farrago of political and religious digressions full of bitter regrets and of gloomy prophecies. The writer expresses his cardinal thought in these terms: "Germany will abandon itself and commit suicide if it abandons faith in the personal God and His perfect revelation in the incarnation of Jesus Christ, in religious matters, and in royalty by right divine in political matters."²

But it is in the person of Tholuck (1799-1877) that we can best study both the good qualities and the defects of the School of Conciliation. FRIEDRICH AUGUST GOTTFRED THOLUCK was born at Breslau and studied theology at Berlin, where he came under the influence of Neander and the pietistic circles. They made a great favourite of the young man, endowed as he was with so much intelligence and with such a lively imagination. Favoured with the highest patronage, he was called to Halle in 1826, charged with the mission of combating the

¹ Deutschland einst und jetzt im Lichte des Reiches Gottes, 1869.

² See also his Missionstunden und Vorträge, 1847; Franz Xavier, 1869; and several collections of Sermons. Cf. Karl Hoffmann: Leben und Wirken des Dr. L. F. W. Hoffmann, 2 vols. 1878-80.

activity of rationalism there. By his numerous works and by his lectures as a professor, but above all by the contact of his personality, which continued to be full of life, freshness, and expansive goodness even to his old age, he happily acquitted himself of this task, and grouped around him a considerable number of students. But if he had more than any other the gift of attracting minds and stimulating them, he had not that of settling and satisfying them. Of a nature essentially pliant and mobile, capable of assimilating all theological tendencies without attaching himself with firm conviction to any of them, he was completely wanting in creative power.¹

What strikes us most of all in Tholuck, is the extent and elasticity of his intellect. He was able to attach himself to all the interests of science and of life, and to turn them to the advantage of religion. His stores of knowledge in all the domains of human inquiry, were astonishingly great. There is nothing more interesting than the rich and picturesque details contained in his historical works. He accumulates quotations from sacred and profane authors, but his thought is lacking in sequence and depth. Tholuck was essentially an eclectic, with a touch of romanticism. He is not anxious about being orthodox. It might be said that he is less afraid of not being in harmony with Scripture or with the symbolical books than of clashing against the philosophical spirit of the time. A moderate and conciliatory supranaturalist, he insists on the necessity of personal experience. A renovator of pietism, he applies himself to enlarge its basis and to extend its horizon. He recalls the fact that Christianity is above all things a new principle of life, and that life is demonstrated by itself. To love Christ is better than to be learned; for it is to enter into direct contact with the very source of truth. Tholuck may be called the father of modern pietism. He possessed in the highest degree the gift of edifying and interesting all whom he approached from the spiritual point of view.

¹ A collected edition of Tholuck's works has been published at Gotha: Werke, 11 vols. 1862-73. Cf. Kähler: A. Tholuck. Ein Lebensabriss, 1877. Witte: Das Leben Tholuck, 1886.

An apologist of the faith in opposition to Rationalism, of which he is the declared adversary, Tholuck takes a pleasure in laying bare its weaknesses by a multitude of piquant anecdotes. His apologetic works, such as the *Doctrine of the Sinner and of the Redeemer*,¹ the *Letters of Guido and Julius: An Answer to De Witte's Theodora, or the Doubter's Consecration*,² and his *Conversations on the most important religious questions of the time*,³ had hardly any other merit than that of their opportuneness. They contain a multitude of ingenious and just remarks which are elegantly expressed, but they exhibit a pronounced aphoristic character. In his historical works on the *Spirit of the Lutheran Theology of Wittenberg in the Seventeenth Century*,⁴ on the *Academic Life in the Seventeenth Century*,⁵ and on the *Ecclesiastical Life of the Seventeenth Century*,⁶ Tholuck in like manner lays bare the poverty of orthodoxy by a multitude of striking sketches ably put together, and in such a way as to demonstrate to the most prejudiced mind that the century in which pure doctrine reigned did not exactly shine by an earnest display of Christian life.

The exegetical works of Tholuck comprise an *Exposition of the Epistle to the Romans*,⁷ a *Commentary on the Psalms*,⁸ a *Commentary on the Gospel of John*,⁹ and a *Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, with an Appendix containing a systematic

¹ Die Lehre vom Sünder und vom Versöhner, 1822, 9th ed. 1870.

² Briefe von Guido und Julius. Antwort zu Theodor oder des Zweiflers Weibe von De Witte, 1825. [The two students Guido and Julius: or the true Consecration of the Doubter. Translated from the Seventh German Edition by James Martin.]

³ Gespräche über die vornehmsten Glaubensfragen der Zeit, 1846.

⁴ Der Geist der lutherischen Theologie Wittenbergs im 17ten Jahrhundert, 1852.

⁵ Das academische Leben im 17ten Jahrhundert, 1853-54.

⁶ Das kirchliche Leben des 17ten Jahrhunderts, 2 vols. 1861. Continued by Die Geschichte des Rationalismus, 1865.

⁷ Auslegung des Briefs an die Römer, 1824, 5th ed. 1857. [Exposition of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans; with extracts from the exegetical works of the Fathers and the Reformers. Translated by the Rev. Robert Menzies, 2 vols. 1833-36.]

⁸ Commentar zu den Psalmen, 1843, 2nd ed. 1873. [A Translation and Commentary of the Book of Psalms, for the use of the ministry and laity. Translated by J. J. Mombert, 1856.]

⁹ Commentar zum Evangelium Johannis, 1844, 7th ed. 1857. [Commentary on the Gospel of St. John. Translated by C. P. Krauth, 1860.]

exposition of the doctrine of redemption.¹ He also published a philosophico-theological *Exposition of the Sermon on the Mount*,² and a treatise on the *Credibility of the Gospel History*,³ directed against Strauss' Life of Jesus, of which he happily points out the weak side, namely, its want of critical investigation as to the origin of the Gospels. We ought also to mention two very remarkable Articles on the *Doctrine of the Inspiration of Scripture*,⁴ which he restricts to the truths relating to salvation, without its, however, being possible to trace a precise line of demarcation between what is fundamental in the Bible and what is only secondary. In an apologetical treatise on *The Prophets and their Prophecies*,⁵ Tholuck, while admitting the supernatural origin of prophecy, shows that it employed means perfectly adapted to human nature, and appropriated to the individualities who were to be its instruments. It was translated into the form of images or teachings according as the divine revelation was either plastic in visions or phonetic in speech; and it is distinguished from simple ecstasy, in that it is always accompanied by reflection, and leaves a distinct recollection behind it. All the prophecies relate to the establishment of the Kingdom of God in the world. This establishment has been predicted only in its essential features, or in those the comprehension of which was useful to the religious development of the contemporaries of the prophets. No prediction has been made from a view to posterity. In another treatise Tholuck treats of the interpretation which the writers of the New Testament have given of the Old Testament in the passages which they quote.⁶ These quotations are made according to the often

¹ Commentar zum Brief an die Hebräer, 1850.

² Die Bergrede Christi ausgelegt, 1845, 5th ed. 1872. [Commentary on the Sermon on the Mount. Translated by R. L. Brown. T. & T. Clark, 1860.]

³ Die Glaubwürdigkeit der evangelischen Geschichte, zugleich eine Kritik des Lebens Jesu von Strauss, 1837.

⁴ Deutsche Zeitschrift für christl. Wissenschaft, 1850, Nos. 42 and 44.

⁵ Die Propheten u. ihre Weissagungen, 1860.

⁶ Das A. T. im N. T. Ueber die Citate des A. T. im N. T. u. über den Opfer- u. Priesterbegriff im A. T. u. N. T. 1860. [Hints on the importance of the Study of the Old Testament. Bib. Cabinet, vol. ii. 1833.]

faulty version of the LXX.; and the sacred authors do not fear to neglect the literal sense and to make use of allegorical interpretation. Tholuck does not hesitate to say that, as regards the grammatical sense, we understand the Old Testament better than the Apostles did, and that scientific exegesis, far from having done harm to the religious interpretation, has, on the contrary, served and fully justified it. The second half of this opusculum is devoted to an excellent analysis of the idea of sacrifice and of the priesthood in the Old Testament Covenant, as compared with the same idea in the New Testament.

We cannot close this account of the theological works of Tholuck without referring to his edifying writings, which are perhaps the best that he has left us. He produced several collections of sermons,¹ a meditative work entitled, *Hours of Christian Devotion*,² a treatise on the *Hearing of Prayer*,³ and an *Anthology from Oriental Mysticism*.⁴

III.

ISAAC AUGUST DORNER (1809-1884), a theologian who is held in much repute for his learning and depth, also belongs to the School of Conciliation. He was born at Neuhausen in Württemberg, made diligent study of philosophy and theology at the University of Tübingen, and after visiting Holland and England, was appointed Professor of Theology successively at Kiel in 1839, at Königsberg in 1843, at Bonn in 1847, at Göttingen in 1853, and at Berlin in 1862. His most important works are a *History of Protestant Theology*,⁵ a *History*

¹ Predigten über die Hauptstücke des christl. Glaubens u. Lebens, 6th ed. 2 vols. 1876. [Light from the Cross. Sermons on the Passion of our Lord. Translated by R. L. B. T. & T. Clark.]

² Stunden christlicher Andacht, 1840, 3rd ed. 1870. [Hours of Christian Devotion. Translated by Rev. Robert Menzies, D.D.]

³ Die Gebetserhörungen, 1872. [A Selection from the University Sermons of A. Tholuck. Translated by A. Mannes, Lond. 1844.]

⁴ Blüthensammlung aus der morgenländischen Mystik, 1825.

⁵ Geschichte der protestantischen Theologie, besonders in Deutschland, nach ihrer principiellen Bewegung, u. im Zusammenhang mit dem religiösen, sittlichen u. intellectuellen Leben betrachtet, München 1867. [History of Protestant Theology, 2 vols., T. & T. Clark.]

of the Development of the Doctrine of the Person of Christ,¹ a System of Christian Dogmatics,² and a System of Christian Ethics,³ edited after his death by his son.

According to Dorner, the idea of man is realized only in a partial and fragmentary manner in each of us, but in Christ it is realized in its totality. He is, as it were, a collective being who unites in His person the types of all isolated individuals. Yet such a conception is not only singularly removed from orthodox doctrine, since it does not imply the divinity of Christ, but it is very difficult to comprehend it. A personality which unites the features of all personalities, and which is represented as, in some sort, man in himself, runs a great risk of being only a pure abstraction. In any case, history gives a formal contradiction to this hypothesis, for there is nothing more striking, nor more distinct, we would even venture to say, more individual, than the personality of Jesus Christ as it disengages itself from an attentive study of our Gospels. Why not limit ourselves to affirming that the secret of this personality, of which history offers us no other example, absolutely escapes us, as in a very different sphere does the secret of all that belongs to the individuality of genius? And why not add that the gifts and the aptitudes which Christ has revealed, oblige us with the sacred writers to place Him in a relationship of communion and immediate Sonship with God, which implies at once equality and subordination, under conditions which we are incapable of explaining?

Neither could we subscribe any more readily to the explanation which Dorner professes to give of the doctrine of the Trinity. The one personal God has, according to Dorner,

¹ Entwicklungsgeschichte der Lehre von der Person Christi, 3 vols. 1839, 2nd ed. 5 vols. 1845-57. [History of the Development of the Doctrine of the Person of Christ, 5 vols., T. & T. Clark.]

² System der christlichen Glaubenslehre, 2 vols. 1879-81. [A System of Christian Doctrine, 4 vols., T. & T. Clark.]

³ System der christlichen Ethik, 1887. [A System of Christian Ethics, 1 vol., T. & T. Clark, 1893.] Dorner's other works may also be mentioned: Das Princip unserer Kirche nach dem Verhältniss seiner zwei Seiten betrachtet, 1841; Sendschreiben über Reformation der evangelischen Landeskirche, 1848; Der Pietismus, besonders in Württemberg, 1840; Gesammelte Schriften aus dem Gebiete der systematischen Theologie, Exegese und Geschichte, 1883.

three different modes of existence united together in an indissoluble way, and constituting His Being with all its attributes, from His sufficiency (*aseitas*) to the consciousness of Himself and to His love. These three modes of the existence of God, of which the eternal result is the one and absolute divine personality, possess, each in its own way, all the divine attributes. Now, as the personality of God knows itself and wills itself equally in each of these three modes, the modes cannot be conceived as impersonal; but they ought to be called personal, undoubtedly not as so in an immediate and isolated way, but in their eternal unity. Moreover, if God the Son possesses a mode of divine existence as His proper and eternal character, but without having part immediately in the absolute personality of God, it is possible that God, as Son, may communicate Himself in a complete way to humanity, without entering into collision with the human personality; and since the Son participates mediately with the one and absolute divine personality, which wills and knows itself in three different ways, it follows that humanity in itself is intimately bound to the divine personality. The Son, the perfect image of God, is at the same time the ideal man, the second Adam; and the mystery of His incarnation is thus explained.

In reproducing thus literally this important passage,¹ we admit in all humility that we do not at all understand it; and we are inclined to fear that there is under this appearance of depth nothing but a vain jingle of formulae, a pure logomachy. Dorner is, in our view, a striking example of the radical impotence with which the mediating theology (*Vermittlungstheologie*) is struck when it professes to reconcile modern thought with the ecclesiastical dogmas without abandoning a single one of these consecrated formulae. It is a fatal illusion to imagine that science will be made to progress by explanations so unintelligible, so scholastic, and so hollow as the one we have just referred to. At this cost we prefer a thousand times the massive conceptions of the traditional orthodoxy; and we almost understand, although we do not approve of, the

¹ Geschichte protest. Theologie, pp. 873-6.

contemptuous term of "emasculated theologians" which certain Lutherans have flung at those who are satisfied with speculative attempts at reconstruction at once so artificial and so unfruitful.¹

Along with Dorner we place CARL THEODOR ALBERT LIEBNER (1806-1871), successively Professor at Göttingen, Kiel, and Leipsic, and General-superintendent at Dresden of the Churches of Saxony.² He first published two historical works on the Mystical Theology,³ for which he always cherished a lively predilection. He also published collections of Sermons,⁴ as well as the first volume of a *Christian Dogmatics according to the Christological Principle*.⁵ This volume bears the impress of the mystical spirit of the author; but it contains only the doctrine of the Trinity renewed after Richard of Saint Victor according to the idea of the divine Love, and the doctrine of the Incarnation. After the manner of Dorner, Jesus Christ is represented by Liebner as the typical Man, that is to say, as the Incarnation of the Idea of the human species. The Absolute could manifest itself only in the totality of the individuals. Jesus Christ summed up and concentrated in Himself the whole of the natural gifts of humanity. Further, Liebner adopts the theory of the *κένωσις*. The Deity, on becoming incarnate in Christ, stripped Himself of all His attributes in order to be, or rather in order to appear, fully human. These lucubrations may perhaps be regarded as shadowy and rash in so dealing with a problem which will probably remain unsoluble. There is, however, more fruitful result in the care with which Liebner lays stress upon the importance which the

¹ For Dr. Schaff's account of Dorner, see *Appendix*.

² Cf. Nachruf an Liebner von Dorner. Jahrb. für deutsche Theol. 1871, H. 3.

³ Hugo von Sankt Victor u. die theologischen Richtungen seiner Zeit, Leipz. 1832. Ueber Gerson's mystische Theologie, 1835.

⁴ Predigten in der Universitäts Kirche gehalten, Gött. 1841. Predigt am Reformationsfeste 1864 mit Vorwort über die neuesten Behandlungen des Lebens Jesu. Predigten. Beiträge zur Förderung der Erkenntniss Christi in der Gemeinde, Gött. 1861.

⁵ Die christliche Dogmatik aus dem christologischen Princip dargestellt, I., Gött. 1849. Also: Aus Vorlesungen über die Dogmatik. Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie, 1856, H. 1.

ethical element ought to have in the construction of Dogmatics. What is most practical in Christianity contains also the elements of true speculation.

Similar observations apply to the *Christian Dogmatics*¹ of JOHANN PETER LANGE (1802-1884). Lange was born near Elberfeld, and was Professor of Theology at Bonn from 1854. He is the poetical theologian *par excellence*. He is celebrated for the numerous lectures which he has delivered on all sorts of subjects, and for the large *Theological and Homiletical Commentary on the Bible*² which was published under his direction. A brilliant extemporizer, endowed with a rich imagination and a sparkling intellect, clever in finding seductive formulæ and ingenious combinations with the view of procuring acceptance for the positive doctrines, Lange is apt to abuse this deceptive facility. It has been said of him that his thoughts succeed each other in such rapid and agitated waves, that all calm reflection and all rational distinction becomes, in a manner, drowned. It is the theory of immanence above all which has carried Lange away. In order to overcome the dualism which exists between God and the world, and to combat the cruder conceptions of supernaturalism, Lange shows that the act of creation was a divine necessity, and that the essence of the world is identical with the essence of God. Nature is not only nature, but a seed of life which has issued from the Spirit and returns to the Spirit. The world forms an ascending series of appearances, developing in an always more perfect manner the germ of the divine. Miracle is the sign of the appearance of a new principle of life in nature; and the same holds good of Inspiration in the domain

¹ Christliche Dogmatik, Heidelb. 1849-52, 3 vols. (Philosophische, Positive, Angewandte Dogmatik).

² Theologisch-homiletisches Bibelwerk, 22 vols., Diefelfeld 1856 ss., containing commentaries on all the Books of the Bible. [Theological and Homiletical Commentary on the Old and New Testaments. Specially designed and adapted for the use of Ministers and Students. Translated, enlarged, and revised under the general editorship of Dr. Philip Schaff, assisted by leading Divines of the various Evangelical Denominations. Old Testament, 14 vols.; New Testament, 10 vols. T. & T. Clark.]

of the spirit. Revelation is nothing else than the continuation of creation, the progressive development of the divine in humanity. Man is not only the finite but the determinated, who in his absolute determination also possesses determinated absoluteness. The proof that this is the true idea of God and the true idea of man is that both melt harmoniously into the idea of the Man-God. It must be admitted that considerable dexterity is required to harmonize these bold speculations and this brilliant play of imagination with the old doctrines taught in the Bible and in the Confessions of Faith.¹

Although more sober and measured than Lange, Bishop Martensen has likewise sought to combine in a somewhat artificial manner the modern philosophical ideas with the dogmas of the Church. HANS LASSEN MARTENSEN (1808–1884) was born at Copenhagen, where he became a Professor in 1838. He was afterwards Bishop of Zealand from 1854. His works charm the reader by their concise, correct, and even elegant exposition. Martensen exhibits great ability in rounding the angles of orthodoxy and making everything disappear from it which might shock the modern mind. But we do not find in his thought either internal unity, or powerful movement, or originality. His system betrays a skilfully disguised eclecticism. Besides two monographs on the *Autonomy of the human Self-consciousness*² and on the mystic *Meister Eckart*,³ his most important works are his *Christian Dogmatics*⁴ and his *Christian Ethics*.⁵

¹ Among Lange's other writings the most important are: *Die Geschichte des apostolischen Zeitalters*, 2 vols. 1854. *Grundriss der christlichen Ethik*, 1878. *Die gesetzlich-katholischen Kirche als Sinnbild der freien evangelischen*, 1856. And a *Life of Christ*. [The *Life of the Lord Jesus Christ*. Edited, with additional Notes, by Marcus Dodds, D.D.]

² *Autonomie des menschlichen Selbstbewusstsein*, 1837.

³ *Meister Eckart*, 1840.

⁴ *Die christliche Dogmatik*, 1856 (translated from Danish into German). [Christian Dogmatics. T. & T. Clark.]

⁵ *Die christliche Ethik*, 4th ed. 2 vols. 1883. [Christian Ethics, 3 vols. I. General Ethics; II. Individual Ethics; III. Social Ethics. T. & T. Clark.]

Martensen has also published: *Katholicismus u. Protestantismus*, 1874; *Jakob Böhme*, 1882; and an *Autobiography*, *Aus meinem Leben*, 2 vols. 1883–84. Martensen-Dorner, *Briefwechsel aus deren Nachlass*, 1839–81, 2 vols. 1888.

Martensen represents the Revelation of God in Jesus Christ as a higher degree of His revelation in human reason. There cannot, therefore, be any contradiction between them. Accordingly, Martensen applies himself to find a new deeper sense for every dogma. He combines and reproduces the Christological ideas of Dorner and Thomasius. Christ occupies a special cosmical rank between God and the creatures; and He divested Himself of His divinity in order to become really man. The doctrine of Satan, borrowed from Schelling, plays a special part in this system. Satan represents evil in itself becoming a cosmical principle; he is the younger son of the first-born, the Lucifer who constitutes himself into Antichrist, the centre of the anti-divine world. Martensen's mystical doctrines of the Sacraments ought also to be noticed. In the Sacrament, Christ wishes to complete not only the spirituality, but also the corporeity of His people. The Sacrament is not only a mystery of the spirit, but of nature also. Martensen distinguishes in Baptism between substantial regeneration and personal regeneration, or between the objective side and the subjective side of the new birth.

In the Holy Supper, he finds a nourishment for the soul in order to strengthen it in faith, and for the body in view of the future resurrection. The minister of the Church has in the eyes of Martensen the same promises, the same power, and the same authority as the Apostolate. Ordination is more than a ceremony; it is almost a sacrament. Martensen, who is so Lutheran in what concerns the sacrament, is, however, very little so in his eschatological ideas. He admits the sleep of souls from death to the last judgment, with peaceful dreams in the case of the righteous, and terrifying dreams in the case of the sinner. Christianity will end by reigning over the whole world. The Church will celebrate a period of terrestrial glory heightened by the visible presence of Christ. The millennium has its type in the days comprised between the resurrection and the ascension of Christ; it is the Sabbath which precedes the last struggle with Antichrist and the coming of the final judgment.

IV.

JOHANN TOBIAS VON BECK (1804-1878) is also to be reckoned among the theologians of the School of Conciliation. He was born at Balingen in Würtemberg, and was Professor at Tübingen from 1833.¹ A man of original intellect, of an independent mind, and endowed with rare spiritual power, Beck resuscitated the pietism of Bengel and the theosophy of Oetinger, giving them a peculiar character and vigour. A Biblicist, and at the same time an obstinate individualist, he refused to see in the modern theories of the Church anything but a fatal deviation from the Protestant principles. He opposed the blunt honesty of his Swabian piety to the polished Pharisaism of Berlin, as a decided adversary of the court preachers and the German pseudo-patriotism. His works, on account of their obscure and heavy form, and the peculiar style of his language, are, unfortunately, almost unapproachable.² It was his personality, his profound seriousness, and his vigorous appeals to the conscience of his hearers, that explained the influence which he exercised. No professor in Germany had more disciples, nor more enthusiastic ones, than Beck, although he often complained of the misunderstandings which his doctrine experienced among them. And yet Beck disdains all the external or artificial means of captivating; his eloquence and his persuasive force flow immediately from the truths which he expounds. He is

¹ Cf. B. Riggensbach: J. T. Beck's Lebensbild, 1888. Liebetrut: Beck's Stellung zur Kirche u. zum Bekenntniss, 1858. Beck u. seine Schule in Evangel. Kirchenzeitung, 15 Nov. 1858.

² Einleitung in das System der christlichen Lehre, Stuttg. 1838, 2nd ed. 1870. Die christliche Lehrwissenschaft nach den biblischen Urkunden, 1840, 2nd ed. 1875. Leitfaden der christlichen Glaubenslehre, 1869. Umriss der biblischen Seelenlehre, 1843, 3rd ed. 1871. Kirche u. Staat in ihrem Verhältnis zu einander, 1870. Christliche Reden, 6 vols. 1834-70. Christliche Liebeslehre, 2 vols. 1872-4. Erklärung der zwei Briefe Pauli an Timotheus, 1879. Pastorallehren nach Matthäus u. der Apostelgeschichte, 1880. Vorlesungen über die christliche Ethik, 2 vols. 1882. Beck's Discourses (*Reden*) are unquestionably the best of his productions: it is in them that his peculiar genius breaks forth with most vigour. [Outlines of Biblical Psychology. T. & T. Clark. Pastoral Theology of the New Testament. Translated by M'Clymont and Nicol.]

a man convinced and inwardly regenerated by the truth which speaks. Beck opposes his Biblical faith both to the confessional orthodoxy, which has not spared him its keenest attacks, and to the system of Schleiermacher, with its hazy theology. He holds that theological speculation should not take as its starting-point the religious feeling, which is so uncertain, so variable, and so subjective, but the revealed Word, considered in its organic unity. But it is as a moralist rather than a dogmatic theologian that Beck is distinguished. The man and the psychological observer are superior in him to the thinker.

Along with Beck, CARL AUGUST AUBERLEN (1824-1864) naturally takes his place. He was of Swabian origin, having been born at Fellbach, near Stuttgart, and was a disciple of Beck, Rothe, and Baur, and Professor at Bâle from 1851. He is known for his works on Biblical Theology, a treatise on the Theosophy of Oetinger, and a discussion of Divine Revelation, all of which show that, like his teachers, he combined a living piety with a pronounced taste for theological speculations.¹ Of a noble soul, and endowed with an original intellect, Auberlen was able to understand and appreciate his adversaries, and he felt a profound dislike of an intolerant and pugnacious orthodoxy. His *Apologetic Essay on Divine Revelation* endeavours to bring into relief what are commonly called the external proofs, that is, the historical testimonies in favour of Christianity, which, according to him, are too much sacrificed in our time. Auberlen examines the series of arguments which make for the authenticity of the Divine Revelations. The second part contains an historical exposition of the various religious

¹ Die Theosophie Oetinger's nach ihren Grundzügen, 1847, 2nd ed. 1859. Der Prophet Daniel und die Offenbarung Johannes, 1854, 2nd ed. 1857. Die göttliche Offenbarung. Ein apologetischer Versuch, 2 vols. 1861-64. Beiträge zur christl. Erkenntnis, 1865. [The Prophecies of Daniel and the Revelation of St. John, viewed in their mutual relation. Transl. by Saphir, 1856. The Divine Revelation. (The Pauline Epistles; The Gospels; The Old Testament: The great Intellectual Conflict in the Christian World; The Elder Protestantism and Rationalism; The Defeat of Rationalism.) T. & T. Clark.]

tendencies and schools which have arisen in Germany since the Reformation, and of the services which they have rendered, or the impediments which they have brought to the defence of Christianity. The third part, which remained unfinished, contains a dogmatic study of the Christian Revelation. Auberlen had remarkable talents as a preacher,¹ lecturer,² and writer. His style is clear, simple, full of warmth, and of almost classic beauty. The premature death of Auberlen caused everywhere the most lively regret.

CARL BERNHARD HUNDESHAGEN (1810–1872), well known for his apologetical writings, was mixed up with various ecclesiastical controversies. He was born near Hersfeld in Hesse, became a *Privat-docent* at Giessen in 1831, was banished from Hesse on account of his political liberalism, was thereafter Professor at Berne for thirteen years, when he was called to Heidelberg; but, having separated from the leaders of the Baden Church on the ecclesiastical question, he spent the last years of his life as a Professor in the University of Bonn.³ His principal work, entitled, *German Protestantism, its Past, and its living questions in the Present*,⁴ was published anonymously, and it caused considerable sensation. In it he lays bare the numerous vices in the political and ecclesiastical situation of Germany in 1846. Full of a manly enthusiasm for the greatness of his country, and foretelling the part which Prussia would be called to play, he demands an independent organization for the Church, in order that it may again be able to become a power in the life of the people, and exercise a salutary influence on the national education. The style of Hundeshagen's works is unfortunately heavy, laboured, and filled with obscure antitheses. While pleading the cause of the enfranchisement of the Church from the bonds of the bureaucratic influence and the theological caste, Hundeshagen

¹ Zehn Predigten, 1855.

² Schleiermacher, Ein Charakterbild, 1859.

³ Th. Christlieb: Hundeshagen, Ein Lebensskizze, 1873.

⁴ Der deutsche Protestantismus, seine Vergangenheit u. seine heutigen Lebensfragen, Frkf. a. M. 1846, 3rd ed. 1849.

cannot get rid of a didactic tone which detracts from the freshness and popularity of his writings.

Hundeshagen wrote a great number of works on the relations between the Church and the State, and the relations of the various Churches to each other.¹ He also published an excellent study on the *Nature and Historical Development of the Idea of Humanity*,² in which he shows that this idea was foreign to antiquity, and, in particular, to Greece with its particularistic ideas, its slaves, and its naturalism. The Idea of Humanity came into the world with that of the Kingdom of God, which is its true source. Christianity, throwing down the national barriers, and considering all who are regenerated by faith as children of God without respect of persons, has done more for the triumph of the idea of humanity than all the sages and all the legislators. It is true that the Church has not always been faithful to its mission. The idea of humanity was threatened with being engulfed, first by the clerical hierarchy in Catholicism, and a second time by the confessional orthodoxy in Protestantism. But it remains no less certain, that of all the factors of modern life, Christianity alone possesses enough of power to represent and bring about the prevalence of this beautiful and fertile idea of humanity in contemporary society.

Bâle is celebrated not only for its missionary seminary, its university, and its pious institutions, but for its believing and enlightened public, and its courses of apologetical lectures and discussions. Among other theologians, KARL RUDOLPH HAGENBACH (1801–1874) was born at Bâle, where he

¹ Die Konflikte des Zwinglianismus, des Lutherthums u. des Calvinismus in der bernischen Landeskirche von 1532 bis 1558, 1842. Die Bekenntnisgrundlage der vereinigten evangelischen Kirche im Grossherzogthum Baden, 1851. Das Princip der freien Schriftforschung in seinem Verhältniss zu Symbol u. Kirche, 1852. Ueber einige Hauptmomente in der geschichtlichen Entwicklung des Verhältnisses zwischen Staat u. Kirche, 1860. Beiträge zur Kirchenverfassungsgeschichte u. Kirchenpolitik insbesondere des Protestantismus, 1864. Sechs Jahre in der Separation, 1867. Ausgewählte kleine Schriften und Abhandlungen, edited by Christlieb, 2 vols. 1875.

² Ueber die Natur u. die geschichtliche Entwicklung der Humanitäts-idee, 1852.

lectured as a Professor from 1828, after having concluded his studies at Berlin, and come under the beneficent influence of Schleiermacher. A remarkably clear, conciliatory, and easy writer, he has distinguished himself in theology by his popular works on the History of the Church, on the History of Dogmas, and on Theological Encyclopædia.¹—CHRISTOPH JOHANNES RIGGENBACH was also born at Bâle in 1818, became a Professor there in 1851, and has superintended the Mission Committee since 1878. Like Hagenbach, he has been distinguished as a lecturer. He is best known by his *Lectures on the Life of Jesus*.²—Among the other apologists of German Switzerland, are Guder of Berne,³ Heldt,⁴ and Löwe of Zürich.⁵

Beyschlag and Fabri occupy a place by themselves in the School of Conciliation. WILLIBALD BEYSCHLAG was born in 1823 at Frankfort-on-the-Maine, studied theology at Bonn and Berlin, and made a reputation at Coblenz and Treves by his talents as a preacher and teacher. In 1852 he published

¹ Vorlesungen über Kirchengeschichte. Neue überarbeitete Ausgabe, 7 vols. 1868-72. (Ältere Kirchengeschichte, 2 vols. Mittlere Kirchengeschichte, 2 vols. Wesen u. Geschichte der Reformation, 4 vols. Kirchengeschichte des 18ten u. 19ten Jahrhunderts. The first editions appeared from 1834 to 1843.) Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte, 2 vols. 1841, 6th ed. 1888. Encyclopædie u. Methodologie der theolog. Wissenschaften, 1833, 10th ed. 1880. Grundlinien der Liturgik u. Homiletik, 1863. Leitfaden zum christ. Religionsunterricht, 1850, 7th ed. 1874. Oekolampadius u. Mykonius, 1859. Geschichte der theol. Schule Basels, 1860. M. L. de Wette, 1850. Predigten, 9 vols. 1858-75. Hagenbach edited the Kirchenblatt für die reformirte Schweiz from 1845.—Cf. Eppler: K. R. Hagenbach, 1875. Stähelin-Stockmayer: K. R. Hagenbach, Bas. 1875.

[A History of Christian Doctrines. With Introduction by Dean Plumptre. 3 vols. History of the Reformation in Germany and Switzerland chiefly, 2 vols. T. & T. Clark.—Theological Encyclopædia and Methodology. Translated and adapted by Crooks and Hurst, New York 1884.]

² Apologetische Beiträge, Basel 1861. Vorlesungen über das Leben Jesu. Basel 1858. Die Zeugnisse für das Evangel. Johannis neu untersucht, Basel 1866. Die Apostelgeschichte. Ein Versuch ihre Zuverlässigkeit nachzuweisen. Basel 1869. [On Thessalonians in Lange's Commentary.]

³ Die Thatsächlichkeit der Auferstehung Christi u. deren Bestreitung, Bern 1862.

⁴ Selbstzeugnisse Jesu für die Suchenden unserer Zeit. Zürich 1865.

⁵ Jesus der Christ. 16 Apologetische Vorträge über die Grundlehren des Christenthums, Zürich 1865.

a book, entitled *Evangelical Contributions to the Old and New Dialogues on State and Church* by General von Radowitz,¹ which created some sensation. Four years afterwards Beyschlag was called as Court preacher to Carlsruhe, and he took a leading part in the struggle directed by the conservatives against the liberal agitation in ecclesiastical matters. The liberal party having triumphed, he obtained an appointment as Professor in the University of Halle in 1860, where he soon became the eloquent head of the liberal evangelical party—the so-called “Middle Party”—especially in the General Synods of 1878 and 1879. As the defender of the rights of the laity and of the autonomy of the Church,² he has maintained publicly on various occasions that the separation of the Church and State was the only remedy for the evils from which the religious life in Germany is suffering at present.³ Beyschlag seems to have caught a sight of all the compromising influences that have come to bear on the destiny of the Gospel in his country from a long-continued association with a policy which is not always impressed with the Christian spirit. In theological matters, Beyschlag drew upon himself the animadversion of his party by the attitude which he took up at the ecclesiastical conference of Altenburg, where he denied the personal pre-existence of the Logos. He has since published his views in a *Christology of the New Testament*,⁴ and in a treatise on *The Pauline Theodicy*.⁵ Beyschlag shows that none of the writers of the New Testament puts Christ in the rank of the mere creatures, and, nevertheless, they all distinguish Him distinctly from God; in other words, they proclaim his subordination to the heavenly Father. As to Saint Paul, he does not confine himself to teaching the divinity of Christ. In Paul's view, Jesus Christ, all and whole, according to His divine nature and according

¹ Evangel. Beiträge zu den alten u. neuen Gesprächen über Staat und Kirche.

² Artikel xv. der preussischen Verfassung, 1870.

³ At the Meeting of the Evangelical Alliance at Berlin and at the October Assembly at Berlin in 1871.

⁴ Die Christologie des N. T. 1866.

⁵ Die paulinische Theodicee, Rom. ix.-xi., 1869.

to His human nature, had a pre-existence, but under an impersonal form. The humanity of Christ constituted in some sort a part of His being, of His substance, even before His coming to the earth. He is the uncreated type of humanity, the absolute man,—man *in se*,—but only in the state of type. This, it will be seen, is an idea borrowed from Dörner, Liebner, and Lange; but we confess that we understand it little, and that we like it even less. We prefer the articles which Beyschlag has devoted in the *Studien und Kritiken* (1864, H. 2; 1870, H. 1, 2) to refute the theory of Holsten regarding the visions of Saint Paul; and we like most of all the beautiful biographies he has published, for which he has an exceptional talent, as witness those which he has devoted to his brother, a distinguished Christian and pastor of Rhenish Prussia.¹

FRIEDRICH FABRI belongs by birth to Bavaria. He is the superintendent of the missionary seminary of Barmen. He became known by the publication of an apologetical discussion directed against the materialistic theories of our time,² but he has made his reputation chiefly in connection with questions regarding the organization of the Church and its relations with the State.³ He has unfolded his views in two works, of which one was published after the annexation of Hanover, Hesse, and Schleswig-Holstein in 1866,⁴ and the other after the establishment of the Constitution of the German Empire and the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine in 1871.⁵ Fabri had taken part officially in matters of ecclesiastical reorganization

¹ Aus dem Leben eines früh Vollendeten, 2 vols. 1859, 5th ed. 1879. (This affectionate memorial of his brother Franz has been freely reproduced in French by Mme. W. Monod: *Souvenirs d'un jeune pasteur allemand*, Paris 1868.) K. T. Nitzsch. Eine Lichtgestalt der neuern Kirchengeschichte, 1872. Zur Erinnerung an D. A. Wolters, 1879. Beyschlag has also published a series of Lectures under the title, Zur deutsch-christl. Bildung, 1880. Since 1876 he has edited the Deutsche evangel. Blätter, the organ of the "Middle Party." Beyschlag has also written Die christliche Gemeindeverfassung im Zeitalter des N. T. 1874; Zur johanneischen Frage, 1876; and a Leben Jesu, 2 vols. 1885-86.

² Briefe gegen den Materialismus, Stuttg. 1856.

³ Die Stellung des Christen zur Politik, Barmen 1863.

⁴ Kircheng. politische Fragen der Gegenwart, 1867. See the author's article in the Revue chrétienne, xiv. 705.

⁵ Staat und Kirche, 1872.

at these two epochs, and his ideas have been keenly discussed in the German press. He is, above all, a man of conciliation. In the desire to be just towards all parties, and to borrow from each the elements of truth it contains, he has elaborated a project designed to satisfy both the friends and the adversaries of the Union, partisans of the synodal system and of the consistorial system, supporters of ecclesiastical unity and of decentralization, advocates of the independence of the Church and of its connection with the State, of the traditions of the past and of the exigencies of the present. Favourably received by certain politicians whom such views tended to favour, Fabri's project has been combated by theologians of all parties. It may be said, on the whole, that the obscurities and equivocations on which it rests, have made its fortune in the circles in which it has been applauded. Taken all in all, it is much too clever, too complicated, too artificial; and a critic has justly observed, in parodying the epigraph of Fabri, that his point of view was neither ecclesiastical nor political, nor, consequently, was it ecclesiastico-political, as the author was ambitious to have it, not to speak of certain very dangerous proposals, such as that of the re-establishment of the Episcopate and the entry of the Bishops into the Upper House.

Yet it cannot be disputed that Fabri is so far on the right scent. Thus no one has better characterized the shades and difficulties of the actual ecclesiastical situation in Germany than he has done. He has spoken in eloquent terms of the "disfavour which orthodoxy finds in the public opinion, which, intoxicated by the glory of the New Empire and dreaming only of the omnipotence of the State, rejects with an extreme nervous irritability all reminiscence of the Christian State as implying a constraint that is absolutely intolerable." He has exhibited the Church as deprived of all initiative, the Government as paralysed by the evil will of the Chambers little disposed to grant the funds necessary to organize the Church, the successive failings of the Conservative party as confounding in an arbitrary manner the idea of the divine and that of

history, and absolutely incapable of comprehending the needs and tasks of the present. He has also described the ecclesiastical bureaucracy as united to the theology of the court, and eager to resolve every conflict to the advantage of unconditional obedience to the State and to the detriment of personal convictions. He has represented the Protestant liberalism as unable to do without the State Church in endeavouring to realize its programme. He has depicted the movement of the Old Catholics as inspired less by profound religious motives than by the moral indignation which could not but be provoked by the manner in which the sophistry of the Jesuits has violated history. And, finally, he regarded the campaign which was undertaken by Bismarck against Ultramontaniam as waged by dangerous arms, and of a nature likely to wound the Protestant more even than the Catholic Church.

V.

Rothe (1799-1867) is unquestionably the most distinguished theologian of the School of Conciliation, and the most original thinker since Schleiermacher. He also showed himself to be one of the humblest Christians and one of the finest formed characters of his age. It will therefore be worth while, in view of his importance and living interest, to treat of him in some detail.¹ RICHARD ROTHE was born at Posen on the 28th January 1799. His father held an office in connection with the finances, and was in easy circumstances. Although an

¹ Nippold: Richard Rothe, Ein christliches Lebensbild, 2 vols. 1873-75. Schenkel: Zur Erinnerung an Dr. R. Rothe, Allgem. kirchl. Zeitschrift, 1867, H. 9 et seq. Spöri: Zur Erinnerung an Rothe. Zeitstimmen, No. 21 et seq. Achelis: R. Rothe, Stud. u. Krit. 1869, H. 3; and separately, Gotha 1869. Holtzmann: R. Rothe, Jahrbuch des deutschen Protest.-Vereins, i. p. 69. Winckel: R. Rothe, der frühere u. der spätere. Protestant. Monatsblätter, 1869, H. 7, 10. L. du Solms: Uebersicht theologischer Speculation nach Rothe, 1872. Fischer: Die Ideen Rothes über Moralisches und Religiöses, Stud. u. Kritik, 1880, H. 3. Colani: Revue de Théologie, 2 série, x. 18. Astié: L'Ethique de Rothe. Théologie et Philosophie, ii. 161. Babut: Exposition du système théologique de Rothe. Bulletin théologique, 1868, No. 2 et seq. [Sermons for the Christian Year. Advent—Trinity. By Professor Rothe of Heidelberg. 1877.]

only child, Rothe was not spoiled. "As far as memory carries me," he says, "I was always much occupied within myself." As a little child, he already in all simplicity constructed for himself an imaginary world in place of the real world, which did not suffice him. He was much inclined to solitude. What undoubtedly contributed to develop this meditative tendency was his sickly constitution, which gathered strength only about his eighth year; but this irresistible tendency in the depths of the soul towards the mysterious persisted in him. The materials for these fanciful constructions were drawn by him from picture-books and descriptions of travels. The imagination was the faculty which was developed in him first and with most power. This is what explains why it was that for a long time, in spite of his keen religious needs, he preferred the theatre to the church. The dry preaching of the Rationalists repelled him. Christianity appeared to him as an immense spiritual power in the world, a fact which in its greatness and richness greatly surpassed his reason, and was consequently a mystery. At a time when everybody was a rationalist, Rothe preserved his faith in the supernatural. He compared religion to an enigma which is given us to solve. He considered it as "the deliverance from the triviality of the common existence." At the same time, he carefully cultivated his intelligence. After having attended the gymnasium of Stettin for two years, he went to Breslau in 1811 to finish his preparatory studies. It was there that he occupied himself for the first time seriously with the Bible. From the first it made an extraordinary impression upon him.

He had lived without any great troubles, and absorbed in himself, when the events of 1813-14 awoke him from his dreamy life and vividly attracted his attention. Breslau was the centre of the opposition that was directed against Napoleon. Many young men among his relatives and friends had gathered there in order to be enrolled in the ranks of the volunteers. Rothe would also have liked to take up arms. A complete change, moreover, had just taken place within him. The spiritual life was beginning to break forth

in powerful streams; his soul was revealing to him a whole world filled with creative ideas. He began to have a presentiment of the purpose of human life. Personal and special work became a need to him; and thoughts came crowding upon him without his seeking for them. He read eagerly all that fell into his hands: Goethe, Jean Paul, Schlegel, Tieck, and others of the Romantic School. Novalis soon became his favourite poet.¹ His religious life underwent an analogous transformation. He experienced more and more the need of an immediate contact and of personal intercourse with the living God. Prayer became to him "the sweetest enjoyment." He addressed it almost always to the Saviour. Won by the religious awakening which was then spreading over all Germany, he became anxious about his moral state: he was ashamed of his faults, but faith in the merciful goodness of God consoled him. Every feeling as to a righteousness of his own, was foreign to him. He felt, indeed, that we can claim no right before God. Scientific and æsthetic enthusiasm was, moreover, intimately united with this religious awakening. However much he remained a stranger to rationalism, he felt no hostile sentiments with regard to it. He held in esteem the piety that showed itself among the rationalists, and "bowed before it."

In 1817 he went to Heidelberg to study theology. He tells us that the supernatural in the Bible did not provoke the slightest doubt in him, and that he did not get at all into collision with even its most mysterious doctrines. But, at the same time, he had the firm conviction that the Scriptures contained nothing which was contrary to our reason, and that their doctrines were designed to exercise it in order to mature it and render it capable of gradually comprehending all mysteries. Unconditional faith and the freest scientific work appear to him to be capable of being indissolubly united. Faith was, in his eyes, the key to the most elevated knowledge. As to Schleiermacher, and in direct opposition to the

¹ See the essay he afterwards wrote on Novalis. Novalis als religiöser Dichter. *Allgem. Kirchl. Zeitschrift*, 1862, II. 10.

rationalistic system, the person of Christ seemed to him to be the true object of faith, and the understanding of this person the true task of the science of the Christian. Rothe had chosen Heidelberg and not Breslau as the place at which to begin his studies in theology. His father had desired to remove the young silent dreamer from the paternal house in order that he might learn to become more independent. The rough manners of the Breslau students were, moreover, profoundly distasteful to him; and, as he tells us, "the Prussian character inspired him with a lively repugnance from his childhood." The mysticism of Heidelberg, as expounded by Daub, Creutzer, Wilkens, and others, exercised an irresistible attraction over him. Rothe himself characterizes his stay at this University as "a poetical, religious, and scientific idyl." He remained a stranger to politics; and he could never acquire the taste for reading newspapers. He preferred solitude, retired walks, and long uninterrupted philosophical meditations. He assiduously followed Hegel's lectures, although he felt no enthusiasm otherwise for his person. The writings of Schelling attracted him more. Theology still gave him great trouble. He felt only repugnance for the rationalist doctrines of the time. He had no taste for Biblical criticism, and the traditional dogmatic system seemed to him unassailable; but inward satisfaction was, with all this, wanting to him. Not finding the resources he required in the lectures of his professors, he helped himself. The great thoughts of the Apostle Paul opened themselves to him by degrees; and he understood the evangelical order of salvation by his own personal experience. He thus acquired the conviction that Jesus Christ did not come to bring us a new doctrine, but a new principle of divine life. He studied the works of Luther especially, with great zeal.

Rothe left Heidelberg in 1819 in order to go to Berlin. His stay in this city was not agreeable to him. Neander alone attracted him; and even in Neander it was the man rather than the professor that influenced him. Strange it is that Schleiermacher made no impression upon him. This was

because Rothe was not yet receptive for the critical element which constituted the chief strength of Schleiermacher. He attached himself to the pietistic society which was grouped around the Baron von Kottwitz. The impressions which he received in this connection were, however, very mixed. In the month of October 1820 the young theologian was admitted into the pastoral seminary of Wittenberg, and he remained in it two years. This sojourn exercised considerable influence upon him. The Biblical orthodoxy and the great cordiality of the Superintendent Heubner, the harmony which reigned among the students of the seminary, the absence of party spirit from their midst notwithstanding the difference of their theological tendencies, the prevailing tone, which was at once dignified and earnest yet did not exclude youthful gaiety, and the free scientific spirit: all this captivated Rothe. The arrival of Stier with his ascetic and massive Christianity brought a new element to the seminary. Rothe did not dare to compare his "little Christianity," so imperfect, so unfinished, and so elementary as it appeared to him, with the infallible certainty and the finished form of the Berlin piety. He went always deeper into the writings of Zinzendorf. The Baron von Kottwitz paid frequent visits to the young students of the seminary; and he was usually accompanied by Tholuck, who was then a *Privat-docent* at Berlin. At the same time Rothe formed an acquaintance with Emil Krummacher. He became, according to his own testimony, a sincere but not very happy pietist,—a pietist from conscience, but without true joy. He sounded more deeply his inner life, discovered new defects in it, and united himself more closely and more personally still with God and with Christ. But he also felt a weight, an undefinable disquietude within; he isolated himself frequently from the other students, and multiplied the exercises of edification. At moments he experienced a dryness which tended to increase his anguish. The ideal which he had hitherto pursued had vanished; and if some rays of its old splendour still struggled to reach him, they appeared to him

so mundane that he was alarmed at them, and fled from them forthwith.

In the excellent family of Heubner, Rothe had made the acquaintance of the sister-in-law of his superintendent, Luise von Brück, who was soon after to become his wife. In 1822 he set out for Breslau, where he began to lecture as a *Privat-docent*. He also preached regularly, and was held in high estimation in pietistic circles. He formed a friendship with Julius Müller, H. Steffens, Scheibel, and others. In the month of December 1823, he set out with his young wife for Rome to fill the office of Chaplain to the Prussian Embassy. According to his own avowal, Rome had for him "no other interest than might have been felt for the first incidental village into which he might have been sent as pastor." At first he lived at Rome in a very retired and even solitary manner. The masterpieces of art in the city left him cold. But it was not long till he felt himself drawn towards the Roman Protestants, of whom some were filled with deep religious sentiments. Among them, and in the first rank, was the Chevalier von Bunsen. Moreover, Rothe felt keenly the privilege of enjoying great individual liberty. He soon decided to let fall from the form which his Christianity had put on, all that wanted internal consistency; and he thus experienced a great joy. He had the feeling of a real religious and moral convalescence, in consequence of which he set himself courageously to work. In the theological sphere he made the acquaintance of Thomas Erskine of Linlathen, who interested him greatly. His taste for art returned; and he learned by degrees to understand the Italian nature. Insensibly, also, he felt germinating within him thoughts of his own in religious matters, and to the development of these, from that time, he consecrated the greatest care. He had now the feeling that he would be called to create an original theological system.

In 1828, Rothe was called as Professor to the seminary of Wittenberg, where he soon also became director. He delivered courses of lectures on the history of Christianity.

Notwithstanding his youth, he won from the outset the affection and esteem of the students by the cordial interest which he showed in each of them; and he experienced an exquisite intellectual enjoyment in the scientific curriculum of study which he superintended with great talent. He spent at Wittenberg the finest and sweetest years of his life, which were, no doubt, obscure, but they were full of meditations and labours which were to be singularly fruitful for the future. He was thirty-eight years old when he published his first work, a new attempt at the interpretation of the celebrated passage on original sin in Rom. v. 12-21. It is a model of exegetical penetration and of precision in its method. In 1839 he was appointed Professor at Heidelberg; and he spent the rest of his life there, except a sojourn of five years at Bonn from 1849 to 1854.

No one had more the gift of acting upon students and gathering them around him than Rothe had. The prestige with which his name was surrounded, finds its explanation in the harmonious union of faith and science in his person, in his happy mingling of candour and imagination, in his simple inward piety, together with the manly independence and the almost alarming boldness of his thought, which was always jealous of the rights of science; and above all in his true humility, his amiable austerity, and his discreet and penetrating charity. There was more in him than a speculative intellect of the first order aspiring to an entire renovation of theological science; for in Rothe there was also felt the Christian to whom the invisible world was a reality, the professor who could make the religious chord vibrate. His love of souls, his exquisite goodness, his unchangeable serenity in the midst of trials, his indefatigable devotion, the delicate care he lavished on his wife, who was affected with a mental malady, and his Christian optimism, which already saw the world all resplendent with the glory of the Redeemer, have done as much for the fame of Rothe as his theological works. May we not even say that they have more value in the eyes of God?

Here, too, in spite of some severe judgments on the part of adversaries who have been led astray by the spirit of party, is the explanation of the veneration associated with the name of Rothe; and hence also the emotion which spread through the whole of Germany when in the end of August 1867 it was learned that Rothe had just died, an emotion which only increased when the details which had marked his end were known. "Let all my friends know," he said to Pastor Zittel, "let all those who are interested in me know that I die in the faith in which I have lived; nothing has been able to disturb this faith within me; but it has become always more firm and more inward." The evening before his death, they handed to him a telegram from the Free Congregation of Mannheim and its pastor, through which they expressed their sympathy. He showed himself sensible to this mark of interest, and then he added, smiling: "This will not increase my reputation for orthodoxy; but this reputation is of importance only in the eyes of men, and not before the tribunal of God." Like Schleiermacher, he wished before dying to receive the Holy Communion. The pastor who administered it to him said: "You die in peace with God?"—"Yes," replied Rothe, "and with men. It is great goodness on the part of God to have led me in such a way that a bitter feeling has never been able to take root in me against any one whomsoever." The same spirit breathes in the touching recommendation which the dying theologian took care to dictate to his servant: "From the bottom of my heart I beg my ecclesiastical friends, and especially those who may speak on the occasion of my interment, to keep from saying a single word, under the pretext of praising me, that might give pain to my adversaries. As to these adversaries I have always in all sincerity esteemed them better than myself. . . . Besides, there is no praise more vain than what wounds our neighbour." One proposed to inform some of his relatives about his state. "No," replied Rothe, "it is not good that there should be too many people around a deathbed; for then there is no room for the angels."

But let us turn to his works, which unfortunately will always remain rather inaccessible to ordinary readers, even though familiar with the German language. The reason is that Rothe gave little care to the form of his writings. Whether it was that he did not judge it necessary, or that his thought was really embarrassed, he does not facilitate the understanding of his doctrines to his readers. His style, especially in his principal work, is obscure, heavy, dragging. It might be said that in reading him, one feels as if walking amidst fragments of rocks flung abroad at hazard, and that they arrest and wound us at every step; yet here and there are found blocks of the finest granite, and afar off are heard the murmur of foaming cascades. And, in fact, in its substance the thought of Rothe is like granite, while his speculation produces the effect of mountain torrents, the mere sight of which refreshes and inspires power.

VI.

Rothe's work on the *Beginnings of the Christian Church*¹ was left unfinished, one volume only having appeared. It is divided into three books. The first book treats of the relation in which the idea of the Church stands to that of Christianity; the second describes the historical origin and formation of the Christian Church; the third narrates the development of the conception of the Church in its first stadium. The second and third books are chapters of history accompanied with numerous texts in support of the assertions of the author: the first summarizes his doctrine and the results to which his historical investigations have led him. We shall give a summary exposition of their contents.

The Christian life, inasmuch as it is the intensest religious life, is endowed with a powerful force of expansion. Thus the idea of Christianity is inseparable from that of the Kingdom of God which its Founder proposed to establish on earth. This Kingdom is ever the constant end towards which

¹ Die Anfänge der christlichen Kirche, 1837.

all its efforts are directed. But what is the form which this Kingdom puts on? Is it that of the Church or that of the State, the only two forms of society that we know? One is only too ready to answer that it is the Church, which by the very nature of the elements that compose it, and of the functions it exercises, seems to be closer than the State to the end which Christianity proposes. This, however, is an error. The purpose of the Church is to give satisfaction to the religious wants of man; whereas the State, according to Hegel's definition which Rothe appropriates, embraces the whole of the moral activity of man. But—to look more closely at the subject—the sphere of the religious functions and that of the moral functions coalesce from the Christian point of view. In point of fact, the moral activity cannot be different from the religious activity; for it is only in so far as it is inspired by God, or by the absolute reason, that human activity has a really moral character. Similarly it is not possible to conceive of the religious activity as separated from the moral activity. Under the penalty of remaining barren and of no longer deserving its name, it has to be translated by facts which fall under the category of the moral law. That is an important idea to which Rothe often returns, and on which he pauses with complacency. Celebrated theologians before him had already pointed out the inconveniences arising from separating dogma from morality, and morality from dogma. In the Christian dogmas, which appear the most abstract and the most speculative, one may still recognise a relation to man and his moral transformation; and, in like manner, the simplest counsels and the most practical rules of morality could not do without drawing their motives from the source of all life in God. (But Rothe will not stop half way. He raises this necessary relation between the moral activity and the religious activity to an identity, and draws from it a rather unexpected conclusion. He says that, in point of fact, either the purpose of Christianity is a theocracy, that is to say, the creation of an ecclesiastical society employing all the moral forces for the glorification of a

hierarchy strongly organized, and shining by the splendour of its ceremonies while embracing the entire world by its rites and ordinances; or the gospel has in view the regeneration of the State and of civil society, by applying all the religious forces of man to the transformation of the social relations which are imposed upon him by nature. It will easily be divined that Rothe pronounces without hesitation for the latter alternative.)

But if the State is to embrace human life in all its extent, what place will the Church have to occupy? The reply is, that the Church has as its mission to dissolve itself insensibly into the State; for in order to realize its end, the State ought to draw to itself the whole domain of which the Church pretends to take possession. All the elements and all the functions which it is customary to regard as constituting an integrant part of the ecclesiastical society, are at bottom only constitutive elements and functions of political society. This remark applies equally to discipline, to doctrine, and to worship. It applies to Discipline: for when the Church shall be truly religious, all the education which it will give, will be religious, and will coalesce with moral education. The same holds good of Instruction. It is on the State that the cultivation of science is incumbent; and science will one day have an entirely religious character. There will then be no longer any distinction between profane sciences and sacred sciences; theology and philosophy will coalesce. There remains the subject of Worship. But the sentiment of edification is not alien to the State, which will cultivate it always better by means of art, and in particular by means of the theatre when invested with a religious character. The theatre, regenerated and purified from the deleterious elements which dishonour it at present, will be the temple of the future; and there the multitude, as in the fair days of Greece, will draw lessons of virtue and moral power from the contemplation of great human things, rendered with the marvellous resources which are furnished by modern art.

All this naturally applies, in the thought of Rothe, only to

the religious and Christian life when it has arrived at its perfection; in a word, to the ideal State. In the meantime, the Church has an important work to fulfil, and preserves its natural place in the organism of human society. It prepares and fashions the individuals in view of the future State. Its function is essentially educational, *pædagogic*. It is a means and not an end. If in paganism religion appears as dependent on nature and on being absorbed in it: and, on the contrary, if in the Old Testament the natural element appears checked and thwarted by the religious element, the mission of Christianity is to re-establish them in their true relation. In its beginnings Christian piety, it is true, mistaking this task, regarded nature as its enemy. But the Church could not remain in this state of abstraction and isolation; it aspired to "realize" itself as a society in the world, and the first effort that it made to constitute itself was already an unfaithfulness to its principle. In seeking to give itself a visible form, it could do so only by marking with its impress the elements of the natural human life, and even those most refractory to this design. The Catholicism of the Middle Ages was the grandly imposing realization of the visible Church, and, at the same time, its ruin; for in order to realize itself, it had to denaturalize the social relations, to combat the State, and to fold back upon itself in order thus to become concentrated and petrified.

The Church has its *raison d'être* as long as the State still contains mundane elements, or elements not permeated with the religious idea; and its mission is to combat these elements. Jesus Christ knows a Church militant and not a Church triumphant; He considers the Church as the instrument which has to prepare the coming of the final state of things, or of the Kingdom of God upon earth. The Reformation only imperfectly understood this function of the Church. It thought to escape from the difficulty of the Catholic theory by its idea of the invisible Church. But an invisible Church is not a Church; because a purely spiritual community is not a Community properly so called. It has no organs, and it

does not include common functions. Accordingly, among the partisans of the Reformation, some of them return (most frequently without knowing it) to the Catholic idea, while others consider the Church only as a school, or as a means of mutual instruction for forming members useful to civil society, and for bringing this society to the state of perfection. The State, when perfected, will exclude the Church. All the elements of life which the State contains, is carried by it naturally in its bosom; but the Church has purified and christianized them. How could the Church also realize a visible society, without entering into a fatal competition with civil society?

It is necessary to distinguish carefully between the religious element and the clerical element in the Church, and between society and the world in the State. One easily understands that a Church in which a strongly organized clergy exercises domination, cannot maintain its independence and realize its end otherwise than in the struggle against the State. On the other hand, as long as a religious community sees the mundane, or immoral and irreligious, element predominate in the State, it will find itself under the necessity of carefully distinguishing itself from it. In the proportion in which the Church succeeds in absorbing the national life into itself, it charges itself with a poison which will end by denaturalizing its own essence and transforming it into a State; and, on the contrary, in the proportion in which it isolates itself from the national life, and separates the religious functions properly so called from the moral and civil functions, it is condemned to dwindle and to perish. It has therefore only a single part to take, that of effacing itself by dissolving itself gradually into the State. It is in the nature of the Christian spirit to tend to permeate all human life, and to adapt itself to all the forms in which it moves, and to glorify them. The most religious man feels, indeed, that he is truly such only when all the manifestations of his life bear the impress of his piety. It is a narrow point of view to imagine that one is more religious the more one separates oneself from

the common life. To choose occupations apart, to create factitious interests for oneself, and to enter into abnormal relations, is always a dangerous thing. It is in life as God Himself has made it, that the power of Christianity ought to manifest itself.

Rothe's theory, stripped of its paradoxical form, appears to us to be quite just. It is destined to give the death-blow to clericalism; that is to say, to everything which aims in the Church by means of its leaders at absorbing and confiscating for its own advantage the powers and religious activity of its members. It ruins every pretension that tends to accentuate and exaggerate the importance of the external organization; but it does not the less condemn that sectarian, narrow, and ascetic spirit which isolates itself from society and anathematizes it without understanding it. Rothe's theory settles in a real definite manner the actual and the final relations between the Church and the State. It has, however, the great error of occupying itself almost solely with the latter relations, the ultimate or final relations, and neglecting the former actual relations, which have in our view an otherwise practical importance. Rothe considers the state of completion too exclusively, and passes lightly over the state of preparation in which humanity seems likely to be still engaged for an indefinitely prolonged time. The ideal state which he describes has so little resemblance to the actual state, that we may well reserve for it the designation of the "Kingdom of God;" whereas the Church must so necessarily affirm itself, and distinguish itself from the State in order to combat the bad elements which it contains, that it is almost dangerous to be repeating too often that it is destined to be absorbed in it. We shall see farther on to what practical and, in our view, erroneous consequences this fault has drawn Rothe away. Rothe, moreover, foresaw the keen opposition which his book was likely to give rise to; and he has himself called it a nest of paradoxes. It was quite evident that all the churchmen, and all the theologians in gown and lawn, could not but cross themselves at the sight of one who

rejoiced at the decay of the Church, because it appeared (no doubt wrongly) to prophesy to his eyes the near approach of the Christian State as the realized Kingdom of God.

In the second part of this work, Rothe deals with the historical origin of the Church. His investigations are of great interest. The discussion to which he applies himself is conducted with a clearness approaching to complete evidence; and all those who have seriously occupied themselves with this period have come to confirm the results at which he arrived. We shall indicate the line of his exposition very summarily. Our Lord did not found a Church. His first disciples were much more occupied with proclaiming the word of salvation than giving a strong ecclesiastical organization to the rising Christian communities. It is only incidentally that we find traces of such an organization in the Books of the New Testament. The first Christians continued to attach themselves to the synagogue, and they separated themselves from it only when the persecution of the Jews constrained them to do so. All the functions of the young Christian communities had a democratic character; they rested on the election and free assent of the faithful. The presbyters and the bishops were only the servitors of the community; and the identity of the two comes out clearly from the apostolic texts. It is in the writings of the Apostle Paul that we find the first reflections regarding the Church; but they are still applied rather to an abstract idea than to the concrete assemblies of the rising communities. (In the Apostolic period proper, that is, down to about the year 70, there was not yet a Christian Church, but only isolated congregations or communities. The first elements of an organization, and of a future ecclesiastical bond of connection, are found in the Apostolic Council of Jerusalem, and in the delegates which it sent to the Churches.)

The union of the Christians was threatened, however, by the fall of the Jewish Synagogue, by the death of the Apostles, and by grave divergences in doctrine. The danger of a return to Judaism or to paganism, could be conjured away only by

the establishment of an external bond which would bind the various parties of the Christian Church to each other. The last survivors among the Apostles appear themselves to have taken the measures, under the form of a testament to the communities, by which the Church constituted itself. Rothe refers especially to the creation of the Episcopate, as the organ of the unity of the Church and the continuation of the Apostolate. He finds the traces of it in the assertions of Clement of Rome, of Irenæus, and of Ignatius, the authenticity of whose Epistles Rothe thinks has been wrongly called in question. The democratic and authoritarian elements were up to this period still combined in the constitution of the communities. United in assembly, the Bishops considered themselves not only as the representatives of the particular Churches, but as the real heads of Christianity, invested with apostolical authority. The Episcopate professed to take the place of the Apostolate, but with powers and pretensions otherwise much extended. With this state of things, necessitated by the general movement of history, coincide the dogmatic developments given to the idea of the Church. This idea ought to have reflected the real state of things; but it is only by an illusion that one can be persuaded that it is so. In reality, the idea of the Church was constructed logically, and applied to the whole of the Christian communities, without examining whether all the attributes of holiness, universality, and unity applied to them.

A new period opens with Cyprian, when men began to be conscious of the non-identity of the empirical Catholic Church with the idea of the Christian Church. In order not to break violently with the whole historical development, it was necessary to establish the position that the idea of the Christian Church was in all points applicable to the Catholic Church. The unity of the Church was therefore made to rest on the unity of the Episcopate. The uninterrupted succession of the Bishops was the means by which the Holy Spirit was preserved in the Church. We see at once all the abuses which would flow from this theory; but it may be said that

it was in an almost imperceptible manner that the Church was led by a sort of logical necessity over the fatal incline which was to issue in the Papal system, the Roman theocracy.

(Hence we are confronted with this dilemma. Either the Christian communities might not have given themselves an organization and visible connection; and then what would have become of them? And if they have been obliged to give themselves these, how could this organization have issued otherwise than in the consequences which we deplore? Doubtless the ambition of men, especially of the heads of the clergy, have had much to do with it; but it ought not to be forgotten that the very course of things dragged the Church towards the Papacy.) Moreover, there is something striking in the result. The greatest visible glory of the Church has coincided, so to speak, with the commencement of its humiliation; and every day since then, the visible Church has seen itself forced to lose something of its splendour in order to return to its modest beginnings and to fulfil its true destiny. We understand how this afflicts those who put the strength of the Church in a well-regulated organization, in a wisely graduated hierarchy, and in a sumptuous apparatus. But, from our point of view, we can only congratulate ourselves with Rothe, at seeing the Church reduced to the position of using no longer any but spiritual arms, and of wishing no longer to lean on any but Him who has said: "My grace is sufficient for thee; I will perfect my strength in thy weakness!"

VII.

Rothe's principal work is his *Theological Ethics*.¹ It is not easy to give a precise and summary idea of this work. We have to do with a vast system which embraces not only the whole sphere of morals as the science of the good, of virtue, and of duty, but also all the parts of the Christian doctrine, including the idea of God, the creation of the world, and the ideas of man, sin, salvation, Jesus Christ, and the future

¹ Theologische Ethik, 3 vols. 1845-48, 2nd ed. 5 vols. 1867-70.

things. This richness in the material of the work, when compared with the title adopted by the author, need not astonish us, if we remember that the basis of Rothe's speculation is the identity of the religious element and of the moral element. In Rothe's Ethics we find a real fusion of Dogmatics and Ethics. He takes his starting-point in consciousness, or in the idea of God which is found inscribed therein; but he does not contemplate it otherwise than in its relations with the world and with men.

Rothe himself declares that he does not belong to any one School. He attaches himself by preference to the theosophists, and in particular to Oetinger, from whom he, however, separates himself on more than one point. In fact, his work possesses the principal characteristics of the theosophic systems. And, in the first place, we find in it that absolute independence of thought which moves in a sphere infinitely elevated above the notions of orthodoxy or of heterodoxy. Rothe cannot bear that timid and anxious method which does not permit one to think seriously, because it is always concerned about results, breaking the thread of thought at every moment in order to look right and left, incessantly making reservations and compromises, and landing at the end of the reckoning neither in a true science nor in a joyous faith. To the holy boldness which Rothe professes to exercise, he, however, unites the most delicate and inward piety. The results of speculation will never rightly be contradictory to Scripture. Rothe will make a counter application of his system. Besides, he does not commence by making a *tabula rasa*; he is not ignorant of the treasures of which Christian thought is the depository. A burning thirst for truth devours him; but he knows that he will really possess it only when he shall have assimilated it to himself, or when his consciousness shall have embraced it. Finally, he distinguishes with care, perhaps with too much care, that speculative Theology which can have only an individual character of its own, from Dogmatics, which is rather in his eyes a historical science, and which expresses the faith of the Church. It is only when dogmatic theology

no longer satisfies the minds of men that the need of theological speculation makes itself felt. It has the task of preparing the materials for a future Dogmatic, but it cannot aspire at ever itself taking the place of Dogmatics. But what dogmatic system is there perfect enough to satisfy all minds even for a short time? Is not the need of speculation—that is to say, of the revision or personal investigation of truth, and of the perfecting of dogma—a permanent need? And hence does not all dogmatic theology, along with the historical character that it borrows from tradition, likewise bear the individual character of a speculative science?—In the second place, what distinguishes theosophy, and consequently also the work of Rothe, is a certain mixture of reverie and of realism. Rothe gives a large place to imagination; he aspires at reaching comprehensive ideas corresponding exactly to the reality of things. With this end in view, he embraces the domain of nature as well as that of mind. He expects much from the Philosophy of Nature; he seeks for analogies in the inorganic and organic worlds; he believes that anthropology cannot be separated with impunity from cosmology. Speculative theology ought to consult the natural sciences, and to exercise an influence over them. But Rothe, unfaithful to his engagements, and seduced by deceitful mirages, often quits the land of reality for the realm of phantasy and chimera. He multiplies hypotheses with a simple candid assurance; he deduces consequences with a serenity that nothing disturbs; and he speaks of the future things with quite a scientific preciseness.—The third characteristic which distinguishes the theosophist, is the obscurity and inappropriateness of his language. Rothe does not hesitate employing a language of his own, and forging new terms. A definition once given, he continues to use its unintelligible and fatiguing terms when their special sense has been forgotten. The result of this often is a complacent play with logical formulæ, which has the appearance of science, but which leaves things unexplained, and recalls only too well the abstract evolutions of the Hegelian philosophy. But what

is still more startling is, that after having reached a philosophical formula very little in harmony with the Christian dogmas, Rothe does not hesitate declaring it identical with the ecclesiastical formula. Hence we have a singular confusion and an embarrassing mixture of idioms, a jingle of philosophical words and Christian terms, which sounds somewhat disagreeably to the ear.

Let us sketch briefly the principal points in Rothe's system. He defines God as the absolute personality, and this personality contains a double element, nature and spirit. The absolute personality is endowed with reflection, consciousness, and free activity. In the mode in which God distinguishes Himself from Himself, and affirms His unity in the distinction of His constitutive elements, Rothe finds again the Trinitarian doctrine, although in a sense absolutely different from the ecclesiastical doctrine. The world is necessary, and is consequently eternal; it is the non-Ego which God opposes to Himself in distinguishing Himself from Himself. But this non-Ego does not constitute a limit to God, who just unfolds His creative activity in order to overcome it, and to realize His idea in a manner always more perfect. The creative activity of God is nothing else than the gift of Himself to others. Love is not only an attribute of God; it constitutes His very essence. This creative activity follows a progressive march by an ascending series of gradations, of which each is determined by that which precedes it. From the lower stage of matter, or the absolute non-spirit, we rise to man, whose personality is formed by the unity of consciousness and of proper activity. In personality, owing to the creative activity of God, matter has overpassed itself in producing its contrary spirit. But in the human personality there is still a material element to which the spirit is bound, and which it should aspire to permeate. It is necessary that the personality of man should assimilate to itself all the material forces which environ it, and make them the instrument of its enfranchise-

ment. This is the moral task. The ethical act continues the act of creation, which is thenceforth given over to the care of the creature. But this development is slow, insensible, and called to pass through various stages. The creation of man is by no means completed in Adam; it is realized only in the second Adam, in Christ. (Rothe concludes from it the necessity of the passage of man through sin as a stage of the moral progress which all humanity has to go through. Man cannot follow from the very outset a normal development and be without sin; for it is of the essence of the personal creature to find himself still placed under the power of matter, and to be able to make himself master of it, only in consequence of long conflicts and painful labours.)

Humanity is only completed by Christ, whose appearance is referred by Rothe to a creative act of God. By an act of His omnipotence, God has posited in Christ a new commencement of humanity. In order to prepare humanity to receive it, Rothe admits a special revelation by which God manifests Himself with a degree of redoubled, visible, and material evidence in miracle, and with an internal and spiritual evidence in inspiration. Faithful to the principles of the supranaturalism which Rothe introduces here, and which he combines with the theory of the immanence which he has just expounded, (he defines miracle and inspiration as the absolutely inexplicable effect of an immediate act of God in creation, without the intermediation of creation.) The person of Christ, which was supernaturally conceived, bears this same character of an unfathomable mystery.

But it is in *eschatology* that Rothe's imagination gives itself full play. The end of the world is to come when the number of separate beings necessary to realize the idea of creation, is complete. Jesus Christ and the Christians already made perfect, will return to the earth to consecrate in some sort this perfect state. The earth becomes transfigured; it divests itself of its material envelope; and external nature, with its coarse first products, is destroyed. The earth will then have become heaven, and the barrier which separated it

from the other spheres of the universe, will have fallen away. There is to be a free communication between the spheres of the world when it is thus brought to perfection. The angels are the rational beings who inhabit these spheres, and communicate freely with each other. As to the demons, they are the damned chased from the perfect world, and rejected from the creation as its outswEEPINGS. They can live only in the material world, and in the spheres which are in the way of creation, or in the void.

VIII.

Rothe's *Dogmatics*,¹ published after his death mainly from manuscript lectures, completes his Ethics. This work reproduces the same leading ideas under the officially received rubrics, while taking as its starting-point the consciousness of sin and of grace. The most remarkable part of Rothe's dogmatic work is made up of the Prolegomena which he had already published in his lifetime in the *Studien und Kritiken*.² Specially noteworthy are his theory of revelation, and his succinct and luminous polemic against the infallibility of the Bible. (Rothe insists on a careful distinction being made between Revelation itself and the Bible, which is only the documentary record of it.) For a long time theology started from the idea that Revelation consisted in the supernatural communication of a religious doctrine, and identified it with the Bible. This has given rise to a multitude of errors and misunderstandings regarding the use which it is proper to make of the Scriptures, the nature of the authority which may on good ground be attributed to them, and the character of their inspiration. The distinction between Revelation and the Bible is one of the most important conquests of modern theology.

¹ Dogmatik. Herausgegeben von Schenkel, 3 vols. 1870-71. Cf. the critical analyses of it in the *Liter. Centralblatt*, 1870, Nos. 17-23.

² Studien u. Kritiken, 1855, 1858, and 1860. Published apart under the title *Zur Dogmatik*, 1863.

According to Rothe, the revealing activity of God is only a particular form of His redemptive activity. It precedes and prepares for the latter. By it God purifies and strengthens the religious consciousness of man, as actually disturbed and weakened by sin. The pædagogic activity of God for the salvation of humanity extends over all the peoples, but it is only in Israel that it has taken the form of a revelation, having as its object to re-establish the religious consciousness in all its truth. In revealing Himself, God reveals nothing but Himself. It is exclusively the knowledge of God which is the object of Revelation. Indirectly, it is true, Revelation sheds light over other objects also, even over the entire world. It places all things in the light of a new day. It is for us to lay hold of them, and observe them with justness. This requires serious effort and prolonged labour, and does not exclude any kind of error. God leads us by revelation into all truth, not by promulgating in a supernatural manner a complete system of dogmatics, but by making His faithful image shine on our horizon like a heavenly dawn, which sheds its clearness all around, and allows us successively to perceive all things.

But how does God purify and strengthen our religious consciousness? The old dogmatic theology was wrong in representing man as entirely passive in the work of salvation. The divine Revelation finds in the human soul a point of contact and attachment. God does not act in a magical manner; He observes the laws on which our spiritual life rests; He puts into play the forces which are to determine the new direction of our religious consciousness. He reinforces the means by which it is usually awakened in such a way as to render it capable of reflecting with clearness the true idea of God. These means are the events in the domain of nature and of history, which God makes to appear on the horizon of human observation, events such as can be explained only by the idea of God, while at the same time they reveal it in all its fulness. Rothe distinguishes Inspiration from this manifestation of God in history and in nature. In

order that the external manifestations of God may be understood by man, He accompanies them with an internal action on the consciousness, so that we may rightly seize their meaning and bearing. God does not make Inspiration magical; for He attaches it to the redoubled religious impression produced by His manifestations, which naturally create a greater receptivity among those who observe them. Manifestations without inspiration would be mute and useless prodigies; Inspiration without manifestations would be only a fantastic and deceptive light. They prove their divine origin and attain their end by reciprocally completing and confirming each other.

Inspiration assumes various forms. It produces either presentiments (vision, contemplation) or thoughts (prophecy). God touches the keyboard of the human soul in such a way that out of the mass of the ideas or images it contains, several combine so as to make an idea or an essentially new image arise in consciousness, of which the individual can affirm with certainty that he has not produced it himself. Further, the manifestations and the inspiration of God are always determined, and consequently limited, by the historical environment in which they are produced. It is not necessary that they remain unintelligible to man, though neither is it necessary that he should immediately understand them in a perfect manner.

Revelation is both supernatural as to its cause, and natural as to its manner of adapting itself to the general organism of history. The old dogmatic theology occupied itself much with the criteria of revelation, or with the signs by which it might be recognised; and three of these signs were indicated, namely, miracles, prophecies, and the testimony of those who were the recipients of revelation. But at bottom this was an idle question. Revelation, in communicating a new idea with evidence to the world, accredits itself, and has no need of any other testimony. Nevertheless, the value of these signs is not to be absolutely overlooked, although it may be necessary to understand it in a sense different from that which was attributed to it by the traditional theology.

Miracle, according to Rothe, is a constitutive element of revelation. Its object is not so much to accredit to the multitude him who performs it, as to render God Himself evident to man. We ought not therefore to say that revelation is accompanied by miracles; rather it consists in miracles. When we approach the objections which are raised by miracles, it is necessary to separate the wholly abstract question, Can there be miracles? from the concrete question, Is the miracle which is reported to us, for instance in the Bible, authentic? The first question belongs to the domain of philosophy, the second to that of history. To mix them is to bring about confusion. Criticism alone can pronounce in questions of history. As to the philosophical problem, it is natural to see pantheism and determinism denying miracles, as they presuppose a relative independence of the world in relation to God, notwithstanding its absolute dependence. The idea of miracles implies a real distinction between the divine causality and that of the creature; or, in a word, it implies a sphere open to the liberty of God and to that of man. Miracle is the logical consequence of Theism. If God is conceived as having a will distinct from the world, an activity of this will on the world must be admitted. But this activity, inasmuch as it is the intervention of a transcendent principle in the course of the world, can only be supernatural; that is to say, it must constitute a miracle.

The knowledge of the laws of nature, far from overthrowing the idea of miracles, strengthens it and throws a full light upon it. When there is no knowledge of the laws of nature, there is no miracle for man; just because everything is regarded as miraculous. How can the theist maintain that the laws of nature are violated when God, in virtue of His absolute causality, creates new phenomena in nature, and which, moreover, are perfectly homogeneous with it? The result of the miraculous activity of God is at all points conformable to nature; it forms an integrant part of its organism, and is subject to its laws. How should the laws established by our experience be overthrown, even if miracles reveal

themselves expressly to our experience as not being the result of the ordinary play of the laws of nature?

(Rothe says excellently, "I am not to be intimidated by the term, Laws of Nature. This phrase is for ever opposed to us, like a Medusa head; but we will tranquilly look it in the face and not render ourselves guilty of the superstitious use which contemporary irreflection, with its aristocratic airs, likes to make of it. I sincerely honour the laws of nature, and I rejoice cordially at all the progress which is made in the knowledge of them. God Himself has subjected all the forces of the universe to them, but He has not subjected Himself, with His liberty and His omnipotent will, to these laws. Just as in His eternal plan God did not bind Himself beforehand by the inflexible determination of a prescience regulating all the details of the development of the world, and did not in any way immure Himself in the absoluteness of His decrees, so in establishing the laws of nature God did not intend to imprison His activity in them, nor to set them up as an impassable barrier to Himself. There is no other barrier to the divine activity than what is in contradiction with it: and this is the irrational, or what is evil.")

If God has created the world under the form of an organism, He has disposed it in such a manner that it does not exclude His immediate intervention. He has given His laws that breadth and elasticity which are everywhere the condition of the regular performance of its functions by a good mechanism. In our days, an exaggerated idea is formed of the organic bond which exists between the various parts of nature. It is supposed to be endowed with an absolute fineness and perfection. But this organism is not perfect, precisely because it is material; it is subject to numerous crises and to the dissolvent action of physical evil. The idea of matter even excludes, in a certain sense, that of organization. The creative activity of God does not therefore want occasions for working at the development of the organic life of nature in removing the obstacles and causes of trouble which impede it. This imperfection of nature is quite natural; for a world

absolutely perfect, which would exclude the intervention of the divine activity, would be a limit, a barrier to God its author.

For the sake of greater clearness, Rothe believes that it is necessary to distinguish between the various kinds of miracles. The maximum of miracle is found where God acts without the intermediation of a middle cause. This is the case for creation. All new formations and all new stages of the terrestrial creation are new commencements. Their existence has been determined, but not caused, by what existed anteriorly. Every creative act of God, properly so called, is a miracle, the immediate product of the divine causality. The cause and the effect absolutely cover each other, and cannot be separated. There is no "becoming" in this case. We see only the effect, and deduce the cause from it. Such a miracle falls under the action of the senses. There is in it something magical. Can God indeed produce nothing by a magical process? He alone can. Or would this perhaps not be permissible even to Him? Certainly He can do it only where such a process is in place, or where He neither enters into contradiction with Himself, nor with the holiness of the government of the world. Such a miracle is essentially inexplicable; for it is an effect of God produced without the intervention of a second cause. It excludes the possibility of our being able to imagine it. This kind of miracle does not enter into conflict with the laws of nature, for a conflict supposes contact, which is here excluded. Neither the creature nor the laws of nature concur in producing it. In its genesis, this miracle does not touch on the domain of the laws of nature; but when once produced, it enters into its organism and becomes subject to its laws.

God can also act by means of secondary natural causes by conforming Himself to the laws which govern them, but in a manner which is possible only to Him. Or, He produces unknown and unexpected combinations of the forces of nature, which are capable *in se* of modifying themselves *ad infinitum*, and are predisposed by God for this from the time of their creation. The regular play of the laws of nature is not dis-

turbed; what escapes us is the new mode, the unexpected combination, which God introduces into it. Man can act freely on nature, and use it as an instrument to realize his designs, and this is so in the proportion in which he knows the laws of nature. He makes nature also produce effects which it would not have produced itself in virtue of its own organic development, and which consequently cannot but appear paradoxes or actual miracles to the lower animals. Could not God, in like manner, use nature to realize His designs, by putting its laws into play in order to produce new combinations? "Why could not God play on the marvellous instrument which we call terrestrial nature more harmoniously than we? He who alone completely knows the disposition of this instrument, plays on it with a skill in comparison with which our most perfect art is only a pupil's effort. He produces effects which fill us with admiration and astonishment, although everything proceeds as regularly as in our simplest solfeggios. We may be perfectly tranquil: God, in touching the organism of nature, spoils nothing in it. He does not damage its connection; He does not throw its finest chords out of tune. The certainty of the Master's hand, and the accomplished dexterity of its play, answer to us for it even when He produces the very boldest chords." Rothe brings forward the striking analogy which exists between this species of miracle and chance, that mysterious domain which divine activity has reserved for itself in the world. We find in it the same divine combinations, full of genius and finite causalities, which surpass our understanding and our power, with the object of producing unexpected effects in our life. As long as the effects do not go beyond the measure of our ordinary experiences, we attribute them wrongly to chance, which does not exist; and, in the contrary case, we call them miracles. By means of these free manipulations of the organism of terrestrial nature, God may likewise, owing to the same admirable genius of combination, bind to each other the destinies of isolated human beings in the most varied and fruitful manner.

In addition to these miracles, properly so called, there are others which may be called relative miracles. They are effects produced by terrestrial causalities, that is, by forces which are found in the physical or spiritual nature of man at a certain stage of its development, but which cannot be produced by us because we do not yet know these forces. In this category are included most of the miracles of Jesus Christ. They put before our science problems which are as interesting as they are difficult to resolve, and it belongs to science to dissipate the mystery which surrounds them.

And now to repeat Rothe's words: How should a miracle come into conflict with the laws of nature? Miracles contradict the arrogant absolutism of these laws, and the idolatrous worship of which they are the object on the part of atheism. That is all. A miracle testifies that it is quite wrong to regard the laws of nature as the greatest power that exists in the world. Above them reigns He who has made them,—the living and personal God, who has created for Himself in them not a barrier, which would limit His absolute and holy liberty, but an instrument which is always at His service to accomplish His designs. If God performs miracles, it is in order to show that there is some one who can do what it is impossible for nature or the creature to do. Miracles proclaim the absolute independence of the living God in His relation to the world which exists by Him, and moves itself according to a law which is immanent in it; and they also proclaim His all-powerful presence in the midst of the world. And it is precisely the profound impression of the incomparable glory of this living and personal God as always present in the midst of His creatures, which miracles involuntarily awaken in us, upon which their enduring interest and religious value rest.

As to the apologetic value of miracles, Rothe acknowledges that it ought to be relegated to the background in the present day. The judgment which is formed regarding miracles is ultimately of little importance. Doubtless, revelation will only be completely understood if account is taken of the

supernatural facts which originally constituted it. But that is not everything: and it is possible for much more important elements to be lacking in the piety or the religious knowledge of the individual. Moreover, the acceptance of miracle does not supersede conscientious examination of the facts which present themselves as miraculous. "Let us beware of wishing to force those who are already in possession of revelation to admit its miraculous origin, and to make their salvation depend on this belief. It is already much if the light of revelation shines upon them, and if they walk illuminated by this sun. If their convictions clash against miracles, I say to them: My friends, I do not wish to impose the faith in miracles upon you. *Beneficia non obtruduntur*. Are you not able to accept them? Well, then, let them alone. It is for you to see how you will, without their aid, explain history and the course of events which we only understand by their means. For my part, I do not admit miracles from a sort of dogmatic cupidity, but in a historical interest; because, in presence of certain incontestable facts, I cannot do without miracles as furnishing the only truly rational explanation, not because they make gaps in history to my eyes, but because they rather help me to cross over yawning abysses." Accordingly it is not at all necessary to completely alienate the men of our time from the Christian faith by forcing them to admit the miracles of the Bible. Most of our contemporaries have an invincible and instinctive repugnance to the admission of miracles. This is perfectly explained by the direction which intellectual culture has taken among us for a century, and it ought not to be confounded with a mere obstinateness of opinion. Nor is it by means of the force of authority that this repugnance will be overcome.

As regards Prophecy, which is the authentic commentary on all divine manifestation and on all miracle, it comprises, according to Rothe, all divine speech addressed to men. All knowledge which cannot be the product of human intelligence alone at a given epoch and time, but which must be referred to the divine causality, is regarded as prophecy. The object

of this knowledge is already implied in the very idea of revelation. It does not relate essentially to the future, nor mainly to its accidental details, but rather to the present divine manifestations which are not rightly understood without it. Although prophecy is not emblematic, nor exclusively predictive, the view of the future is a natural element in it; for it has to do with rightly understanding the future purpose as well as the actual purpose of the divine manifestation. What does God wish to bring about by His revelation? It is the future realization of salvation. In so far as it is prediction of the future, prophecy is essentially promise, and Messianic promise.

The more the divine decree of salvation is realized in history, the more possible does it become for natural reflection alone, without the aid of prophetic inspiration, to deduce the future from the present, the goal from the course of the history of divine revelation already traversed. A false apologetic use has been made of prophecy as well as of miracle. Its mission is not to awaken in the later generations faith in a revelation that has already taken place in history. It has to be the means of introducing into history the later organs of divine revelation, so as to awaken in their own consciousness the feeling of their vocation as actors in the drama of the divine manifestation, as well as recognition of the precise part which they have to play in it. It ought also to furnish them with definite points of attachment, and to accredit them to those in the midst of whom they are destined to appear as organs of the divine revelation.

Such are the ideas of Rothe on one of the most arduous and controverted subjects of contemporary theology. We have thought it advisable to expound them at some length, being persuaded that they meet the legitimate exigencies of science, while safeguarding the true interests of religion. Rothe has had the rare good fortune, in all that concerns the theory of revelation, inspiration, and miracles, of satisfying the wants of those who desire to remain Christians without abdicating the rights of thought and of criticism; and on this

slippery ground he has traced with a sure hand the way which modern apologetics will have to follow if it would avoid the risk of making a false advance.

IX.

Rothe understood the religious conflicts under which the intelligent part of Christendom suffers at present, and he felt entire sympathy with them; yet he appeared but rarely in the pulpit. When he preached, it was in the University Church at Bonn, or at Heidelberg, before a special audience of students; and it was only with the greatest reluctance that he could be brought to publish any of his sermons.¹ His sermons are of great simplicity, devoid of oratorical display, and remarkable for the force and unction which reign in them. Rothe emerged from the isolation which had become needful and like a second nature to him, only during the last ten years of his life. The events which the Duchy of Baden had witnessed and the formation of the *Protestantenverein*, determined him to mix in an active manner with ecclesiastical affairs. He was unquestionably the most eminent and the most highly esteemed personality of this movement. One ought not to be astonished at seeing Rothe, a decided supernaturalist, a fervent Christian and a theosophist, uniting with the representatives of the old rationalism and of the new radicalism, in order to combat in favour of the rights of religious liberty, of parochial autonomy, and of the initiative of the laity. An enterprise which aimed at secularizing the Church and emancipating the congregations, was sure to call

¹ Three volumes of Rothe's Sermons have been published by Schenkel (Predigten, 3 vols. 1869). Schenkel was attacked by some of the German reviewers for having altered the text of the early sermons, so as to remove the supernaturalistic elements in them. It is difficult to decide how far this accusation was justified, but Schenkel acknowledges that he had to some extent modified the original expression. A fourth volume was published by W. Hubbe, the text of which he certifies correct (Predigten, Hamb. 1872). [One volume of Rothe's Sermons has been translated into English: Sermons for the Christian Year. Advent—Trinity. By Professor Rothe of Heidelberg. T. & T. Clark, 1877.]

forth his liveliest sympathies; and the cause being good in itself, it mattered little to him as to who were the allies in whose ranks he did battle. So much the worse for the orthodox that they had abandoned to other hands the defence of the cause of liberty.

In a series of Lectures and Articles,¹ Rothe developed his favourite thesis as to the identity of the moral and religious element. He argued the necessity of reconciling modern civilisation with Christianity, of exciting the religious interest and co-operation of those numerous unconscious Christians contained in the Churches, of simplifying the ecclesiastical organization and reducing it to a *minimum*, till the religious community should completely coalesce with the civil community. In these pages there reigns a great elevation of ideas and a beneficent breadth, mingled with much candour and not a little illusion. Unfortunately the actual state of Christianity does not justify such optimism. We believe that the spirit of the Gospel would be more faithfully observed, and a greater service would be rendered to modern society, were clericalism combated without the Church and the State being on this account confounded, by maintaining their spheres as distinct, and confining ourselves to proclaiming a reconciliation between modern culture and Christianity, which may already exist in germ, but of which we hardly yet see the fruits. There is a very serious danger of forming an illusion in this regard; for such misunderstandings may bring terrible reactions in their train.

We cannot better conclude this study on Rothe than by reproducing some of his Aphorisms, which have been pub-

¹ See especially the very remarkable articles inserted in the *Allgemeine deutsche Zeitschrift*, under the titles: *Zur Orientirung der gegenwärtigen Aufgabe der deutschen evangelischen Kirche* (1862), and *Zur Debatte über den Protestantenverein* (1863).—*Gesammelte Vorträge u. Abhandlungen aus seinen letzten Lebensjahren*. Edited by Nippold, 1886. The following works have been published from Rothe's manuscripts:—*Kirchengeschichte*. Edited by Weingarten, 2 vols. 1875. *Theologische Encyklopädie*. Ed. by Ruppelius, 1880. *Geschichte der Predigt*. Ed. by Trümpelmann, 1881. *Entwürfe zu den Abendandachten über die Pastoralbriefe u. andere Pastoraltexte*. Ed. by Palmié, 2 vols. 1876-77. *Der erste Brief Johannis praktisch erklärt*. Ed. by Mühlhäusser, 1878.

lished by Nippold under the title of *Still Hours*.¹ We shall naturally choose those which best reveal to us his individuality and the spirit of his theology. "Ah! it is so bitter and so indescribably hard to bear when one is *compelled* by his position to apply so much time and energy to reflection upon one's own state, which would be spent more worthily on an objective life-work, and which would be so gladly devoted to such a purpose!—The ideal of my wishes would be a life as full of activity as possible, and at the same time as uniform and free from distraction as possible.—I am a petty centre with an immeasurably small circumference.—Oh, how very sweet will it be for a man to have attained the realization of his destiny, and to constitute a being absolutely balanced and finished in himself, and in perfect harmony with external circumstances!—It is not for rest that I long, but for quiet.—My sole strength is that I know very exactly my weak sides.—My *critical* tendency draws me in science entirely to the criticism of my own thoughts, and not to that of the thoughts of others.—The one advantage which I actually have over most contemporary theologians is, that I understand the moral Christians of the present without being guilty on my side of any indifferentism whatever towards what is religious and specifically Christian.—No one should or ought to let go his individuality; but, at the same time, whoever regards his own peculiar being as the one which is best in itself, must either be very vain or very limited. I know, at least, that I am free of this want of judgment. I would certainly be glad to do anything better than in *my* own way if I only could.—If any one would work effectively, he must be willing to have nothing for himself from his doing.—Straightforward and unhesitating courage in bringing moral compulsion to bear on others for good ends, is characteristic of the present generation.—Not only do I not like to belong to any other's party, but even as regards my personal conviction I do not wish to

¹ *Stille Stunden*. Aphorismen aus Rothe's handschriftlichem Nachlass, 1872. [*Still Hours*. By R. Rothe. Translated by J. T. Stoddart. With an Introduction by Rev. John Macpherson, M.A.]

make or to have a party at all.—He who cannot make himself of account without having a series of ciphers attached to him, and yet wishes to pass as something, must in fact form a party.—The adversaries of a bad cause need only give it unlimited scope in order that it may bring itself to naught.—The right kind of agitation is limited to wakening up those who are sleeping.—Is freedom from prepossession a thing which one can *give* to oneself?—A view on every side can only be got from the summit of the mountain; but the summit has to be climbed to.—We will never convince any one of his error unless we begin by unreservedly recognising his relative right.—There are exceedingly few men who are able to make it clear to their own mind that in a given case another is under obligation to act *dutifully* quite otherwise than themselves.—To take a pleasure in sneering at what is small in human life, appears always to me a sign of the want of the sense which recognises the great in the small.—Those only may call themselves cultivated men who are seriously permeated by the fact that man requires to put forth long, toilsome, infinitely complicated efforts in order to recognise the very simplest truths.—Our power of representation ceases where the thread of analogy with our experience breaks. It would be bad, indeed, if the power of *thinking* also stopped there.—‘God’ is a *great* word. He who feels and recognises this, will judge more mildly and more justly those who confess of themselves that they have not had the courage to say they believed in God.—It only rests upon the want of thought that so many hold human existence to be *tolerable* without the certainty of God, when this is said in good faith.—It is a less evil to speak too little about religion than to speak too much of it.”

X.

Along with Rothe a leading place is taken by another individuality in many respects as remarkable as his, that of the well-known Baron Bunsen (1791–1860).¹ Richly endowed by nature, a man of conscientious and perspicacious learning, and celebrated by the gigantic labours and investigations which he carried on in all the spheres of knowledge, Bunsen united to a great vivacity of imagination and varied culture a nobleness and warmth of sentiment, which naturally command sympathy and admiration. After having been one of the most eminent promoters of the religious awakening, he turned towards liberal ideas under the influence of the triple reaction of Roman Jesuitism, English Puseyism, and German Lutheranism. The man and the Christian are even more remarkable in Bunsen than the scholar. He left no absolutely finished work, but he had the merit of seizing the essential point in all the subjects which he treated.

CHRISTIAN CARL JOSIAS BUNSEN was born on the 25th August 1791 at Korbach, in the Principality of Waldeck, some distance from Cassel. His father had been an ensign in the service of Holland, and his mother a governess in the family of the Princess of Waldeck. They lived moderately on the proceeds of a small estate which was the fruit of their economy. The father brought up his only son with a severity that was quite military; and he was accustomed to say to him: “Never bend your back before the squires.” His mother initiated him in the knowledge of the Bible from his tender infancy; but the person who seems to have exercised

¹ Gelzer: Bunsen als Staatsmann u. Schriftsteller, 1861. L. Ranke: Aus dem Briefwechsel Friedrich Willhelms IV. mit Bunsen, 1873. Chr. C. J. Freiherr von Bunsen. Aus seinen Briefen u. nach eigener Erinnerung geschildert. Von seiner Wittwe. Deutsche Ausgabe durch neue Mittheilungen vermehrt von F. Nippold, 3 vols. 1869–71. Bonnet: Bunsen, Strassb. 1867. Memoirs of Baron Bunsen. Drawn chiefly from family papers by his widow, Frances Baroness Bunsen, 2 vols., 2nd ed., 4 portraits, etc. Longmans. Augustus J. C. Hare: The Life and Letters of Frances Baroness Bunsen, 2 vols. 1879, 3rd ed. 1882.

the sweetest influence on the awakening of his soul, was his eldest sister Christiane. Thanks to the liberality of an uncle, and in conformity with the wish of his pious parents, he entered upon the study of theology at Marburg and continued it at Göttingen, where he soon provided for his own maintenance by giving lessons in the gymnasium and taking charge of the education of the son of Astor, the well-known millionaire of New York. Bunsen applied himself especially to philological studies under the direction of Heyne and Lachmann, and joined to his classical culture a profound knowledge of the Germanic languages. Accompanied by young Astor and his friend Brandis, he made student tours in Holland and Denmark, and visited Berlin and Paris. Niebuhr and Sylvestre de Sacy appeared in particular to have made a profound impression upon him. To the study of the Oriental languages, which he prosecuted with great zeal, he likewise joined the study of Law; and his thesis on the Athenian Right of Inheritance¹ was "crowned" by the Universities of Göttingen and Jena. Impelled by a desire to study the historical monuments of India, he arranged in 1816 to meet Astor at Florence in order to start from there for the discovery of the beginnings of humanity in its very cradle. But his pupil having been unexpectedly recalled to New York by his father, Bunsen suddenly found himself in a very precarious position, far from his country and deprived of all means of support. It was then that Niebuhr got him appointed as an Attaché to the Embassy at Rome. In the following year he married Miss Frances Waddington, a young English lady of a distinguished family, whose acquaintance he had made at Florence, and who exercised a happy and profound influence on his religious development.

Through the relations of his wife Bunsen was introduced into the English society at Rome, which was then composed of the *élite* of the political and religious aristocracy of Great Britain. He made the acquaintance of Thomas Arnold, the pious and intelligent headmaster of Rugby, who, by his bold

¹ De Jure Atheniensium hereditario. Disquisitio philologica, 1813.

and courageous initiative, cleared the way for liberal progress in England, and who, as the result of intimate daily intercourse, brought Bunsen closer to positive Christianity. It was the Book of Common Prayer which determined the direction of Bunsen's religious studies. Desirous to remount to the primary sources of the Anglo-Catholic Liturgy, Bunsen set himself to investigate the problem in the midst of the very ruins of the Christian Rome of the first centuries. In this domain of archæology and the fine arts Niebuhr was his initiator, as he had been at Berlin in criticism and the philosophy of history. After the departure of Niebuhr from Rome, Bunsen was appointed to the charge of the Embassy (*chargé d'affaires*) in 1823. He had procured the favour of Frederick William III. from corresponding with him on the subject of the questions of the Union and the Liturgy, which questions greatly interested this theological king. His relations became closer still with the Crown Prince (afterwards Frederick William IV.) during the sojourn which he made at Rome in 1828. In 1834, Bunsen received the title of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary. He exhibited his diplomatic talents in struggling against the intrigues of the Jesuits, and against the inertia which the Papacy opposed to all liberal reforms. Bunsen called Rothe to Rome to conduct the worship of the Protestant chapel which Niebuhr had founded; and he was afterwards to become his brother-in-arms in the struggles for religious liberty. Hymnological and liturgical questions always greatly interested him. He succeeded in obtaining the assistance of the choirs of the Sixtine Chapel for the evenings of sacred music which he gave at the Palace of the Legation, and he published an edition of *Palestrina*, whose works he wished to popularize in the Churches of Germany.

Bunsen obtained from the king the official sanction for his *Liturgy for the Chapel of the Prussian Legation at Rome*,¹ which was published at Berlin in 1828, with a preface from the hand of Frederick William III. These prayers were

¹ Liturgie für die Kapelle der preussischen Legation zu Rom, Berl. 1828.

drawn from the liturgies of the old Catholic Church of the East and West, and of the Anglo-Catholic Church. Unfortunately the character of certain rites, and above all the favour of the royal family, caused the author to be suspected of hierarchical tendencies, and even of crypto-Romanism, and prevented his work from becoming popular in Germany. But Bunsen never pretended to impose his Liturgy by royal decree on any Church whatever; he simply wished to recommend it and to propagate it by the use which was made of it in the Chapel of the Capitol. His second liturgical work was a *General Collection of Evangelical Hymns and Prayers for the use of Churches and Families*, which was published anonymously in 1833. It contains psalms translated according to the original Hebrew, a large number of hymns of the old Latin or Germanic Church translated into German verse, tables of lessons for reading on every day of the year exhausting all the matter of the Old and New Testaments, forms of ritual for the divine services, the sacraments, etc., and, lastly, Christian meditations for morning and evening, for preparation with a view to the solemn acts of public worship, and for consolation under trials. These meditations were drawn from Cyprian, Basil, Jerome, Augustine, Thomas à Kempis, John Arndt, Jacob Böhme, Hermann Francke, Fénelon, and others. The success of this collection amply indemnified Bunsen for the non-success of the Capitoline Liturgy. It became almost as popular in Germany as the Prayer Book in England. But the work which gave Bunsen's name a European celebrity was his *Description of the City of Rome* (1830-43). It was published by Cotta at Darmstadt, under the care of the Archaeological Institute which he had founded to centralize the investigations undertaken through all Italy. Bunsen edited the work as general secretary, and introduced into it a multitude of valuable sketches on the dogmatic and hierarchical development of the ancient Church of Rome and the history of its first bishops.

XI.

Having incurred the hatred of the Ultramontanes on account of the part which he took in the conflict between the Papal Court and the Court of Berlin on the question of mixed marriages, and been covered with abuse by the Sacred College, Bunsen asked his recall from Rome in 1838. After a stay of some months at Munich, where he made the acquaintance of Schelling and of Schubert, he went to settle in England, the country of his wife, whither so many warm and high friendships had been calling him for a long time. He attentively studied the customs and institutions of the English, and was deeply struck by the great influence which the reading of the Bible in the family circle had on the development of the individual and on self-government in Church and State. After the accession of Frederick William IV. he succeeded in negotiating with Mr. Gladstone the foundation of a Protestant bishopric, half-English and half-Prussian, at Jerusalem, to maintain the interests of reformed Christianity in the East.¹ In 1841, Bunsen was appointed to the post of Prussian Ambassador in England, and he strove to bind more closely the bonds between the two Governments, with a view to endowing his country with truly liberal institutions. He hailed with sincere and open enthusiasm the movement which in 1848 carried all Germany towards unity by liberty. He was elected a deputy to the National Assembly at Frankfort by Schleswig-Holstein, whose cause he had always warmly pleaded; but not being able to leave his post at London, he addressed a sympathetic letter to the Parliament, in which he expounded the plan of a complete institution, having in view a confederated State freely united under the direction of Prussia for affairs of general interest.² The failure of this project was not his only disappointment.

¹ Cf. Abeken: Das evangelische Bisthum in Jerusalem, 1842.

² Memoir on the constitutional rights of the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, presented to Viscount Palmerston by Chevalier Bunsen on the 8th April 1848, etc., London 1848.

He had, with profound regret, to sign the draft of the agreement at London which, in 1852, gave up Schleswig-Holstein to Denmark; and he strove in vain, in 1854, to draw Prussia into the Anglo-French alliance against Russia, which, in his eyes, seemed as a scourge of barbarism suspended over civilised Europe. Discouraged at having seen his liberal aspirations so often foiled, in despair at not having been able to obtain for his country the benefits of the religious and political liberty which he saw England enjoying, and thirsting for leisure and independence in order to meditate upon the future of the Bible and of humanity, Bunsen obtained his recall from London and gladly quitted the diplomatic career.

During his stay in England, Bunsen occupied himself much with the promotion of works of a religious kind in concert with Elizabeth Fry, Florence Nightingale, Samuel Gurney, and Fowell Buxton. He likewise continued his liturgical labours, and published at Hamburg, in 1841, his *Liturgy of the Passion and the Holy Week*,¹ with music after the chief works of the old masters by Neukomm. Two years later he published, at Munich, a work on the *Basilicas of Christian Rome*,² in their relations to the idea and history of architecture, illustrated by copper engravings by Knapp and Gutensohn. The Basilicas of the fourth and fifth centuries of the Christian era, according to Bunsen, must have served as models for the Churches of modern Christianity. Finally, in 1845, he published his work on the *Constitution of the Church of the Future*.³ Bunsen starts from the idea of sacrifice, which is found at the basis of all religion and of all worship. This sacrifice is twofold, according as it expresses the feeling of union or the feeling of disunion in the relations of man with God. The true sacrifice of expiation

¹ Die heilige Leidensgeschichte u. die stille Woche, 1841.

² Die Basiliken des Christlichen Roms, 1843.

³ Die Verfassung der Kirche der Zukunft, 1845. The Constitution of the Church of the Future; a practical explanation of the correspondence with the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone on the German Church, Episcopacy, and Jerusalem. Translated from the German, with additions by the Author. London 1847.

has been offered by Christ; it is the submission of the selfish will of man to the perfect will of the God of love. The true sacrifice of actions of grace has been realized by the primitive Church; it is the devotion of every one of the faithful to the community of the brethren, and of the whole community to the heavenly Father. Every believer presents himself before God with the feeling of personal responsibility, and has no need of a human mediator. This is the true priesthood; it is individual, spiritual, immediate, universal. The primordial bond between all the faithful is a spiritual communion of faith and life. This communion is realized in the adoration of the same one God, the Creator of the universe and of man in His image; in the imitation of one and the same Saviour, Jesus Christ, the perfect incarnation of God; and in co-operation with one and the same Holy Spirit, the regulator of the individual and collective conscience. Such is the one basis of the free association which is called the Christian Church, and which ought to enjoy an absolute autonomy. The distinction of the Churches by means of their Confessions of Faith, whose number is unlimited, is contrary to nature.

According to Bunsen, every nation ought to constitute a single Church in the religious order, just as it forms a single State in the political order. But these two religious and political establishments of the same people being of a different nature in themselves, ought to remain absolutely distinct. They have a point of contact only in their origin, which is the common country; and they have a point of analogy only in their principle, which is absolute autonomy. At the basis of the Church, Bunsen places the parish, which ought to elect its elders and deacons by universal suffrage. These are to form the presbyterial Council which is to appoint the pastors. The higher grades, appointed similarly by election, realize the perfect type of the synodal organization. In order to attain this ideal, which, alas! is very distant, Bunsen strives to awaken the aspiration of men's consciences towards liberty, and that of their hearts towards

unity, in the Church as in the nation. For the religion of Christ is spirit and life, and not formula and hierarchy. Taking in at a glance all the symptoms of the awakening of the religious life in Europe, and above all the great movement of the philosophers and theologians since the revolution of 1789, he celebrates Kant, Fichte, Schelling, and Schleiermacher as having recovered for humanity the titles of the eternal religion which it had lost, and as having laid the foundations of the Church of the Future.

Bunsen in his works passed alternatively from the future to the beginnings of humanity, and strove to connect the mysterious chain of the ages between the two extremities of history. He was one of the first to salute the neglected genius of Champollion; and he raised up a rival in talent to him in Lepsius. After having urged on with all his might the expedition of Birch, Lepsius, and others to Egypt, he took his part in the rich harvest of treasures which they brought back, and offered it to the public in his great work on *Egypt's Place in Universal History*.¹ The five volumes of this work appeared successively from 1844 to 1857, in German at Hamburg, and in English at London. The guiding thread through this labyrinth is the gradual development of the Egyptian language. With this ingenious and sure guide in hand, Bunsen follows step by step the evolutions of the literature, the religion, and the history of the Egyptian people, comparing them with the corresponding evolutions of the Shemites, the Japhethites, the Chinese, and the Turanians.

The controversies that arose relating to the Epistles of Ignatius decided Bunsen also to enter the arena. His first volume on the subject was entitled, *The Three Genuine and the Four Spurious Epistles of Ignatius of Antioch*.² In it he

¹ *Egyptens Stelle in der Weltgeschichte*, 1844. [*Egypt's Place in Universal History: an Historical Investigation*. Translated by C. S. Cottrell, M.A., with additions by S. Birch, LL.D., 5 vols. 1848-67.]

² Die drei ächten u. die vier unächten Briefe des Ignatius von Antiochien. 1846.

gives, in four parallel columns, the Greek text of the sixteenth century, the Greek text of the seventeenth century, the Syriac text of the nineteenth century, containing the only three authentic Epistles, and, finally, the original Greek text restored after the Syriac, whose superiority is demonstrated by the brevity, the clearness, and the concatenation of the phraseology. The second volume, entitled *Ignatius of Antioch and his Time*,¹ is written under the form of Letters to Neander, and it contains a series of inductions regarding the development of Christianity in the time of Ignatius, from the three points of view of the ecclesiastical constitution, the dogmas of the Church, and the canon.

Among the multitude of products of every kind which the whole world sent to the Universal Exhibition of London in 1851, Bunsen noticed a plain, unpretentious volume. It was the publication of a Greek manuscript brought in 1842 from a Convent on Mount Athos to Villemain, and published at Oxford in 1851 by Miller, under the title *Philosophoumena of Origen; or, Refutation of all Heresies*. His curiosity being roused by this alleged discovery of an unpublished work of Origen, Bunsen applied to it the processes of a rigorous criticism, and published his results without having the least knowledge of those of Jakobi and Dunker which appeared at the same time, and were absolutely conformable to those he had reached. This work, entitled *Hippolytus and his Age*,² produced a lively sensation in England and in Germany. Bunsen occupies himself at first with criticism of the manuscript, and he concludes that the exact title is *Refutation of all Heresies, by Saint Hippolytus, Bishop and Martyr*. The discovery of this work is of incalculable value for the knowledge of the history of the Church during the second century. It furnishes new information regarding the Cate-

¹ Ignatius von Antiochien u. seine Zeit, 1847.

² The first edition appeared at London in 1852, under the title, *Hippolytus and his Age; or the Doctrine and Practice of the Church of Rome under Commodus and Alexander Severus; and Ancient and Modern Christianity and Divinity compared*, 4 vols. A Second Edition appeared under the modified title: *Christianity and Mankind, their beginning and prospects*, 7 vols. 1854.

chuminate, baptism, the ecclesiastical constitution, the liturgy, the domestic and social life of the primitive Church, and regarding the apologetic matter directed against pagans and heretics. Through the whole course of the book, Bunsen applies the lessons of the past to the present and future of the Christian Church, showing on what sides they ought to resemble it, and in what they ought to differ from it. He puts into the mouth of Hippolytus a very ingenious criticism of Anglo-Catholicism, and indicates a multitude of dogmas and rites in the Anglican Church which would have been real heresies in the eyes of the ancient Church. Bunsen restricts the authority of the Confessions of Faith by the formal reservation, "in so far as they agree with the spirit of Christ." The work closes with considerations full of elevation on the providential march of history, and the place which religion occupies in it. (He hails in Christianity, as "translated from Shemitic into Japhetic by the Germanic genius," the eternal and final religion of humanity.)

XII.

Having returned to his native country after an absence of forty years, Bunsen settled at Heidelberg. Heidelberg is a centre of intellectual union between the south and north of Germany, and between Germany and France, and besides it communicates by the Rhine with Switzerland, Holland, and England. He chose Charlottenburg as his place of residence, a beautiful rural site opposite Heidelberg Castle, from which it is separated by the smiling valley of the Neckar. At Heidelberg, Bunsen met again several of his early friends, such as Arndt, Brandis, and above all, Rothe. But his retirement did not plunge him into inactivity. The events which were agitating Europe and America, and particularly the political and ecclesiastical reaction which followed the revolution of 1848, engaged his attention in the highest degree. His conscience revolted against all the blows which fell upon liberty; it protested against the compromising con-

nections into which the Gospel was being dragged. Thus he broke more and more with a religious party whose narrowness and intolerance chafed him deeply. In 1856, Bunsen published, under the title of *The Signs of the Time*,¹ a series of letters to friends on liberty of conscience and the right of the Christian Church, with the motto: "Where the spirit of Christ is, there is liberty." He points out two elements as struggling in the midst of the actual crisis: the spirit of association which aspires at liberty of conscience as the only solid basis of political liberty, and the spirit of hierarchy which aspires at the oppression of consciences, and is the source of all social despotisms. On the occasion of an injunction by Bishop Ketteler of Mayence directed against the Reformation, Bunsen opposed the progress of civilisation as realized by the Germanic race, to the ruin and decay of the Catholic States in both the Old World and the New; and he combated the pretensions of the popes to supremacy over the temporal Estates. He demands that the modern State should, for its own safety, energetically resist the Ultramontane party; that it should expel the Jesuits as a secret society; that it should introduce civil marriage; that in mixed marriages it should ordain that the parents, and in case of disagreement, that the father alone, should decide about the religion of the children; that the direction of the schools and the control of the seminaries should be entrusted to functionaries of the State; and that the ecclesiastical property should be administered by the Church which has received it, and according to the express destination of the donatory. In opposition to Stahl, who had tried to demonstrate that toleration and religious liberty were the fruits of the sceptical and unbelieving philosophy of the Eighteenth Century, Bunsen shows that the absolute toleration of religious opinions, whether individual or collective, was preached first

¹ Die Zeichen der Zeit. Briefe an Freunde über die Gewissensfreiheit u. das Recht der christlichen Gemeinde, 1856. [Signs of the Times; Letters to Ernst Moritz Arndt on the dangers to religious Liberty in the present state of the World. Translated from the German by Susanna Winkworth, 1856.]

of all by Jesus Christ and the first martyrs of the Church, and, after their example, by the martyrs of the Reformation, such as John Huss, Robert Brown, Mennon Simons, William Penn, and above all by Robert Barclay, from whom he cites a magnificent pleading in favour of liberty of conscience. It was only after them that there came those apostles of free-thought, Voltaire, Rousseau, Fichte, and Schelling. Against Stahl he similarly defends the cause of union among the Protestant confessions, and shows that it is possible only if each of them relegates to the background their dogmatic differences, in order to unite on the common grounds of worship in the spirit and in truth, of autonomous organization, and of home and foreign missions. These ten Letters created an immense impression in Germany and in liberal Europe. Three editions were exhausted in a few months. Attacks of the reactionary press were not wanting, and Stahl, in a violent reply, accused Bunsen of "conspiring to ruin the existing Christianity."

Bunsen declined to enter the lists of controversy, or to take up the calumnies to which he was subjected. His only reply to the anathemas of his adversaries was the publication of his work entitled, *God in History, or the Progress of the belief in a Moral Order of the World*.¹ Bunsen enlarges the idea of revelation; he finds traces of it in all history, among all peoples, and in all times. Humanity from the beginning has had the presentiment of a moral order presiding over the course of history, and the consciousness of its destinies, whether individual or national. In the principal phenomena of all races, all languages, and all religions, Bunsen studies the historical development of the consciousness of God as presented in the different peoples, and then as in Jesus of Nazareth, and in the various forms of the Christian community. His concluding inference is that the progress of

¹ Gott in der Geschichte, oder der Fortschritt des Glaubens an eine sittliche Weltordnung, 3 vols. 1857. Cf. *Revue chrétienne*, 1858, p. 48. [*God in History; or the Progress of Man's Faith in the Moral Order of the World*. By the late Baron Bunsen. Translated by Susanna Winkworth; with a Preface by Dean Stanley, 3 vols., Longmans.]

this consciousness consists in the evolution from unconscious spirit to conscious spirit, from organic fatality to moral liberty, by means of great personalities. The progress of the consciousness of God in a race assures it, soon or late, the guidance of civilisation, and thus far a preponderance. (The free communication and the harmonious mixing of all races, whereby all the antinomies which present an obstacle to progress are resolved, is the purpose of Providence in History.)

The same year (1857) there appeared the first numbers of an extensive work which was meant to include an explanatory Commentary of all the parts of the Bible (*Bibelwerk*), with a view to the wants of the Christian community.¹ It may be compared in its design with the *Cosmos* of Humboldt, but it was unfortunately left unfinished. The work was meant to embrace all the questions which modern criticism has raised regarding the Bible: the canon, the text, and the literary history of the Bible; its synchronistic parallelism with the history of Egypt and of Assyria; geographical and archaeological notices, with a translation and commentary. Bunsen energetically claims for the community the liberty of examining the Bible in order to discover the truth of the Word of God in it. He declares that the dogma of mechanical inspiration kills the Christian faith and life, and that modern science ought to restore the Bible, inasmuch as it is the history of Providence in humanity. With a view to this, it is necessary that historical criticism should authenticate the divine spirit which permeates the various layers of Biblical tradition; that it should recognise in the Bible a phenomenon unique in its kind, namely, the revelation of the perpetual action of God in nature and in humanity; and that it should reduce to their true character the alleged supernatural miracles by distinguishing the various elements which

¹ *Bibelwerk für die Gemeinde*, 1858 ss. Continued by Holtzmann and Kamphausen, 9 vols. 1858-70. Cf. Bahring: *Bunsen's Bibelwerk nach seiner Bedeutung für die Gegenwart*, 1861; Gelzer: *Protestant. Monatsblätter*, 1861, H. 1; and Neffizer: *De la traduction de la Bible de M. Bunsen. Revue germanique*, 30 Juin 1858.

have co-operated to form the traditional legend. In his critical results, Bunsen approaches Ewald rather than Baur. In particular, he defends the historical character of the fourth Gospel. If the Gospel of Saint John is not historical, there is, according to Bunsen, no historical Christ, and, without a historical Christ, there is no Christian faith. The outline, or rather the framework, of this vast work, which has been finished by Bunsen's friends, contains ingenious views; but, as a whole, it is far from responding to the expectation to which it gave rise in the public, or to the generous anticipations of the author. The *Bibelwerk* is in reality addressed to scholars or to educated laymen, and not at all to the general community of Christians. It is essentially lacking in clearness, simplicity, and popularity.

Suffering from cardiac dropsy, Bunsen went to spend the winter of 1858-59 at Nice and Cannes. He was accompanied by his son Ernest, who was married to a niece of Elizabeth Fry, and some young and learned friends, who were helping him in the critical part of his *Life of Jesus*. In the spring he returned to Charlottenburg to be near his country and his intimate friends, and in order to accelerate the publication of his work. But his malady made rapid progress; and it became necessary to think of passing a second winter in the South. On this occasion, instead of travelling through Switzerland, he wished to go by France in order to see the men who were working in Paris at the revival of Biblical studies, such as Pressensé, Coquerel, and, above all, Renan, to whom he was drawn by a secret sympathy. At Cannes he received the last effusions of the heart of Alexis de Tocqueville, with his most confidential communications.

Having obtained the honours of science and of genius to the full, Bunsen did not forget that it is to the simplicity of the child that entrance into the Kingdom of Heaven is promised. In him all could observe a goodness, a tenderness, and a true humility, that was carried even to the entire abnegation of himself. In the spring of 1860 he returned to Germany with the resolution of spending the next two

winters there in order to complete his *Bibelwerk*. He took up his residence at Bonn, so as to be near his son George, the agriculturist, and his friend Brandis, the philosopher. In this last asylum of peace, family affection, and friendship, he pursued the work which God had given him to do till his strength was exhausted. His farewells were full of touching beauty. He had kind wishes and benedictions for all. "I quit this world," he said, "without hatred towards any one. . . . No: no hatred at all! Hatred is accursed. . . . It is sweet to me to die; for in spite of so many imperfections and failings, I have lived, thought, and acted only for all that is noble. But the best experience that I have had here below, is to have known Jesus Christ. . . . What a strange view one has from above on life and the world! It is only from above that one knows how dark the way here below is. . . . I recall in memory every good man, and beg of him to remember me with kindness. . . . I offer my blessing, the blessing of an old man, to whoever desires it. . . . Those who live in Christ, who live in the love of Him, are His. . . . Those who do not live on His life do not belong to Him, whatever may be the name by which they are called and the confession of faith which they sign." It was on the 29th November 1860 that Bunsen closed his eyes. (Well did Dr. Arnold say of him: "I have seen men as holy, as amiable, as able; but I never knew one who was all three in so extraordinary a degree, and combined with a knowledge of things new and old, sacred and profane, so rich, so accurate, so profound, that I never knew it equalled or approached by any man.")

CHAPTER VI.

THE NEW LIBERAL SCHOOLS.

I.

IN spite of their being out of favour with the political powers and the numerous misunderstandings which they have had to pass through, the representatives of the new Liberal Schools of Theology are widespread in Germany. They attach themselves either to the old rationalistic tendency or to the School of Baur, whose traditions they continue with various shades of difference. What unites them is the intention to break resolutely with the past, while unveiling boldly the errors, the illusions, and the sophisms in which orthodoxy deludes itself. In common they all combat directly and openly the progress of clericalism under all its forms, and thus endeavour to check that fatal reaction which has threatened to rob Germany of one of the most glorious inheritances from the past, namely, its religious liberty and sincerity, and with these also to deprive it of the essence of its Christian convictions. Notwithstanding occasional perceptible deviations from the evangelical doctrine, and certain by no means happy borrowings from the philosophy of the time, notwithstanding manifest errors in the results of sacred criticism and of feverish impatience to reach conclusions, and notwithstanding certain ecclesiastical theories which have been often false, and a pronounced propensity to lean on the secular arm where it is favourable, these Schools, in claiming for religion the healthy and strengthening atmosphere of liberty, have rendered services to the cause of the Gospel which it would be unjust not to recognise.

In the Liberal School there may be distinguished some

four particular groups: that of Jena, which is more scientific and less aggressive; that of Berlin, which is mainly devoted to the defence of the Union; that of Baden, which is connected with the agitation of the *Protestantenverein*; and that of Zurich, which pushes religious radicalism to the farthest verge.

The most distinguished among the theologians of Jena is KARL AUGUST HASE. Born in Saxony in 1800, he was brought up under the threefold influence of romanticism, the idealistic philosophy, and the patriotic movement of 1813. He has himself narrated the story of his youth and the enthusiastic aspirations of the generation to which he belonged.¹ After having finished his studies at Leipsic and Erlangen, he was involved in a prosecution occasioned by his liberal tendencies, and he underwent an imprisonment of ten months in the fortress of Hohenasperg. In 1829, Hase was appointed Professor of philosophy at Leipsic, and the same year he gave up this appointment for a professorship of theology at Jena. He continued to lecture as a Professor at Jena from 1830 to 1883, when he retired from the duties of his chair. The aim of his scientific activity has been the reconciliation of historical Christianity with modern culture. In 1824, in a sort of philosophical romance entitled the *Old Pastor's Testament*,² he expounded with juvenile ardour and in the most brilliant colours the philosophy of Schelling, which had then captivated him, adding, however, that the simplicity of the Gospel, for which he felt a true artistic passion, was much superior still to all the splendours of human wisdom. On the occasion of the thesis maintained by Hahn at Leipsic, Hase published a tractate against supranaturalism, which drew much attention,³ yet even less so than his pamphlets directed against rationalism,⁴ which are masterpieces of fine

¹ Ideale u. Irrthümer. Jugenderinnerungen 1872, 2nd ed. 1873.

² Des alten Pfarrers Testament, 1824.

³ Die Leipziger Disputation, 1827.

⁴ Theologische Streitschriften, 3 Hefte, 1834-37.

and elevated polemics in which, while unmasking the feeble sides of this tendency, he gives proof of a quite chivalrous nobleness towards its representatives.

It may be said that the judgments of Hase were the final verdict pronounced in the name of science against rationalism. What has removed our age from it, according to him, is the threefold awakening of the historical sense, of the religious sentiment, and of the scientific spirit. Hase distinguishes between the old rationalism, boastful, intolerant, and limited, such as Röhr represented it, and the rational principle of regarding as true only what can establish itself by clear and indubitable arguments. Unfortunately the use, or rather the singular abuse, which the rationalists have made of this principle, just though it be in itself, has discredited it in the eyes of many. Probing the secret wounds of rationalism, Hase accuses it of having failed to recognise the historical importance of Christianity. It would see in the religious institutions, as well as in the records of the Old and New Testament, only the fruit of the deception of priests. To it the history of dogmas is only a repertory of all the extravagances and follies of the human mind. Rationalism, idolizing abstract reason and dazzled by a few commonplaces in common use, has not had any sense for what is individual. It roughly removed all that bears the stamp of individuality as a purely local and temporary element of religion.

Rationalism, according to Hase, likewise failed to recognise the rights of feeling in religious matters, and the deep and inward character of piety. Hence the dryness of the rationalistic sermons which spring from the homiletical error that feeling can only be acted upon by reason. Hence, too, the mutilation of the old hymns, which usually has its source in a want of taste and poetic feeling; and hence, also, the hatred to mysticism and all that may resemble it nearly or remotely. In fine, Hase reproaches rationalism with not having apprehended the philosophical character of Christianity, owing to its not possessing the speculative faculty. It has raised as its standard the *sana ratio*, or *sensus communis*, that is, the

expression of that medium culture which sums up the past rather than carves out a way for the future. This common sense is incapable of serving as a source or rule to science, or of furnishing a true proof or a dialectical development. By its perpetual oracles, and its trenchant affirmations and judgments, Rationalism has returned to the dogmatic spirit and to intolerance. Such are the various grievances which Hase brought up against a tendency which was then much in vogue, but which has at present almost disappeared in Germany.

Among the polemical writings of Hase, we may also mention his pamphlet on Mixed Marriages,¹ his book on the Evangelical Church of the German Empire,² his Academic Discourses³ which contain ingenious views on the principle of Protestantism, his treatise on the Tübingen School,⁴ directed against Baur, and, above all, his *Manual of Protestant Polemics*,⁵—a masterpiece of fine, elegant, broad, and impartial exposition. In this work Hase, in the first Book, deals comparatively with the idea of the Church as it is conceived in the two communions, Protestant and Catholic; he enumerates the objections that may be raised against the unity, the infallibility, and the exclusivism of the Roman Church; and he further examines the foundations of its authority, tradition, the priesthood, and the Papacy with its spiritual and temporal power. The second Book is devoted to the exposition of the doctrine of salvation in the two communions; and in it the author passes in review the subjects of meritorious works, monastic institutions, the worship of the Saints and of the Virgin, and the seven sacraments. Lastly, the third Book treats of worship properly so called, and of art, science, and politics from the Catholic point of view.

Hase has published a number of works on dogmatic

¹ Die beiden Erzbischöfe, 1839. Cf. Des Culturkampfes Ende, 1879.

² Die evangelische Kirche des deutschen Reichs, 1848.

³ Vier academisch-protestantische Reden, 1863.

⁴ Die Tübinger Schule, 1855.

⁵ Handbuch der protestantischen Polemik, 1862, 4th ed. 1878.

theology, among which his *Hutterus Redivivus*¹ enjoys a legitimate reputation. It is an exposition of ecclesiastical Dogmatics such as one of the old dogmatic theologians would give were he living in our time. This book, in which the author appears clothed with a semblance of orthodoxy, excited lively animosity in the rationalistic camp. "What is this *Hutterus Redivivus* wanting among us?" cried Rühr in alarm.—Hase thereafter published a critical edition of the Symbolical Books of the Protestant Church.² Finally, in two works, one of them more learned,³ and the other designed for the laity,⁴ he developed his own views on dogmatics.

According to Hase, the essence of man is liberty aspiring to pass the limits of the finite in order to rise to the infinite. Human liberty is a relative liberty because it has not posited itself, and because it does not attain to the infinite. It presupposes a power which has posited itself, and an ideal which cannot be attained here below. This power, this ideal, is God. Religion is the love of God, the source and end of the infinite aspirations of liberty. (Pantheism conceives God only as a basis, as a point of departure. Idealism contemplates Him only as a terminus or point of arrival. The truth lies in the synthesis of these two points of view.) God is the absolute personality who, permeated with a free love, is the basis of the universe, and whose purpose is the perfection of created life in the Kingdom of God. Jesus Christ is the ideal man in whom this aspiration, this love of God, culminates; He is without sin, is invested with the power of pure humanity over nature, and is the resuscitated initiator of the new life in the Kingdom of God. Jesus Christ is the perfect realization of the idea of humanity in the religious sphere. We ought not to call Him Man-God, because the absolute opposition which exists between the infinite being

¹ *Hutterus redivivus, oder Dogmatik der evangel.-luther. Kirche. Ein dogmatisches Repertorium für Studirende*, 1827, 12th ed. 1883.

² *Libri symbolici ecclesiæ evangelicæ*, 1827.

³ *Evangelisch-protestantische Dogmatik*, 1825, 6th ed. 1870.

⁴ *Gnosis, oder evangelische Glaubenslehre für die Gebildeten in der Gemeine wissenschaftlich dargestellt*, 3 vols. 1826-28, 2nd ed. 1870.

and the finite being does not admit the union of the two attributes of the divine and the human in a single person, without involving the annihilation of both. It is love alone, that arch stretching from earth to heaven, which crosses the abyss that separates the finite being from the infinite being. In placing himself at this point of view, Hase exercises a free criticism on the historical material which Christianity presents to him; and he attaches religious value only to the dogmas which flow from the love of God, or which determine it. This ethical principle upon which Hase builds his theological system is the indestructible element of truth which rationalism contains. The great merit of Hase is to have defended it with energy against the pantheism and fatalism of the Hegelian speculation, as well as against the juridical and materialistic conceptions of the orthodox system.

Hase's *Life of Jesus*,¹ which has been several times revised, likewise contains ingenious views. As a historian, Hase combats the doctrines of the Tübingen School. He contests the view that the antagonism between Paulinism and Petrinism extended to the middle of the second century. The acts in this struggle closed, according to Hase, with the death of the Apostle Paul. (He manifests great predilection for the Gospel according to John, brings forward numerous proofs in favour of its authenticity, and even admits that the Apocalypse and the fourth Gospel may very well be the work of the same author, seeing that the Gospel is only a spiritualized Apocalypse.) In the first editions, Hase shared the opinion that Jesus had had a double plan, and that it was only towards the end of His life that He exchanged the conception of a Kingdom of God invested with external power for a purely spiritualistic conception. He afterwards abandoned this idea, while continuing to affirm that Jesus did not foresee His death from the commencement. (He insists on the natural development of Christ, seeks the most

¹ *Das Leben Jesu*, 1829, 5th ed. 1865. [The Life of Jesus. Translated by J. F. Clarke. Boston 1861.] Cf. *Geschichte Jesu*, 1875.

hidden psychological motives of His actions, takes a pleasure in pointing out the marks of amiability which he believes may be discovered in Him, indulges in bizarre hypotheses regarding the celibacy of Christ, entitles one chapter "the gaiety of Christ," and another "His inconsequences," accuses Him of amiable weaknesses, and ingeniously filches away His supernatural birth.)

But the work which has made the name of Hase justly celebrated, is his *History of the Church*.¹ Written in the form of a text-book, in short paragraphs of almost embarrassing conciseness and richness, it is a masterpiece of art as well as of science. Hase interrogates the past with a sympathetic curiosity; he is able to assimilate the most diverse epochs and the most opposite individualities by effacing himself before them as completely as possible. His receptivity is equalled only by his power of reproduction and by his talent of expounding in a plastic manner, by taking advantage of the minutest features, of characteristic assertions, and of the material of numerous anecdotes which he has laboriously collected. No one can excel Hase in the art of resuscitating the past by making it speak for itself. His elegant, picturesque, and always pointed pen, is like the pencil of a painter. The most striking characteristic of Hase's talent is his epigrammatic brevity. The *History of the Church* is made to unroll itself before us in a series of little pictures independent of each other, and presented in artistically carved frames. As has been said, we have here true *genre* painting, the most exquisite work of a Meissonier. The expression is at times too fine, too ethereal, too much of a mere sketch; it is too piquant a nourishment. Hase has a passion for antiques and relics; he was also the first to treat ecclesiastical art as an essential part of the *History of the Church*.² We

¹ Kirchengeschichte. Lehrbuch für academische Vorlesungen, 1871, 2nd ed. 1886. [A History of the Christian Church. Translated from the German by Blumenthal and Wing. New York 1886.]

² [Hase has begun to publish an enlarged Church History on the basis of his Lectures: Kirchengeschichte auf der Grundlage akademischer Vorlesungen. Bd. I. 1885.]

find the same qualities of the narrator and artist in the volume entitled *Modern Prophets*, which contains the biographies of Joan of Arc, Savonarola, Francis of Assisi, Catharina of Sienna, and other individuals of the same family; and in his attractive historical survey of the *Religious Drama*.¹

It may be said of Hase that he has enriched and deepened rationalism by a multitude of elements borrowed from modern culture in the sphere of art and science. He is one of the last to be still animated by the breath of romanticism. The predilection for art is very powerful and preponderating in him. Hence his taste for the past, especially for the Middle Ages, and his gift of making it live again in a sympathetic way. And yet Hase is anything but merely romantic. His consciousness is essentially Protestant. His love for truth is greater than his enthusiasm for art. He has the masculine habit of mind of a Lessing, of a Kant, of a Fichte. He always remains faithful to himself. He has preserved and cultivated all the ideal aspirations of his youth; and he has transfigured them in mature age by science. What strikes us in Hase is his singular vivacity of mind, his penetrating sense for all that is great and beautiful, and his incomparable freshness of youthful feeling. In him a delicate and loving piety and an attachment to history take the place of the dogmatic authority. His whole theology, his whole dogmatics, and all his polemics, are historical. Finally, no one can fail to note the universality of his mind, his rich culture, and the joy which he feels at the sight of all that is beautiful. Hase does not distinguish between what is truly human and what is Christian: for him the barriers which separate what is sacred from what is profane, no longer exist. Our private and public life, our morals and our literature, our science and our works of art, and even our language itself, are all, as seen by him, impregnated with Christian influences.

¹ Neue Proben aus der histor.-polit. Kirchenbilder, 1851, 2nd ed. 1870. Franz von Saverio. Catharina von Sienna, 1864. Das geistliche Schauspiel. Geschichte der religiösen Dramen, 1868. [Miracle Plays and Sacred Dramas. Translated into English. London 1880.]

II

Alongside of Hase we must place his colleague LEOPOLD IMMANUEL RÜCKERT, who, however, forms a most striking contrast to him. Born in 1797 at Grossshennersdorf near Herrnhut, and educated at the Moravian Academy of Niesky and at the University of Leipsic, he began life as a Deacon in his native village. In 1840 he exchanged this post for that of headmaster of the Academy of Zittau; and four years later, he was appointed Professor in the University of Jena, where he remained till his death in 1871. His nature was upright, simple, and almost primitive. He was distinguished by resolute independence, courageous veracity, scientific solidity, and a firmness of conviction capable of undergoing any trial. He has been compared to an oak with majestic branches and knotty trunk. He attached great importance to preaching. His own sermons were distinguished by a logical, rigorous concatenation of thought, great popularity, practical penetration, and profound seriousness. He had a burning love for the poor. Valiant, manly, and modest, he loved to revive the religious recollections of his past while attaching himself to a more rational and more critical theology.

Rückert began his literary career by a monograph in which he traced the ideal of the academic professor.¹ He then published successively a sketch of *Christian Philosophy*² and of *Christian Theology*,³ in which he attaches himself to Kant and Fichte by joining to their views the Pauline antithesis of the *σάρξ* and the *πνεῦμα*, of sin and grace, and of the first and second Adam. The ideal Ego, which every man carries in himself at birth, finds itself struggling with the lower material nature, with radical evil. When the ideal Ego conquers, it rises from stage to stage up to the absolute Ego, the personal God, the author of the moral order. In the centre of his system, Rückert places the idea of redemption,

¹ Der akademische Lehrer, 1822.

² Christliche Philosophie, 1825.

³ Christliche Theologie, 1851, 2 vols.

which is inseparable from the person of Christ, who, in freely giving Himself to God, by the power of His example and the love which it can inspire in the Christian, facilitates his deliverance from the lower powers.

Rückert has also written a remarkable commentary on the Epistles of Saint Paul.¹ He does not acknowledge the absolute and normative authority of Scripture. He reduces exegesis to a purely scientific process. Perhaps no one has entered further than Rückert into the thought of the Apostle Paul, or has followed its windings with more impartiality. We may also mention another work of his on the *Lord's Supper, its Essence and its History in the Ancient Church*.² In this work he shows that the essential thing on the occasion of the institution of the Supper, was not the words but the act itself, which the words accompanied only the better to engrave its meaning in the mind of the witnesses. And the act had an essentially symbolical character. The Lord's Supper is the Christian ceremony in which the faithful believer, receiving bread and wine, renews within him the living consciousness of what Christ was in Himself, and of what He has been for us, that is, the recognition of His holy nature and of the salvation effected by Him. 'The fundamental error of the ecclesiastical dogma of the Supper, is its turning the thought away from the act to fix it on the material elements. In a little work on the Church,³ Rückert opposes to the contemporary Puseyite and Lutheran theories the sound notion of the Church, which arises from an attentive study of the writings of the New Testament, and which is also found at the basis of Protestantism. Finally, in a monograph on *Rationalism*,⁴ Rückert takes up its defence, not as a system, but as a principle, and as holding the position that man should not allow himself to be determined in his judgment

¹ Commentar über die Briefe an die Corinther, 2 vols. 1837.

² Das Abendmahl, sein Wesen und seine Geschichte in der alten Kirche, 1856.

³ Ein Büchlein von der Kirche, 1859.

⁴ Der Rationalismus, 1861. See also his *Kleine Aufsätze für christliche Belehrung und Erbauung, den Gebildeten im Volke dargeboten*, 1861.

by anything but the force and internal necessity of thought. According to Rückert, rational thought ought to lead straight to God.

The school of Rückert is likewise represented by Dr. CARL SCHWARZ (1812-1885). Schwarz was born at Wick in the island of Rügen. In 1837 he was imprisoned on account of his advanced political opinions. Thereafter he contributed to the *Halle Annals*, and lectured in the Halle University from 1843 to 1845, when he was suspended from his functions by the Government. He was again appointed Professor *extraordinarius* in 1849; and in 1856 he left Halle to undertake the office of higher Ecclesiastic Councillor and Court preacher at Gotha. Schwarz was one of the most influential leaders of the *Protestantenverein*. He has written an interesting and substantial monograph on the *Essence of Religion*,¹ in which he seeks to combine the ideas of Schleiermacher with those of Hegel, and a biographical sketch of Lessing as a Theologian.² He has also published a *History of the latest Theology*,³ which presents an interesting gallery of portraits, and gives evidence of a fine, intellectual, incisive mind. From this work we have drawn largely in this History. Lastly, he is celebrated for his *Sermons*,⁴ which are remarkable for their freshness, reality, sobriety, and logical vigour.

Schwarz agrees with Schleiermacher in recognising the fact that religion is the inmost, freest, and deepest life. It is the *via vitalis* of humanity; the central force which develops, regulates, and refines all the capacities and needs of our nature. Religion is the movement of man towards God, as Revelation is the movement of God towards man. It is the living unity in which all the contradictions which our consciousness reveals are resolved and reconciled. The religious life finds its most perfect expression in worship; and in the degree in which it removes from its centre, and splits into

the two divided spheres of theory (science) and of practice (morality), it loses its intensity, and the forms with which it is invested become altered. They present a confused mixture of contradictory ideas and of images more or less inadequate. Dogmatics is condemned to move in the midst of contradictions; it cannot sustain a serious critical examination. It is not so with Religion, which as such never enters into conflict with science. Philosophy is the science of the Absolute; Religion is the absolute life. The task of philosophy is to disengage from dogmatics, as forming only a particular branch of psychology, the speculative elements which it contains. But this operation fatally issues in the ruin of dogmatics and of the supernatural character which it claims for its conceptions. In the view of Schwarz, the principle of Christianity will come out purged from these investigations regarding its nature.

But experience might have shown to Schwarz that philosophy is incapable of explaining the inmost life of the soul, and, above all, that it cannot direct, regulate, and purify it. The religious consciousness in its richness and in its depth, presents inexhaustible objects of reflection to philosophic thought. Had he applied himself to it with closer attention, Schwarz would have perhaps admitted the important part, which the manifestations of the religious life owe to the historical person of Jesus Christ, and the divine revelations which are connected with it. Rightly understood, dogmatic theology does not offer to modern thought the impediments which draw upon it the repugnance and disclaim of Schwarz. Its sole aim should be to give as exact an account as possible, and one which in any case is capable of being perfected, of the impression which the revelations of God leave in the consciousness of man. It does not give a reason for everything; but it gives reasons which philosophy would be wrong not to turn to account. And it is precisely at the points, where it is obliged to pause, less from contradictions than from the presence of mystery, that it is found perhaps less removed from the truth than the systems of philosophy, with

¹ Das Wesen der Religion, 1847.

² Lessing als Theologe, 1854.

³ Zur Geschichte der neuesten Theologie, 1856, 4th ed. 1869.

⁴ Predigten aus der Gegenwart, 8 vols. 1859-63.

their ambitious solutions and their venturous hypotheses. Dogmatic theology, however, will be able to overcome the just suspicion of which it is the object, only by avowing its imperfection, and renouncing its pretension to give a perfectly sufficient explanation of all mysteries. There is no worse service that can be done to Religion and Christianity than to suppress faith under the pretext of having reduced everything to knowledge. Strange it is that those who insist with most force on faith, are often those who compromise it most, without doubting it, by confounding it with a scholastic system whose clearest result is to render it useless.

71
With the name of Schwarz we may associate that of OTTO PFLEIDERER. Pfeiderer was born in 1839 near Canstadt in Würtemberg. He began his professional career as a *Privat-docent* at Tübingen, and in 1868 became pastor at Heilbronn. He was called as Professor to Jena in 1870, and to Berlin in 1875. Pfeiderer has made his reputation by a very remarkable work on the *Philosophy of Religion*,¹ which he treats on its historical basis. Founding on the works of his predecessors, which he submits to a keen criticism, he shows the various phases which the idea of Religion has passed through, especially in the philosophical Schools which have succeeded each other in Germany since Kant. Then passing to his own theory, he seeks to combine the views of Schleiermacher with those of Hegel, as, according to him, they are happily fitted to complete each other. While, on one side, Schleiermacher excels in discovering and describing the original character of religion, he does not, however, succeed in finding for it a suitable place in the organism of his system. While Hegel, on the contrary, strikes us by the

¹ Die Religion, ihr Wesen und ihre Geschichte, auf Grund des gegenwärtigen Standes der philosophischen u. der theologischen Wissenschaft, 2 vols. 1869. See the Author's Article on this work in the *Revue Théologique*, 1870, No. 2. — The second edition, recast throughout, is published under the title: Religionsphilosophie, auf geschichtlicher Grundlage, 1883-84. [Philosophy of Religion on the Basis of its History. Translated by Rev. A. Menzies and Rev. A. Stewart, 4 vols. 1884 sq.]

admirable unity which reigns in his whole system, he has, above all, failed to recognise the importance as well as the proper nature of the religious sentiment. Pfeiderer, like Rothe, professes to be inspired by the principles of both; but he deviates from the illustrious Heidelberg theologian on a cardinal point. Rothe, unfaithful to the teaching of his masters, remained profoundly attached to the belief in the supernatural, while showing that it is quite reconcilable with the idea of religion, and that in a certain sense it is even demanded by it. (Pfeiderer, on the contrary, raises his voice against miracles both in the name of science and in the name of religion, while defending the idea of a personal, conscious, and free God.) To a penetrating critical spirit Pfeiderer unites a singular comprehension of the religious sentiment. In spite of all the bold positions which may be pointed out in it, his work bears an eminently conservative character. It may be added that Pfeiderer's book, like that of Schwarz, is written with clearness and precision; and that it lays aside all useless appliances of erudition, as well as refrains from any puerile pretension to depth. Pfeiderer has also published an excellent monograph on the mutual relations of religion and morality, a solid study on Paulinism, a series of very interesting Lectures on the religious questions of the times, and other works.¹

III.

At Berlin, the very centre of the reaction, a liberal party was formed which was resolved to combat it to the utmost. This party attaches itself to Schleiermacher, and applies itself

¹ Religion u. Moral in ihrem gegenseitigen Verhältniss, 1872. Der Paulinismus. Ein Beitrag zu der Geschichte der urchristlichen Theologie, 1873. Zur religiösen Verständigung, 1879. Grundriss der christl. Glaubens- u. Sittenlehre, 1880, 4th ed. 1888. Das Urchristenthum, seine Schriften u. Lehren in geschichtlichen Zusammenhang beschrieben, 1888. [Paulinism: A Contribution to the History of Primitive Christian Theology. Translated by E. Peters, 2 vols. 1877. Lectures on the Influence of the Apostle Paul on the Development of Christianity. Translated by the Rev. J. F. Smith. Hibbert Lectures, 1885.]

to develop both the religious element and the critical element contained in his theology. A theological development proper cannot, however, be shown in this group, as the populous parishes of which its representatives have been in charge could hardly spare the time necessary for scientific activity. They take consciousness as the organ of religion, and Jesus Christ as the sole foundation of salvation. As to doctrine, they would like it to be entirely free on this basis. They invoke the necessity of respecting the free development of all the religious capacities, with the completest autonomy of the Church and a large participation of the laity in its affairs. They would not be opposed to a separation of Church and State, while preferring to further the absorption of the Church by the State, according to the theory of Rothe. The first manifesto of this party was the protestation which it published on the 15th August 1845, against the tendencies of the *Evangelical Gazette*, its dogmatic narrowness, and its confessional intolerance. It is from that time also that the *Monthly Periodical for the United Evangelical Church*¹ dates its origin. This periodical was designed to defend the maintenance of the Union, with a marked character of hostility to the old creeds. In 1854 it was replaced by the *Protestant Church Gazette*,² which expresses still more distinctly the firm opposition of the party to the ecclesiastical reaction. It was at first carried on under the intelligent and courageous editorship of Heinrich Krause, who was succeeded in 1869 by Professor Paul Schmidt.

Among the representatives of this group a prominent place is held by LUDWIG JONAS (1797–1859), the favourite disciple of Schleiermacher, who placed him even above Nitzsch and Twisten.³ Endowed with an energy and moral weight that were far from common, as well as with a penetrating dialectical vigour, he was for a long time the leader of this

¹ Monatsschrift für die unite evangelische Kirche.

² Protestantische Kirchenzeitung.

³ See Krause's obituary notice of him: *Protestant. Kirchenzeitung*, 1859, No. 2.

group. He held the confidence of all its adherents and the esteem of his adversaries. A certain heaviness in his speech and writings alone prevented him from having more distinction; but his extensive and beneficent pastoral work in the poorest quarters of Berlin secured him great popularity.

The pastors Sydow and Lisco¹ take their place by the side of Jonas. KARL LEOPOLD ADOLPH SYDOW (1800–1882) was born at Charlottenburg. He became pastor at Potsdam in 1836, and at Berlin in 1846, and was recognised as one of the most faithful disciples of Schleiermacher. EMIL GUSTAV LISCO was born at Berlin in 1819, and has been pastor in that city since 1845. Both Sydow and Lisco are known by the numerous discourses and lectures which they have delivered in Berlin, and which subjected them to admonition and attempts at deposition on the part of the higher ecclesiastical authorities.²—JOHANN WILHELM HANNE was born at Harber, in the Duchy of Lüneburg, in 1813, and has been Professor at Greifswald since 1861. He deserted the Lutheran orthodoxy, and has made himself celebrated by a large number of publications designed to popularize the principles of the liberal theology.³—To this group also belong the preachers Eltester, Pischon, Müller, Thomas, and Platz.

We may also here refer to a number of writers who, while attaching themselves to various tendencies, have rendered real service to theological science by their learned works on the history of the Church. Among these we may first mention JOHANN CARL LUDWIG GIESELER (1793–1854). He was

¹ See his curious work: *Zur Kirchengeschichte Berlins*, 1857. *Ueber das apostolische Glaubensbekenntnis*, 1872.

² Cf. Sydow: *Actenstücke des über mich verhängten Disciplinarverfahrens*, 1873. Cf. M. Sydow: *Dr. A. Sydow. Ein Lebensbild*, 1855.

³ *Der ideale Protestantismus*, 1845. *Die Vorläufe zum Glauben oder das Wunder des Christenthums, im Einklang mit Vernunft u. Natur*, 1850. *Zeitspiegelungen zur Orientirung der Gebildeten in Religion, u. Sitte*, 1852. *Die Idee der absoluten Persönlichkeit*, 1861. *Bekenntnisse oder drei Bücher vom Glauben*, 1861. Hanne's son, a pastor at Hamburg, having in his Book: *Der ideale u. der geschichtliche Christus*, Berl. 1871, distinguished between the ideal and the historical Christ, found himself exposed, like his father, to attack and persecution.

born near Minden, and was successively Professor at Bonn and at Göttingen. Gieseler deserves to be commended for the erudition, the impartiality, and the conciseness with which he has been able to write the history of the Church. He relegates to valuable notes all that relates to its bibliography as well as many texts chosen with rare sagacity and borrowed from the sources themselves, which the historian directly consulted. Gieseler's divisions, as furnished for each period by the events themselves, are much happier than those of Neander.¹—MATTHIAS SCHNECKENBURGER (1804–1848), born at Thalheim in Würtemberg, was Professor of Theology at Berne. He is distinguished by his lucid intelligence and his rare talent of expounding and summarizing the history of Dogmas in a concise and striking manner. He is the author of a treatise on *Symbolics*, of a *Comparative Exposition of the Lutheran and Reformed System of Doctrine*, *Lectures on the Doctrines of the lesser Protestant Sects*, and of a *History of the New Testament Times*.²

ERNST LUDWIG THEODOR HENKE (1804–1872), born at Helmstedt, was Professor at Marburg. He published a remarkable monograph on George Calixtus and his times, and ten Lectures on recent Church History.³—HEINRICH LUDWIG JULIUS HEPPE (1820–1879), born at Cassel, was also Professor at Marburg. He has written numerous solid works on the history of the Reformed Protestantism.⁴

¹ Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte, 6 parts in 11 vols. 1835–55. The last vols. were published after Gieseler's death by Redepenning. [A Compendium of Ecclesiastical History, 5 vols., T. & T. Clark.]

² Vergleichende Darstellung des lutherischen u. reformirten Lehrbegriffs. Herausgegeben von Güder, 1855. Vorlesungen über die Lehrbegriffe der kleineren protestantischen Kirchenparteien. Herausgegeben von Hundeshagen, 1863. N. T. Zeitgeschichte. Herausg. von Löhlein, 1862.

³ Georg Calixtus und seine Zeit, 2 vols. 1853–57. Zur neuern Kirchengeschichte. Zehn acad. Vorträge, 1865–66. Since his death the following works of Henke have been published: Neuere Kirchengeschichte, 3 vols. 1875–80. Ergebnisse u. Gleichnisse, 1874. Vorlesungen über Liturgik u. Homiletik, 1876. Cf. Mangold: E. L. T. Henke, 1879.

⁴ Die confessionelle Entwicklung der alt. protestantischen Kirche Deutschlands, 1854. Die Dogmatik des deutschen Protestantismus im 16ten Jahrhundert, 3 vols. 1857. Geschichte der luther. Concordien-Formel, 2 vols. 1867. Die Dogmatik der evangelisch-reformirten Kirche dargestellt und aus den

WILHELM GASS, born at Breslau in 1813, the son of Joachim Christian Gass, the confidential friend of Schleiermacher, has been successively Professor at Breslau (1846), at Greifswald (1847), at Giessen (1861), and at Heidelberg since 1868. He is the author of a very conscientious History of Protestant Dogmatics, a History of Christian Ethics, and works on the doctrines of the Greek Church.¹—GUSTAV WILHELM FRANK, born at Schleiz in 1832, became Professor at Jena in 1864, and at Vienna in 1867. He has written the History of Protestant Theology and other works.²—GEORG STEITZ, pastor at Frankfort, is celebrated for his monographs on various parts of the history of the Church, especially on Private Confession in the Lutheran Church, and on the Paschal Controversies between the Eastern and Western Churches.

JUSTUS LUDWIG JACOBI, born near Magdeburg in 1815, became Professor at Königsberg in 1851, and at Halle in 1855. He is known as a historian by his learned and solid work on the Doctrine of Tradition, and as the author of Reminiscences of Neander and of the Baron von Kottwitz.³—

Quellen belegt, 1861. Zur Geschichte der evangel. Kirche Rheinlands u. Westphalens, 1870. Geschichte des deutschen Protestantismus, 4 vols. 2nd ed. 1865–66. Geschichte des deutschen Volksschulwesens, 5 vols. 1857–59. Th. Beza, 1861. Ph. Melancthon, 1867. Geschichte der quietistischen Mystik in der katholischen Kirche, 1875. Kirchengeschichte beider Hessen, 2 vols. 1876–78. Neubearbeitung von Soldau's Geschichte der Hexenprozesse, 2 vols. 1880. Geschichte des Pietismus in der reform. Kirche, 1879.

¹ Geschichte der protestantischen Dogmatik in ihrem Zusammenhange mit der Theologie überhaupt, 4 vols. 1854–67. Symbolik der griechischen Kirche, 1872. Geschichte der christlichen Ethik, 2 vols. 1881–86. Optimismus u. Pessimismus, 1876. Die Lehre vom Gewissen, 1869. G. Calixtus u. der Syncretismus, 1846. Beiträge zur kirchl. Literatur u. Dogmengeschichte des griech. Mittelalters, 2 vols. 1844–49. Gennadius u. Plétho, Aristotelismus u. Platonismus in der griech. Kirche, 1844. Die Mystik des Nikolaus Kabasilas vom Leiden in Christo, 1849.

² Geschichte der protest. Theologie, 3 vols. 1872–75. Das Toleranzpatent des Kaisers Joseph II., 1881. Die jenaische Theologie in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung, 1858.

³ Die kirchliche Lehre von der Tradition u. heiligen Schrift in ihrer Entwicklung dargestellt, 1847. Die Lehre des Pelagius, 1842. Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte, 1 Th. 1850. Die Lehre der Irvingiten verglichen mit der heil. Schrift, 1853, 2nd ed. 1863. Erinnerung an D. Aug. Neander, 1882. Erinnerung an Baron v. Kottwitz, 1892.

JOHANN GEORG ENGELHARDT (1791–1855), who was Professor at Erlangen, is celebrated for his works on mysticism.¹—KARL FRIEDRICH ADOLF WUTTKE (1819–1870) was born at Breslau, became Professor of Theology there in 1848, at Berlin in 1854, and at Halle in 1861. He is known by his works on paganism and on the popular superstitions of Germany, and for a treatise on Christian Ethics.²—We may also mention in this connection the *Review for Historical Theology*, edited successively by Illgen, Niedner, and Kahnis.³

RICHARD ADALBERT LIPSUS may also be noticed here. He was born in 1830 at Gera, and has been successively Professor at Leipsic (1859), at Vienna (1861), at Kiel (1865), and at Jena since 1871. He has distinguished himself by his labours on the literature of the Ancient Church. His dogmatic works also take a high place. They bear the impress of the Neo-Kantian philosophy, and proceed on the basis of psychological and moral experience.⁴

We may fitly add to these historico-critical representatives of the Liberal School the name of ADOLF HARNACK, Professor of Church History at Berlin. Professor Harnack was born at Dorpat in 1851, and he studied there from 1869 to 1872. He became a *Privat-docent* at Leipsic in 1874, and Professor *extraordinarius* in 1876. In 1879 he became Professor of Church History at Giessen. In 1886 he was called to

¹ Kirchengeschichtliche Abhandlungen, 1832. Translation of the works of Dionysius Areop., 1823. Richard v. St. Victor, 1838. Joh. Ruysbrock, etc.

² Geschichte des Heidenthums, 2 vols. 1852. Der deutsche Volksaberglauben der Gegenwart, 1860, 2nd ed. 1867. Handbuch der christlichen Sittenlehre, 2 vols. 1861, 3rd ed. 1874. [Christian Ethics. Translated by Lacroix, Hamilton, U.S.A., 1873.]

³ Zeitschrift für historische Theologie.

⁴ Die paulinische Rechtfertigungslehre, 1853. Ueber das Verhältniss der drei syrischen Briefe des Ignatius zu den übrigen Recensionen der Ignatianischen Literatur, 1859. Der Gnosticismus, sein Wesen, Ursprung u. Entwicklungsgang, 1860. Zur Quellen-kritik des Epiphanius, 1865. Chronologie der römischen Bischöfe bis zur Mitte des 4ten Jhrdt., 1869. Die Quellen des römischen Petrus-sage kritisch untersucht, 1871. Ueber den Ursprung des Christennamens, 1873. Die Quellen der ältesten Ketzergeschichte, 1875. Lehrbuch der evangelisch-protestantischen Dogmatik, 1876, 2nd ed. 1879. Philosophie u. Religion, 1885. Die apokryph. Apostelgeschichten u. Apostellegenden, 2 vols. 1883–86. Lipsius edits the Jahrbücher für protest. Theologie and the Theologischer Jahresbericht.

Marburg, and in 1888 to Berlin. He has obtained a high reputation by his works on the literary History of the Ancient Church, and on the History of Dogmas.¹

IV.

The movement which has grouped the liberals in all parts of Germany into the Protestant associations constituting the *Protestantenverein*, started from the University of Heidelberg. The *Protestantenverein* was organized at the outset for the defence of parochial rights and of religious toleration, and for the maintenance of the Union. No one in Heidelberg or elsewhere has displayed more zeal, more energy, or more perseverance in the struggle carried on in connection with it than DANIEL SCHENKEL (1813–1885). Schenkel was a Swiss by birth, having been born at Dägerlen, in the canton of Zurich. He was a pupil of De Wette, and he took a part in the political and ecclesiastical struggles of his country when a pastor at Schaffhausen from 1841, and as professor at Bâle from 1849. In these struggles he already displayed the elasticity and adaptiveness indispensable to those who would organize a party. At first Schenkel fought in the ranks of the conservatives in opposition to the coarse and levelling radicalism of Switzerland. In 1851, having been called to Heidelberg by the influence of Ullmann and Umbreit, he took part in the struggles that were carried on against Ultramontanism, while seeking to disengage the Protestant pastors from all compromising association with the German Neo-Catholics.²

About the same time he published a work on the *Essence of*

¹ Zur Quellenkritik der Geschichte des Gnosticismus, 1873. Die Zeit des Ignatius, 1878. Texte u. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, 1882 sqq. (ed. with Von Gebhardt). Martin Luther in seiner Bedeutung für die Geschichte der Wissenschaft u. der Bildung, 1883, 2nd ed. 1886. Das Mönchthum, seine Ideale u. seine Geschichte, 1881, 3rd ed. 1886. Patrum Apostolicorum opera, ed. with Von Gebhardt and Zahn, 1875–77. Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte, 1886, 2 vols. 2nd ed. 1888; Grundriss, 1889.

² Die protestantische Geistlichkeit u. die Deutsch-Catholiken, 1846.

Protestantism,¹ which is his most important scientific production. The ideas which he has deposited in it form the substance of his theology, and are found reproduced in his other publications under the most varied forms, and applied to all the questions of the present time. According to Schenkel, the essence of Protestantism ought not to be confounded with the first form of its appearance, which was the Lutheran Church of the sixteenth century. Protestantism is not one of those facts of the past which have been realized once for all, but is an always active and living principle. It is not a system of doctrines or institutions, but a task which has to be progressively realized. In characterizing the movement of the Reformation in the Sixteenth Century, Schenkel includes in it the Humanists, the Illuminati, and the Theosophists, but he prefers rather to carry it back to the personality of Luther in its first period, or in what might be called "the heroic age" of its life. It is out of place to speak about a theology of Luther in the sense of our modern Lutherans. The most contradictory conceptions and tendencies cross each other in the mind of this courageous and passionate athlete. The monk and the reformer are engaged in a death struggle. The simple superstition of the miner many a time troubles the clear-sighted outlook of the prophet.

Schenkel gives a detailed examination of the doctrine of justification by faith as it was borrowed by the Reformers from Saint Paul and applied to the very incomplete purgation of the theology of their time. He points out the true elements that were destined to be the agents of this renovation, and the false elements (the remains of the juridical or materialistic conception of the ancient dogmatics) which have impeded or paralysed the progress of the reforming thought. Schenkel shows that faith in God gave the impulse, in the case of Luther, to all his activity. "I am captive in my conscience," said Luther. . . . "There is no security in acting contrary to one's conscience." This faith, as each one may

¹ *Das Wesen des Protestantismus aus den Quellen des Reformationszeitalters beleuchtet*, 3 vols. 1846-51, 2nd ed. 1862.

find it and reproduce it in his consciousness, is no other thing than the will to unite ourselves to God by the inmost basis of our life. In order to define the essence of Protestantism, and to embrace it in all its extent, Schenkel completes the doctrine of Luther by reference to that of Zwingli, particularly in its applications to the practical questions of Christianity. Protestantism, according to Schenkel, does not limit itself to establishing a system of doctrines relating to God and to revealed truths; neither is it a simple form peculiar to the individual Christian consciousness. It aspires at creating a religious society, or a community of believers. The foundation on which it rests is the idea of the re-establishment of humanity by Jesus Christ in the fellowship of the Christian community.

Schenkel recalls the attention of the minds of his time to the question of the Church; and this is the great merit of his work. He understood the signs of the time. It is only by applying the new ideas regarding the Scriptures and faith to the Christian community that the movement of the Reformation will attain its end, and will find its last and highest expression. The task of our age is the struggle against the Catholic principle which has infected with its poison the Protestant theology and Church. In his work on *the Union of Evangelical Protestantism*,¹ Schenkel shows that the divergences between the two Protestant Confessions do not rest on a difference of principles, but on a different mode of conceiving and formulating the relationships between man and God. The Lutheran doctrine and the Reformed doctrine are agreed in referring salvation to God alone, and in requiring on the part of man the assimilation of this salvation by faith. But the first founds on the immanence of their relationship, and the second on its transcendence. And hence the danger which the Lutheran system runs of absorbing the human element in the divine element; and hence, too, the dualism which the Reformed system runs the risk of issuing in, by too great a separation of these two elements. This divergence, however, is of importance only to

¹ *Der Unionsberuf des evangelischen Protestantismus*, 1855.

science. There may be a question about different systems, but not about Churches resting on a different principle. On the contrary, the two systems may usefully supplement each other, till they produce one day a new type of Protestant doctrine. Practical union ought to advance along with the work of dogmatic synthesis.

Schenkel has himself contributed a stone to this edifice in his *Christian Dogmatics expounded from the Standpoint of Conscience*.¹ In this work he attaches himself closely to Schleiermacher. The conscience is the seat of religion. It is not, as one might be tempted to believe, solely subjective; for it is by the conscience that we lay hold of God, and that we unite ourselves with eternal truth. It is the source of religious truths as well as of the moral impulses. The intellectual element and the ethical element which it involves are only the two different aspects of its essence. Starting from this principle, Schenkel strives to rejuvenize dogmatic theology, while respecting most of the formulæ in which tradition has preserved it. This is what has made Schwarz say that this work still contains a considerable amount of useless ballast and artificial constructions. In particular, Schenkel does not explain himself on an essential point. Has conscience only a receptive quality, and is it at most a critical faculty; or has it also a creative power, and may it on that account be the source of the newest, freshest, inmost, and most individual truth and revelation, nourishing itself on anterior revelations and vivified by them, but ceaselessly going beyond them?

The ecclesiastical struggles in which Schenkel became engaged, separated him more and more from the School of Conciliation. Endowed with great talent as an organizer, and skilled in addressing public assemblies, and firing the

¹ Christliche Dogmatik vom Standpunkte des Gewissens aus dargestellt, 2 vols. 1858-59. See also his later work: Die Grundlehren des Christenthums aus dem Bewusstsein des Glaubens [im Zusammenhange dargestellt] 1877.

crowd by those words which strike and seize on the mind, he raised the standard of ecclesiastical liberalism on the narrow stage of the Duchy of Baden at first, and then in the wider connections of the German Protestant Union (*Protestantenverein*).¹ He pleaded with vigour, but not without monotony, the cause of the autonomy of the community, of universal suffrage in the Church, and of the rights of the laity. His blustering, aggressive, indiscreet personality has done as much harm to the triumph of his cause as that of Rothe has done service to it. This indefatigable and stirring professor of Heidelberg really only wanted the crown of the martyr to finish off his rôle of an apostle.

The publication of his *Sketch of the Character of Jesus*² failed to give him that crown. This work was keenly, but unskilfully, made the subject of accusation by the partisans of orthodoxy. In it Schenkel proposed to draw a picture of the image of Christ which would be truly historical, that is to say, truly human. To attain his end, he addressed himself to the document which, in his view, is the oldest and the most authentic we possess, namely, the Gospel according to Saint Mark, as completed by additions borrowed from the other Gospels. The most interesting chapter is that in which Schenkel examines the delicate and complex question of the Messianic character of Christ, and especially the genesis and development of the Messianic idea in the consciousness of Jesus. We admit that the explanation of

¹ Der deutsche Protestantenverein u. seine Bedeutung in der Gegenwart; nach den Akten dargestellt, 1868, 2nd ed. 1872. See the various reports of the general meetings of the *Protestantenverein*, and its Annual, published since 1870, under the title: Jahrbuch des Protestantenvereins, herausg. von Hossbach u. Elberfeld. In this connection may also be mentioned the *Protestantenbibel* N. T. Edited with Translation and Notes by Schmidt and Von Holtzendorff, 1870-73. [Protestant Commentary on the New Testament, with general and special Introductions. Edited by Professors P. W. Schmidt and F. von Holtzendorff. Translated by the Rev. F. H. Jones, B.A., 3 vols. 1882-84.]

² Das Charakterbild Jesu, 1864, 4th ed. 1873. Cf. Zur Orientirung über meine Schrift: Das Charakterbild Jesu, 1864. Lalot: Le Jésus de M. Schenkel. Bulletin théologique, 1866, Nos. 4, 5. [Character of Jesus portrayed, 2 vols., Boston 1866.] See also his later work: Das Christusbild der Apostel u. der nachapostol. Zeit, 1879.

Schenkel, that Jesus Christ on this point accommodated Himself to the hopes of His nation while purifying them, appears to us not only contrary to the texts, but incompatible with the faith of Jesus in the divine origin of the Messianic promises, which cannot be contested without giving up His historical character. His being able to transform the popular hopes, can only be explained on the condition that He was Himself conscious of being the Messiah promised by God to Israel. (In this book, which was evidently inspired by that of Renan, Schenkel shows himself the declared enemy of the supernatural. He admits no other miracles than those of healing; and he even strips these of all supernatural character; they are psychological cures such as are still effected in our day. The multiplication of the loaves took place in the imagination of the hearers of Jesus, from the force and grace of His words. The transfiguration is a vision; and the resurrection of Christ is a purely spiritual fact.¹) In our view there are also other faults in Schenkel's book. His Jesus declaims and perorates too much. He resembles his painter, who complacently makes of Him a sort of modern tribune, a defender of liberty and of the religion of conscience. The book contains too much rhetoric and too little science.

The literary fertility of Schenkel was remarkable. In addition to the sensational articles on the principal questions of the day, inserted in the Review which he edited,² we may note his *Biography of Schleiermacher*,³ his study on the *Training of Protestant Theologians*,⁴ his examination of "the Ecclesiastical Question and its Protestant Solution,"⁵ a work

¹ On the last point, however, doubt as to his view is allowable. Schenkel's explanations are extremely obscure. He seems to represent the resurrection of Christ as a sort of progressive spiritualization of His body in the presence of His disciples.

² Allgemeine Kirchliche Zeitschrift. Ein Organ für die evangelische Geistlichkeit u. Gemeinde. (From 1860 to 1872.)

³ Friedrich Schleiermacher. Ein Lebens- und Charakterbild, 1868.

⁴ Ueber die Bildung der evangelischen Theologen, 1863.

⁵ Die kirchliche Frage u. ihre protestantische Lösung, 1862. Also, Die Protestantische Freiheit in ihrem gegenwärtigen Kampfe mit der kirchlichen Reaktion, 1865. Brennende Fragen in der Kirche der Gegenwart, 1869, 2nd ed. 1871.

on the relations between Christianity and Modern Culture,¹ and the numerous addresses which he delivered in the meetings of the *Protestantenverein*. Along with a number of other theologians of the same School (Dillmann, Hausrath, Holtzmann, Keim, Lipsius, Reuss, Schrader, and others), he edited a *Bible Dictionary*,² with the object of popularizing the dogmatic and historical investigations of the Liberal School. Schenkel's liberalism, however, did not prevent him from afterwards attaching himself with all his party to the triumphal car of Prince von Bismarck, applauding the conquest of Alsace-Lorraine, and justifying in the name of religion and morality the policy of violence to which Germany has owed its national unity.³ That is a melancholy testimony regarding this professed religion of conscience.

HEINRICH JULIUS HOLTZMANN, while he was Schenkel's colleague in the University of Heidelberg, may be said to have been his lieutenant in his ecclesiastical struggles. Holtzmann was born at Carlsruhe in 1832. He studied Theology at Heidelberg and Berlin, became *Privat-docent* at Heidelberg in 1858, Professor at Heidelberg in 1861, and has been Professor of Theology at Strassburg since 1874. Less declamatory and more scientific than Schenkel, Holtzmann has become justly celebrated for his critical labours on the New Testament, in which he seeks to combine the method of Baur with that of Ewald. To a clear and penetrating intellect he unites great erudition and warm piety. Besides an interesting book on *Canon and Tradition*,⁴ which contains a correct and precise definition of the principle of Protestantism, especially in what concerns Scripture

¹ Christenthum u. Kirche im Einklange mit der Culturentwicklung, 1866.

² Bibel-Lexicon. Realwörterbuch mit Karten u. Holzschnitten, 5 vols. 1868-75.

³ Allgemeine Kirchliche Zeitschrift, 1870, II. 10.

⁴ Canon u. Tradition. Ein Beitrag zur neuern Dogmengeschichte u. Symbolik, 1859.

viewed as the sovereign authority in matters of faith, he has published a work on the *Synoptic Gospels, their Origin and Historical Character*.¹ In spite of the vast erudition and the rare sagacity which he has brought to the study of his subject, Holtzmann cannot be flattered with having resolved this most important and most difficult problem of historical criticism. It almost seems that the more we advance into this labyrinth the more undecipherable enigmas are encountered. (Holtzmann's solution may be stated briefly as follows. In the time which immediately followed the death of Christ, the need of consigning the reminiscences of His life to writing was hardly felt, as His near return to establish the Kingdom of Heaven was expected. This, however, did not hold with regard to His doctrine, or the didactic elements of the Gospel, which could be easily effaced from, or altered in the memory of the disciples, and which it was important from that time to fix in a surer way. Accordingly, Matthew, on the banks of the Lake of Gennesaret, wrote early the *λόγια* in that fragmentary and aphoristic form which Papias already referred to. Every one arranged the Hebrew original for himself as he best could; and it was not very long till Greek translations began to appear. A little later, towards the year 60 or 65 A.D., Mark drew up his Gospel, which was shorter and more disconnected than the Gospel which we possess under this name. He wrote it at Antioch, in the neighbourhood of Mesopotamia, where Peter was then labouring; and he drew much from the personal recollections of that Apostle. The two books spread rapidly, and they sufficed till the breaking out of the war of Judea. During the siege of Jerusalem, Christians from all parts of Palestine met at Pella; and new recollections and unwritten narratives brought together by the disciples of Judea, Samaria, and Galilee, came to be added to those which they already possessed. The two previously existing writings mutually completed each other, and were enriched with new elements;

¹ Die synoptischen Evangelien, ihr Ursprung u. geschichtlicher Charakter, 1863.

and it was from this fusion that our present Gospel of Matthew sprang. About the same time, the primitive writings were carried to Rome, where Holtzmann places the redaction of our Gospels of Mark and Luke. The writer of our Mark gave to his exposition the character of a summary; the writer of our Luke introduced into his redaction materials which had not yet been used, and especially the narrative of a Galilean journey unknown to the other Evangelists. Holtzmann's criticism thus comes to assign to the first three Gospels the same chronological order as they occupy in the collection of our New Testament.)

Holtzmann has also written several other works bearing on the New Testament, of which the last and most important is his *Historico-critical Introduction to the New Testament*,¹ in which the latest results of critical science are expounded with a clearness, impartiality, and moderation to which the most competent judges have not refused to pay homage.²

In connection with the University of Heidelberg, Hitzig and Hausrath deserve also to be mentioned. FERDINAND HITZIG (1807-1875), born at Hainingen in the Grand Duchy of Baden, became Professor at Zurich in 1833, and at Heidelberg in 1861. He is celebrated for his remarkable works on the Old Testament, of which the most important are his *Commentary on the Psalms* and his *History of the People of Israel*.³ Hitzig unites a severe philological method to historical combinations that are often daring, arbitrary, and

¹ Christenthum u. Judenthum im Zeitalter der N. T. u. Apocryph. Literatur, 1871 (forming the second vol. of Weber's Geschichte des Volks Israel).

² Kritik der Epheser- und Kolosserbriefe, 1872. Die Pastoralbriefe, 1880. Lehrbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung in das N. T., 1835, 2nd ed. 1886. Along with Zöpfel, Holtzmann has published a Lexicon für Theologie u. Kirchenwesen, 1882, 2nd ed. 1888. Holtzmann has also published two vols. of interesting Sermons (Predigten, 1869 and 1873).

³ Die Psalmen, übersetzt u. ausgelegt, 2 vols. 1835-36, 2nd ed. 1863-65. Der Prophet Jesaja, übersetzt u. ausgelegt, 1833. Die zwölf Kleinen Propheten, 1838, 4th ed. 1881. Der Prophet Jeremia, 1841, 2nd ed. 1866. Der Prophet Ezechiel, 1847. Der Prophet Daniel, 1850. Das Hohe Lied, 1855. Die Sprüche Salomonis, 1858. Das Buch Hiob, 1874. Vorlesungen über biblische Theologie u. messian. Weissagungen des N. T., 1880. Cf. Steiner: Ferdinand Hitzig, Zür. 1882.

fanciful. He places the cradle of the Israelites in the south of Arabia, and, like many other critics, makes the historical times begin only with Moses.

ADOLPH HAUSRATH, born at Carlsruhe in 1837, has been Professor at Heidelberg since 1861. Hausrath has specially studied the Apostle Paul, and has written a somewhat free biography of him.¹ The conversion of Paul was the result of a purely subjective vision, and his theology is only the development of his Judaic consciousness. Hausrath has also written a *History of New Testament Times*,² in which he makes this memorable and agitated epoch live again in a very picturesque manner. His religious Discourses, his work on Strauss, and his minor theological writings, are likewise interesting.³ Under the pseudonym of "George Taylor," Hausrath has also published several historical romances which have been well received.⁴

V.

The University of Zurich has been the centre of the religious radicalism which has had its seat in German Switzerland. At its head for many years stood ALEXANDER SCHWEIZER (1808-1888), a disciple of Schleiermacher. Schweizer may be said to have inherited the calmness and clearness, and the masculine and practical sense of Zwingli, the type of the Reformed theologian. Born at Murten, he became Professor of Theology at Zurich in 1835. He first made himself known by one of the most solid criticisms of

¹ Der Apostel Paulus, 1865, 3rd ed. 1879.

² Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte, 3 vols. 1868-73, 3rd ed. 4 vols. 1877 [History of the New Testament Times. Translated from the 2nd ed. by the Revs. C. T. Poynting and T. Quenzer, 2 vols. 1878-79.]

³ Religiöse Reden u. Betrachtungen, 1873, 2nd ed. 1882. David Friedr. Strauss u. die Theologie seiner Zeit, 2 vols. 1876-78. Kleine Schriften religiösgeschichtl. Inhalts, 1883.

⁴ Antinous, 1880, 5th ed. 1884. [Antinous. An Historical Romance of the Roman Empire. Translated by J. D. M., 1884.] Klytia, 1863, 5th ed. 1884 [Klytia. A Story of Heidelberg Castle. From the German of George Taylor, by S. F. Corkran, 1883.] Jetta, 1884, three editions in same year. [Jetta. Heidelberg under the Romans. A Historical Novel, 2 vols. 1886.]

Strauss's *Life of Jesus*.¹ He shows that the cardinal objection of Strauss, drawn from the fact that the idea is realized only in the species and not in the individual, does not apply to the sphere of religion. All new epochs may be referred to the impulse of an individuality endowed with a really creative power. Schweizer next published various works on Practical Theology,² and a Commentary on the Gospel of John.³ He then entered the field of dogmatic study, and published a historical work on the *Central Dogmas of Protestantism within the Reformed Church*.⁴ This work contains rich material, the most of which had been till then unknown or overlooked; and it is selected and grouped with talent, as well as accompanied by an analysis of the special characteristics of the Reformed Dogmatics. In his work on the *Dogmatic Theology of the Reformed Church*,⁵ Schweizer still treats the ecclesiastical dogmas in a sufficiently objective manner; but in the exposition of his own *System of Christian Doctrine*,⁶ he breaks openly with all the compromises, and with all the supranaturalistic conceptions which Schleiermacher had retained. He no longer aims at a reconciliation between the superannuated dogmas of the past and the scientific consciousness of the present. He even rejects the word "dogma," which can have no longer any but a purely historical value. Every attempt to restore dogmatics is a logical inconsistency, and cannot but be abortive. (In former days, the fathers confessed their own faith; in the present days, we torment ourselves in trying to believe their confession.)

Schweizer combats the supranaturalistic and deistic idea of an order of the world separated from God. He applies the theory of immanence to the relations of God with the

¹ Ueber die Dignität des Religionsstifters. Studien u. Kritiken, 1836, H. 2.

² Ueber Begriff u. Eintheilung der praktischen Theologie, 1836. Homiletik der evangelisch. protest. Kirche, 1848.

³ Das Evangelium des Johannes, 1841.

⁴ Die protestantischen Centraldogmen, innerhalb der reformirten Kirche, 2 vols. 1854-56.

⁵ Glaubenslehre der evangelisch-reformirten Kirche, 2 vols. 1844-47.

⁶ Die Christliche Glaubenslehre nach protestantischen Grundsätzen dargestellt, 2 vols. 1863-72, 2nd ed. 1877.

universe, in a logical way. The Scriptures offer us only a means of discovering the truth. The doctrine of inspiration is the crude and insupportable shell in which the precious kernel is contained; it has no other value than that of affirming the special character of the Biblical writings as primary documentary records of the history of Christianity. This doctrine has been for a long time an embarrassment, an evil which paralyses the progress of the theology, an exaggeration of the truth which flows from the need (imaginary rather than real) which piety feels to possess an infallible expression of truth. The exceptional character of Jesus Christ, seems to Schweizer sufficiently safeguarded when He is proclaimed as the religious genius of humanity *par excellence*. Schweizer's definitions are distinguished by their simplicity, their directness, and their unadornedness; and they are not without a certain nobleness. He dislikes all phrases implying a double meaning, and which are, as it were, enveloped in fog. His analyses, incomplete as they are, reveal profound psychological and ethical knowledge.¹

The standpoint of immanence, applied by Schweizer to dogmatics, was likewise defended with inflexible logical sequence and with rare intrepidity by ALOIS EMANUEL BIEDERMANN (1819-1885), a colleague of Schweizer. Biedermann was born at Oberrieden, studied at Basel and Berlin, and was Professor at Zurich from 1850. His *Christian Dogmatics*² is the most explicit and most scientific manifesto of theological rationalism. Under the double influence of Hegel and Schleiermacher, Biedermann emancipates himself from all the conceptions which might furnish a shelter or an entrenchment for supranaturalism. In order to remain consistent with himself, and to found a positive science in the modern sense of this term, Biedermann relegates to the

¹ See also his *Pastoraltheologie*, 1875. *Darstellung der Wirksamkeit Schleiermachers als Prediger*, 1834. *Nach Rechts u. nach Links. Besprechungen über Zeichen der Zeit*, 1876. *Die Zukunft der Religion*, 1878. *Zwingli's Bedeutung neben Luther*, 1884. *Predigten*, 5 vols. 1854-62.

² *Christliche Dogmatik*, 1869, 2nd ed. 2 vols. 1881-84.

category of improper and purely figurative representations, the idea of the personality of God and that of the immortality of the soul, or of the permanence of the individual. There is nothing more logical, but neither is there anything less religious, than this system. The ground of consciousness is absolutely abandoned for that of pure dialectic.¹

Among the younger representatives of the Swiss radicalism, we may mention VÖGELIN, pastor of Uster, celebrated for his sermons in which the standpoint of immanence and the negation of the supernatural have laid aside all disguise; and HEINRICH HIRZEL (1819-1871), pastor at Zurich, celebrated for his works of beneficence and his zeal for the national advancement. He gave particular regard to Christianity on its ethical and practical side, and was able to unite real religious ardour with a sober, clear, and conciliatory intellect. In his reply to Tholuck,² he subjects to severe criticism the supernatural elements of the ecclesiastical doctrine regarding the person and work of the Redeemer, and strives to free the historical Christ from the veils of legend.

But the most advanced representative of this tendency was HEINRICH LANG (1826-1876). He was born at Frommen in Württemberg, and became pastor at Wartau in 1848, at Meilen in 1863, and at Zurich in 1871. Lang was the founder of the *Voices of the Time*,³ the leading organ of the Swiss radicalism, which made it its object to popularize the modern standpoint of immanence in a series of short, substantial articles, written in a nervous style that was always limpid and sometimes poetical. In his sketch of a *Christian Dogmatics*,⁴ in his *March through the Christian*

¹ See his *Die freie Theologie oder Philosophie u. Christenthum in Streit u. Frieden*, 1844; and his Articles on Strauss in the *Jahrb. der Prot. Theol.* 1875, H. 1; on Lipsius in the *Prot. Kirchenzeitung*, 1877, 2-6; and his *Biography of H. Lang*, 1876. Biedermann also wrote a large number of Articles in the *Kirche der Gegenwart* (1845-50), and in the *Zeitstimmen* (1859-71). Cf. his *Ausgewählte Vorträge u. Aufsätze*, with a biographical Introduction by Kradolfer, 1885.

² *Zeitstimmen*, 1861, Nos. 22, 23.

³ *Zeitstimmen aus der reformirten Kirche der Schweiz*. From 1859.

⁴ *Versuch einer christlichen Dogmatik*, 1858, 2nd ed. 1868.

World, a sort of Christian philosophy of history in abridgment,¹ and in his *Biographies of Religious Characters*,² which is his best work, Lang seeks to popularize the philosophical, theological, and critical ideas of the modern time by applying them logically to all the phenomena of the past and the present. He combats under all its forms the fatal antithesis between time and eternity, the finite and the infinite, the human and the divine, the profane and the sacred, the terrestrial and the celestial. He urges his contemporaries not to seek for happiness in mystical phrases and sentiments, but in the work, the joys, and the struggles of this life. With a courage which stops at nothing, he dissipated the illusions of the School of Conciliation as a pale and insipid assemblage of contradictory conceptions, and against it he directs his sharpest darts. According to Lang, the true Christianity is really human, and nothing that does not bear this character can deserve the name of Christian.³

What is vague and purely negative in Lang's point of view, as well as his incessant fluctuation between pantheistic naturalism and speculative theism, has called forth severe criticisms from the bosom of his own party.⁴ He tries, it is true, to distinguish between the false theological doctrine of the personal God and the true religious experience of the living God.⁵ He rejects the idea of a natural, blind, unconscious power, and admits an absolute spirit with whom the troubled heart may seek light, strength, and consolation, and whose most beautiful name is that of Heavenly Father. In like manner he protests against fatalism. Man has power to break the thread of fatal determinations, and to find in himself the source of his actions. But all these affirmations have something indefinite and equivocal about them; and

¹ Ein Gang durch die christliche Welt, 1859, 2nd ed. 1870.

² Religiöse Charaktere, 2nd ed. 1872.

³ Stunden der Andacht, 2 vols. 1862-65. Religiöse Reden, 1873, 2 vols. 2nd ed. 1876. Das Leben des Apostel Paulus, 1866. Martin Luther. Ein religiöses Charakterbild, 1870. Cf. Biedermann: H. Lang, 1876.

⁴ Cf. Krause: Protestantische Kirchenzeitung, 1859, No. 34 et seq.

⁵ Zeitstimmen, 1861.

notwithstanding their poetical envelope and their religious appearance, they do not succeed in laying hold of the soul, and giving rise to those firm and luminous convictions which strengthen and renew it. The spiritual indigence of religious Radicalism has never appeared in a more striking manner than in these works of Lang, written as they are with a pen so eloquent, and in accents so seductive. And it is because the most sincere poetical enthusiasm can never be a substitute for that faith in the eternal realities which alone gives strength to bear all the trials of life, and to pass victoriously through all the moral crises of the soul.

We may conclude this chapter by a reference to the recent popular advocacy of Christian Socialism by ADOLF STOECKER, Preacher to the Court at Berlin. Stoecker was born at Halberstadt in 1835. He studied at Halle and Berlin, was Chaplain to the German army at Metz in 1871, and became Court and Cathedral Preacher at Berlin in 1874. In numerous lectures and pamphlets he has expounded his socialistic views,¹ which he has brought forward with great *fracas*. A convinced but fanatical Christian, Stoecker attempts to combat the anti-socialistic theories; and on the basis of a monarchical loyalism which almost goes the length of deifying the sovereign, he would rear the chimerical edifice of a new Society animated by a so-called Christian life. He would return to the corporations and guilds of the Middle Ages, and he advocates protection to the utmost, demanding that the State should establish obligatory Life Assurance, and should regulate the hours of labour, and Sunday rest, with progressive impost on the revenue. Stoecker also denounces the Jews as the authors of all the miseries which have arisen from industrialism united with liberalism.

¹ Collected under the title: Christlich-Sozial, 1885. Stoecker has also published: Eins ist noth; Ein Jahrgang Volkspredigten, 1884, 3rd ed. 1885; and O Land, höre des Herrn Wort. Volkspred. ü. die Episteln, 1885, 2nd ed. 1886. Cf. A. Oettingen: Was heisst christlich-social? Zeitbetrachtungen, 1886.

CHAPTER VII.

THE NEO-KANTIAN SCHOOL.

A NEW School has arisen between the School of Conciliation and the Liberal School, and now takes a distinct place. This latest School of German Theology, attaching itself to Kant, professes at the same time to be directly descended from Luther and Schleiermacher, and it aims at turning the inheritance of these great masters of the spiritual life to the advantage of the young generations. Its professed object is to overcome in a definitive manner the sterile antagonism between Supranaturalism and Rationalism, or between faith and science; and to finally conquer an independent province for the religious consciousness by disengaging Religion from all essential association with metaphysics, with the natural sciences, and with historical criticism.

The head of this School is ALBRECHT RITSCHL, Professor of Theology at Göttingen.¹ Ritschl presents an unquestionable loftiness of view, with the calmness and serenity which befits science, and in concise language that is full of nobleness and vigour. He has thus expounded his doctrine orally in his Lectures, which draw to the University of Göttingen numerous and enthusiastic students, and advocated it in writings which have exercised considerable influence on theological thought in Germany and in other countries.² These

¹ See above, p. 396. Ritschl's most important work in this connection is entitled: *Die christliche Lehre der Rechtfertigung u. Versöhnung*, 3 vols. 1870-74, 2nd ed. 1882-83. [The first vol. has been translated by Mr. J. S. Black: *A Critical History of the Christian Doctrine of Justification and Reconciliation*, 1872.]

² *Unterricht in der christlichen Religion*, 1875, 2nd ed. 1881. Schleier-

writings have called forth a somewhat violent polemic from the various camps of theology.¹ This opposition has come both from the theological schools of the Right and the Left, and it has found its principal centre in Hanover itself, whence incessant denunciations are hurled forth against Ritschl and his disciples. It is explained, on the one hand, by the very decided attitude and the sometimes severe tone of the master; and on the other, by the natural resistance of those who find themselves attacked in their most cherished beliefs, or in the *a priori* metaphysics of their doctrine, which they believe indispensable for its maintenance and defence. If it is right to add that the predilection of some for the ideas put in circulation by Ritschl springs partly from what constitutes at least their novelty in form, and partly from the facilities which they afford to those who from weakness of thinking or diplomatic prudence do not wish to be ranked among the orthodox or among the liberals, it is not less true that Ritschl's views have been hailed by many with that joyous relief which is afforded by solutions of current questions which have been long expected and impatiently desired. Ritschl has demonstrated with incomparable superiority that it is not legitimate to attach the same value to the immediate affirmations of the religious consciousness, and to the secondary explanations of theology. In recommending an alternative which may seem bold and difficult, Ritschl does not quit the ground of the

macher's *Reden über die Religion u. ihre Nachwirkungen in der evangel. Kirche Deutschlands*, 1874. *Theologie u. Metaphysik*, 1881. *Geschichte des Pietismus*, 3 vols. 1880-86. *Drei akademische Reden*, 1887.

¹ Bestmann: *Die theol. Wissenschaft u. die Ritschlsche Schule*, 1881. Luthardt: *Zur Beurtheilung der Ritschl. Schule*, in the *Zeitschrift für kirchl. Wissenschaft*, 1881, H. 12. Heir: *Der Religionsbegriff A. Ritschls*, Zür. 1884. Thikötter: *Darstellung u. Kritik der Theologie A. Ritschls*, Bonn 1883 (transl. into French by Aguiléra, Paris 1885). H. Weiss: *Ueber das Wesen des persönlichen Christenstandes*, in *Stud. u. Kritik*, 1881, H. 3. Lipsius: *Pünjer's Theolog. Jahresbericht*, 1881, p. 222. Baldensperger: *La théologie de Ritschl*, in the *Revue de Théologie et Philosophie*, xvi. 511, 617 ss. Dieckhoff: *Die Menschwerdung des Sohnes Gottes. Ein Votum über die Theologie Ritschl*, Hannov. 1882. Frank: *Ueber die kirchl. Bedeutung der Theologie Ritschls*, Erl. 1888. Flügel: *A. Ritschl's philosophische Ansichten*, 1886. Lipsius: *Die Ritschl. Theologie*, 1888.

Bible; but all those who have broken with the theory of the verbal inspiration of the Scriptures, understand that the Scriptural character of a doctrine is not founded on the use of such or such a word torn from its context, but springs out of the whole of the Biblical notions seized in their genesis and followed in their development. The puerile simplicity with which some flatter themselves that they are able to establish the Biblical credit of a doctrine by the aid of a fragmentary quotation from the Bible, is one of the most fatal inheritances from the old orthodoxy, and its theory of the mechanical inspiration of Scripture, from which the Protestantism of the Nineteenth Century has so much difficulty in disengaging itself, to the great detriment of both faith and science.

Independent of its Scriptural character, as taken in the new and definite sense of this word, the test of every theological doctrine for the Church is its practical efficacy, its religious fruitfulness, and the richness of its spiritual and living applications. By separating clearly the problems which are only of interest to the theological school, from the dogmas which have a direct importance for the Christian life, a large and solid foundation will gradually be won, on which a fruitful religious union, pregnant with the future, will be more and more realized. This union will never be attained by administrative measures and ecclesiastical regulations. It will only be the slowly matured fruit of truly religious convictions, and the dearly bought reward of persevering studies and indefatigable effort.

The special character of the work of reform undertaken by Ritschl, is the desire to give us an essentially religious conception of Christianity by means of the Biblical documents alone. Instead of making the edifice of Christian thought rest on principles borrowed from a philosophy alien to Christianity and to its inmost essence, and whose commonplaces form what it is customary to call "Natural Theology," Ritschl admits no other material for the elaboration of evangelical truth than that which is furnished to him by the

Old and New Testament, these two documents mutually explaining each other. Owing to this method the distinguished Göttingen professor, in the first place, resiles from all the pretensions of speculative science to tell us *how* truth is found revealed in the Bible; and, in the second place, he avoids every attempt to found the normative value of Scripture on any theory of inspiration whatever. The first Christian community owed its faith to the impulse which it had received from Jesus Himself; it owed it to His word and the contemplation of His person. This faith was then pure from all that alloy from which it could not escape when it found itself in contact with the philosophic culture of the time. Some believed they saw in the metaphysics of Aristotle and in Neo-Platonism precious complements of the entirely moral and religious truth of the Gospel, and useful auxiliaries for its defence. The value of Scripture as the rule and norm of faith is therefore founded on the fact that it alone makes us know the faith of the first Christian community in its primitive purity. This holds true at once of the New Testament; but a sound appreciation of the value of the Old Testament is also necessary for the understanding of the New; since it is in the soil of the religious faith of Israel that the roots of the Christian faith have been sunk.

With Kant, whose high importance for Protestant theology is shown by Ritschl, he insists both on the purely subjective character of the cognitions which the theoretical reason furnishes to us, and on the pre-eminent function of the practical reason, that is, on the moral freedom of man. This freedom cannot be proved theoretically, but we must limit ourselves to affirm it as a postulate. It constitutes the faculty which man possesses of tearing himself away from the inextricable network of the laws of nature, and inaugurating an entirely new series of effects. With Lotze, Ritschl denies that we can attain to a knowledge of what lies beyond the domain of experience, that is, of the transcendent, by the theoretical way of induction, analogy, and intuition. This

method cannot discover the real principles of being, and still less can it establish any doctrine whatever regarding God and the realities of the invisible world. Every attempt to raise the simple representations of faith to the rank of the Idea, or of an intellectual notion, issues in metaphysical fictions.

The distinct separation of theology from philosophy, which was already desiderated by Schleiermacher, thus becomes an accomplished fact in Ritschl. The only proper religious authority is the person, the word, and the work of Christ, as the testimony of the first Christian community has made us know them. It will be observed that while Schleiermacher took up the standpoint of the believing individual and his Christian consciousness, Ritschl places himself on that of the believing Christian community and the historical testimony which it has deposited in the Biblical writings.

Firmly established on the ground of the Biblical revelation, Ritschl defines the Christian religion by saying that it is that monotheistic religion which is the spiritual and moral religion *par excellence*. It is spiritual in that it consists in the filial liberty which we enjoy in relation to God through Christ, who by His life saves us and founds the Kingdom of God; and it is moral, because it possesses an internal strength which impels us to act from love, and in that it looks to the moral regeneration of humanity. The idea of the Kingdom of God being taken as the centre of the theological organism, and the end of this kingdom being love realized in each one, Christian Dogmatics and Ethics are thus made to unite and coalesce in a higher synthesis.

The Kingdom of God, when disengaged from the erroneous ideas which have been current in the course of centuries, embraces all the particular existences which compose the world, and all the forms in which the collective life moves. It is the supreme moral good, which the members of this kingdom are beholden to realize by acting according to the law of love; and, consequently, it will subsist even although the actual conditions of the world should be changed. It is invisible in this sense, that the fundamental motive power of

the love which animates its members is accessible only to religious cognition, although the fruits of love are effective and visible. It need not be said that the Kingdom of God is clearly distinguished from the Church, which is composed of all those who believe in Jesus Christ in so far as they give testimony of this faith by their visible worship, without regard to the reality of their spiritual transformation.

From the close relation which exists between God and the Kingdom of God, as this relation has appeared in Jesus Christ, it follows that the true Christian conception of God is that which defines him by saying that He is Love. This of itself implies that God is a spiritual person, unique in His kind, and not at all subject to a nature properly so called; because, being the Creator of the universe, He is the absolute will which determines itself and determines everything by relation to it. This is the moral conception of the divine Personality as opposed to the metaphysical conception. God has always the things of nature at His absolute disposal, so as to make them serve the end of His government in the world, or the greatest good of the members of His Kingdom. From this flows the religious conception of miracles. Miracles are astonishing events of nature to which the Christian attaches the experience of divine succour, or of a special deliverance. It is not the business of religion to pass these phenomena through the sieve of scientific criticism, or to examine them from the standpoint of the connection of causes and effects with a view to establishing or denying the infraction of these natural laws. The same event will appear natural to science, and supernatural to faith. And even in a certain sense all events are supernatural in the view of the Christian, that is to say, he regards them as produced by a will, or by a direct intervention of Divine Providence with a view to his good.

The Christology of Ritschl is founded chiefly on the testimony which Jesus has given of Himself, only he takes good care not to make certain metaphysical premises regarding the divine essence precede this testimony. Jesus presents

Himself as the prophet sent by God to prepare His kingdom, and to exercise His sovereign empire over all its members. It is only by the moral effect of His word, and by His whole activity as put forth in the service of others, that He establishes His rights to this spiritual sovereignty. The end which Jesus sets before Himself being the very end which God pursues, and His Word being the Word of God, the whole life of Jesus becomes the complete revelation of the love of God Himself, and it may be said that we see the Father in the Son. By means of His sufferings and His death, He has made the opposition of the world conduce to the final purpose of His life; and His resurrection is also but the finishing of the complete revelation of God in Him. It will never be possible to express better all the perfection of the revelation of God in Christ than by attributing to Him divinity, since all the essential attributes that are decisive of divinity, namely, grace, fidelity, and empire over the world, are seen by us shining forth in Him.

Ritschl's Christology renounces all attempts to make us understand *how* Jesus came to take possession of the mystery of the Kingdom of God. It does not seek to found the life and work of Jesus on ontological presuppositions, by borrowing aid from philosophy and in order to satisfy a purely intellectual need. It does not obscure moral and religious truth by adventurous speculation; and it keeps itself carefully from educing declarations of the Lord Jesus and His apostles in favour of a metaphysical thesis. The pre-existence of Christ is purely ideal; ¹ and it is founded on the immutable will and the eternal love of God, who resolved from before the creation of the world that the only Son would be the Head of the Church, which He would embrace in some sort by His vivifying spirit.

In like manner, Ritschl abstains from giving us what may be called the metaphysic of Sin. He contents himself with justifying the Biblical idea of the universality of sin by

¹ (cf. Lobstein : De la pre-existence personnelle et consciente du Fils de Dieu, Paris 1883.

showing how, through the concurrence of all mankind, and from generation to generation, there has been formed a power of temptation, a kingdom of sin, which has changed the liberty of the individual for what is good into servitude and incapacity. This absence of liberty constitutes the state of all men, but it acquires its true signification and its whole range of influence only in the Christian who feels sin as guilt, and thus proclaims the responsibility implicitly contained in our freewill. The Kingdom of God, considered as the supreme good, and as the realization of our mission here below, increases in us the feeling of our culpability, and of our separation from God. But at the same time, the Gospel gives us the certainty of our salvation by the assurance of the justification of the sinner, who finds himself permitted to enter into communion with God, and to co-operate with Him to the realization of His Kingdom without his culpability being able to become an obstacle to it. In order that redemption may produce a practical result, man must renounce his hostility to God, and be introduced into the community of life and love which Jesus has founded on earth.

The Eschatology of Ritschl is summed up in the lively hope of the Christian in the final realization of the supreme good. What is of importance is not to satisfy our curiosity as to the *how* of this, but to know that no one will be happy but in union with all the blessed in the Kingdom of God.

Such, sketched in broad outlines, is what may be called the theology of Ritschl. It may be said that its defects are just those which are peculiar to the German mind. Notwithstanding its pretensions to perspicuity and precision, Ritschl's theology is essentially lacking in clearness and simplicity, and cannot be wholly vindicated from the reproach of taking pleasure in equivocation. Under the form which the master has given to it, it can hardly ever become popular. Ritschl professes a horror of metaphysical formulae and of Rabbinical exegesis, but neither in the development of his religious

experiences, nor in the exposition of Biblical ideas, has he been able to escape the accusation of seeking to throw dust in the eyes of his readers; that is to say, of wishing to palm off as entirely conformable to the ecclesiastical traditions or dogmas what is, however, essentially distinguished from them. His great merit consists in having decidedly put the moral element in the front place, and in having founded it on a truly scientific psychology. As to his polemic against natural theology and metaphysics, it appears to us to go farther than the object aimed at, and we might formulate serious grounds of objection to him on this point.

Among the disciples of Ritschl we must first mention J. G. WILHELM HERRMANN. He was born at Melkow, near Magdeburg, in 1846. He studied at Halle, and became *Privat-docent* there in 1874; and he has been Professor of Theology at Marburg since 1879. He has published treatises on *Metaphysics in Theology*, on *Religion in relation to Cognition of the World and Morality*, and on *Inspiration*.¹ Herrmann has shown himself possessed of an intellect of real originality and of great strength; and he has developed and accentuated, even to a paradoxical extreme, the opposition between the theoretical reason and the practical reason. According to Herrmann, we must renounce the attempt to show the value of religious truth by its accordance with the knowledge of the world as attained by the natural sciences and by metaphysics. Metaphysics, operating by means of the conceptions which science furnishes to it, has no reason for rising above the world; and it seeks a primary immanent principle of nature from which it may be able to deduce all the theoretical judgments of which it is made up. Religion, on the contrary, seeks not a principle of explanation, but a higher power which rules nature, and subjects it to the supreme end

¹ Die Metaphysik in der Theologie, 1874. Die Religion im Verhältniss zum Weltkennen u. zur Sittlichkeit, 1879. Die Bedeutung der Inspirationslehre für die evangelische Kirche, 1884. Warum bedarf unser Glaube geschichtlicher Thatsachen? 1884.

of man. What Metaphysics seeks is to give by speculation a character of necessity to the formulæ of science, and to find a single principle for the explanation of the world; and what Religion seeks is to assure the moral person of his unique position, which blind nature contests giving to him, and to guarantee to him the subordination of all things to his own proper end.

The Absolute, which does not exist for science, is found in the moral law which man discovers in the depths of his consciousness, and which allows him to constitute himself as a personality in face of and above nature so as to dominate it. But he attains to this end only by Religion. The moral law is logically anterior and superior to all experience from which it could have been abstracted, but it is not innate; it becomes practically efficacious only under the conscious or unconscious influence of the Idea of God. Man attains true moral independence only in the feeling of his dependence in relation to God; and this dependence can alone explain how he can hear and understand the voice of the good in the bosom even of his natural dependence. Rationally there is no means of showing that Religion is not a pure illusion; for it does not enter into the intellectual life of the subject. The only demonstration that one can give of its universal value is to show that it alone responds to the aspirations and needs of the moral spirit, and that the pretension of man to raise himself above nature, although rendered legitimate by morality, can be satisfied only by Religion.

JULIUS KAFTAN is a leading representative of the Neo-Kantian school.¹ Born at Apenrade in Schleswig-Holstein in 1848, he was appointed Professor at Bâle in 1874, and he was called to succeed Dorner as Professor of Theology at Berlin in 1884. Kaftan has given a clear and precise exposition of the ideas of the Neo-Kantian School in his work on the *Essence of the Christian Religion*. Psychological

¹ Das Wesen der christlichen Religion, Basel 1881, 2nd ed. 1888. Die Wahrheit der christlichen Religion, 1888. Die Predigt des Evangeliums im modernen Geistesleben, 1879. Das Leben in Christo. Predigten, 1883.

observation establishes, in the last resort, a duality: Representation, to which belong the theoretical judgments, and Feeling, from which arise the practical judgments or estimations of worth. The former express a state of objective fact; the latter express the subjective position which we take with reference to things. Religion belongs to the second of these spheres. Its source lies in the disproportion which man experiences between his need of life and the satisfactions which this world offers to him. It is in this that it is distinguished from morality, which rests on the antithesis of the good and bad. The moral ideal by means of which an individual judges human actions, is a result of the education which he has received; and this education is itself a fruit of the historical development of humanity. As to the representative function, it introduces into religion an intellectual element which finds its expression in the articles of faith. In order to reconcile science and religion, we may proceed in two ways: it may either be proved that science leads to the same results as a certain religious faith, or that science is only a secondary element in the moral development which gives birth to faith. This latter method is the only legitimate one.

The Essence of the Christian Religion is determined by the good which it offers to man. This good is the Kingdom of God, which is both the supreme good, and as such transcendent, and the moral good, which as such is immanent, and the proper object of the activity of man. Inasmuch as Christianity assures us that the sinner is also able to appropriate the supreme good of the Kingdom of God, it is the Religion of Reconciliation, realized in the person of Jesus Christ, and offered by Him to all those who become His disciples by entering into communion of life with Him.

HERMANN SCHULTZ is another representative of the Neo-Kantian School. Born in 1836 at Lûchow in Hanover, he became Professor at Bâle in 1864, at Strasburg in 1872, at Heidelberg in 1874, and at Göttingen in 1876. Schultz has applied Ritschl's method to the exposition of the *Doctrine*

of the *Divinity of Christ*.¹ This work is divided into three parts: 1st, The History of the doctrine; 2nd, The Scriptural foundation of the doctrine; 3rd, The Doctrine in itself. The Deity of Christ, according to Schultz, should be apprehended neither from the metaphysical point of view, which is foreign to the Gospel, nor from the eschatological or purely moral point of view, but as the expression of the experience of the Christian community. This community has always seen in the person and work of Christ, the personal manifestation of God creating and governing the world by His love. Instead of a metaphysical divine personality which has transiently and accidentally adopted the human nature from the need of redemption, we see in Christ a truly human personality whose work has for us a truly divine value. In a perfectly human life, there was manifested a perfectly divine life. A human personal life has become the expression of the eternal divine life. It is not on a miracle of nature, it is on a miracle of the moral world that faith in the divinity of Christ is founded. He may accordingly demand from us a confidence and a love without reserve, and without limitation.²

Among the most resolute and most competent adversaries of the Neo-Kantian School we shall only mention FRANZ HERMANN REINHOLD FRANK. He was born at Altenburg in 1827, and has been Professor of Theology at Erlangen since 1857. Frank attaches himself to the Lutheran School of Theology, but with great breadth of mind and with a truly scientific method.³ In his *System of Christian Certainty*, he

¹ Die Lehre von der Gottheit Christi, 1881. Die Voraussetzungen der christl. Lehre von der Unsterblichkeit, 1861. Zu den kirchlichen Fragen der Gegenwart, 1869. A. T. Theologie, 1869, 4th ed. 1888. Die Stellung des christl. Glaubens zur heiligen Schrift, 1872, 2nd ed. 1878. Predigten, 1883.

² [W. F. Bender (born in Hesse, 1845, Professor of Theology at Bonn) also belongs to Ritschl's school. He represents the Left or radical wing of the School, as Kaftan represents its Right or conservative wing. Principal works: Schleiermacher's Theologie, 2 vols. 1876-78; Reformation u. Kirchenthum, 1883, 9th ed. 1884; Das Wesen der Religion, 1885, 3rd ed. 1886.]

³ Die Theologie des Concordinformels, 4 vols. 1858-1865. System der christlichen Gewissheit, 2 vols. 1870-73, 2nd ed. 1881-84. System der christlichen Wahrheit, 2 vols. 1878-80, 2nd ed. 1885-86. System der christlichen Sittlichkeit, 1884. [System of the Christian Certainty. Tr. by Evans, 1886.]

shows how the Christian becomes assured of the reality of the objects of his faith, and what is the genesis of the Christian consciousness; and in his *System of Christian Truth*, which is really a system of dogmatics, he expounds the objective essence of these realities. The source of Christian truth, is the Christian consciousness in its accordance with the Bible and with the Church. Dr. Frank distinguishes expressly between the reality-in-itself of the objects of faith, and the impression or effect which these objects produce on consciousness. But what is the good of speaking of the constitutive elements of the Christian consciousness as a source of Christian truth, when one raises the pretension or believes that it is possible to seize the objects of faith in their reality-in-itself, that is to say, in their very essence, abstraction being made of their relation with the believing subject, and consequently of their importance to him? Frank undertakes to penetrate beyond the certainties which exist for the Christian consciousness, to the very possession of the realities which it affirms. The absolute faith which the Christian possesses does not satisfy him; he believes it possible to comprehend and describe the Absolute itself. He forgets that when the realities of the invisible and higher world are in question, nothing more can be meant than the experiences, the conceptions, and the signs which possess this value for consciousness. For the Christian consciousness, the reality *in se* of the objects of faith coincides with the certainty which this same consciousness has of it.

The opposition between the Neo-Kantian School and the old or new Orthodoxy comes out here in all its strength. It is in vain that Frank borrows very largely from the modern scientific method, in the manner in which he interprets the Bible and explains the ecclesiastical dogmas. From the moment that he begins to claim to know the divine realities by themselves, and not merely by the impression which they produce on the believing soul, he is separated from Ritschl and his theology by a gulf which nothing can fill.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CATHOLIC THEOLOGY.

I.

IN order to complete this History, it remains for us to sketch briefly the movement of the Roman Catholic theology in Germany during the Nineteenth Century.¹ The Catholic preachers and scholars from the middle of last century felt in large measure the influence of the new spirit which produced in Protestantism the transformation which we have been studying. Their scientific productions, although not very numerous, began to profit by the new methods, and some of these are distinguished by solid erudition and a liberal spirit, while maintaining a complete accordance with the ecclesiastical tradition. In this connection the works of JOHANN JAHN (†1861), a distinguished Archaeologist and Orientalist,² and of JOHANN LEONARD HUG (1765-1846), the learned Professor of Freiburg,³ as well as those of J. G. HERBST (†1837)⁴ and KARL MOVERS,⁵ may be referred to.

¹ See especially Werner: *Geschichte der katholischen Theologie seit dem Trienter Concil*, 1866. H. Schmid: *Wissenschaftliche Richtungen auf dem Gebiete des Katholicismus in neuester u. gegenwärtiger Zeit*, 1862; and his *Geschichte der Katholischen Kirche Deutschlands von der Mitte des 18ten Jahrhunderts bis in die Gegenwart*, 1872.

² *Einleitung in die göttliche Bibel des alten Bundes*, 1793, 2nd ed. 2 vols. 1802. *Biblische Archäologie*, 5 vols. 1805-25. *Biblia Hebraica*, 1806. *Enchiridion hermeneutice generalis*, 1812. Jahn was Professor of Oriental Languages and Biblical Antiquities in the University of Vienna. [*Archæologia Biblica. A Manual of Biblical Antiquities*. Translated by T. G. Upham, 3rd ed. 1836. *The History of the Hebrew Commonwealth*, 2 vols., London 1829.]

³ *Einleitung in die Schriften des N. T.*, 1808, 4th ed. 1827. *De antiquitate Cod. Vatic. commentatio*, 1837. [Introduction to the New Testament. Translated by Fosdick, with Notes by Moses Stuart, Andover 1836.]

⁴ *Historisch-critische Einleitung in die heil. Schriften des A. T.*, 2 vols. Freib. 1840-42.

⁵ *Loci quidam historie Canonis V. T. illustrati*, 1842.

In almost all the States of Germany the spirit of Rationalism had penetrated by the end of last century even to the theological chairs, and to the more humble rural charges of the Catholic Church. A certain effacement of the confessional differences took place in consequence, and owing to this, ideas of toleration became diffused, and fraternal relations were established between the representatives of the different creeds. The element of polemics had almost disappeared from the text-books of dogmatic theology; and it was not rare to see the Roman Catholic clergy applying the ideas of Kant and Schelling to the exposition or defence of the traditional beliefs. In the state of forgetfulness and abandonment into which the Catholic dogmas had been thrown by the political events that mark the beginning of this century, its representatives were only concerned about how to preserve their position in the midst of generations worked into fever by the ideas of progress and light. Moreover, many of the ecclesiastical principalities in Germany had been secularized. Along with its possessions, the Church had lost part of its consideration and influence; and the Papacy in the concordats or briefs which regulated its new relations with the Governments, from want of anything better, showed itself very accommodating.

This state of things changed in proportion as the political reactions from 1815 and from 1848 felt the need of leaning upon the Church, and calling in the co-operation of its well-disciplined hierarchy, with its secular institutions and beliefs, in order to bridle or combat the aspirations of the democracy. The clergy were called to play an important part in the crusade against the free-thought which was allied to the revolutionary spirit. The Papacy, having likewise been restored, wished to regain its old prestige, and to recover once more its domination over men's consciences. After having consented to serve as an instrument in the hands of statesmen who were zealous to confiscate the liberties of the peoples, the Papacy tried in turn to use the governments in order to re-establish its shaken authority, and to extend its

old influence over the private and public life of the citizens. The Catholic Church, proud of the strength which it derived from its unity and from the immutability of its principle, rose to a new consciousness of its task, and made ready to realize it by all the occult and visible means, and with all the legitimate or usurped resources, which it possessed. Hence, between the States as representing modern society and culture, and the Church as the depository of the old traditions, there soon arose inevitable conflicts which were not long in degenerating into an open struggle.

We need not enter here upon the discussions which agitated the Rhine Provinces and several other parts of Germany, on the subject of the question of mixed marriages. These discussions were carried on from the death of Archbishop Spiegel of Cologne and the nomination of his successor, the ardent and able Baron Droste von Vischering (1835 - 1840).¹ Neither shall we enter upon the movement which followed the exhibition of the coat of Trèves in 1844, and which led to the precarious formation of congregations of German Catholics under the direction of Ronge and Czerski.² Nor is it necessary to deal with the history of the concordats imposed by the Papacy from 1855 to 1859 on various Governments which had to grant the Church its autonomy, the direction of the schools, and a privileged position in the State. Nor, finally, need we detail the attempts of the different Governments of Germany to deliver themselves from this subjection, which issued in a complete success after the victory of Prussia over Austria in 1866, and which took an aggressive and threatening attitude towards the Catholic Church in 1870. These facts, of which the last have taken place within our own time, are too well known for it to be necessary to relate them here. Their

¹ Cf. Gieseler : Ueber die kölnische Angelegenheit von Irenäus, 1838. Hase : Die beiden Erzbischöfe, 1839.

² E. Bauer : Geschichte der deutsch-katholischen Kirche, 1845. Lampadius : Die deutsch-katholische Bewegung, 1846. Gervinus : Die Mission der Deutsch-Katholiken, 1845. Schenkel : Die protestantische Geistlichkeit u. die Deutsch-Katholiken, 1846.

influence on the development of Catholic theology has not been much felt. The movement of the German Catholics of 1844 resulted only in a vague diluted humanitarian doctrine, which its leaders summarized in the Apostles' Creed modernized, and divested of all Christian character. On the other hand, the opposition of the Old Catholics against the dogma of the Infallibility of the Holy See, promulgated by the Vatican Council, has observed a timid and reserved attitude towards the doctrine of the Church; but along with very estimable scientific tendencies it has manifested a real expansion of religious vitality. Nevertheless, the support which Döllinger and Reinkens found in Von Bismarck and his policy, has not been less compromising for the success of the reform which they professed to inaugurate than the alliance of Ronge and Czerski with the demagogues of Frankfort and Baden was for their German Catholicism.

II.

Among the German Catholics who made the greatest mark in the beginning of this century, the first who deserves to be named is JOHANN MICHAEL VON SAILER (1751-1832).¹ The son of poor parents, he was educated by the Jesuits, and became Professor in the Universities of Ingolstadt, Dillingen, and Landshut, and then Vicar-General and Bishop of Ratisbonne. Sailer exercised a great and beneficent influence over the Roman Catholic clergy of Bavaria. Noble and pure in character, and uniting a rare urbanity to an enlightened piety, he opposed the practice of external devotion and holiness by works, not less than the pugnacious and scholastic spirit of his Church. He entered into relations with distinguished Protestants, and especially with Lavater, being attracted by the Protestant doctrine of sin and grace. Nevertheless, he remained a Catholic, limiting himself to blunting the angles of the official dogmas, and presenting them in an ideal light. Scrupulous and timorous regarding

¹ Cf. Bodemann: J. M. von Sailer, 1856.

his own faith in God, he never reached certainty of the pardon of his sins, and he inclined to a justification by love, or by the gift of the heart to the Saviour. Suspected both by the liberals and the Ultramontanists, Sailer is the type of the theologian of conciliation. The declaration of submission which he published in 1820, in reply to the attacks of which he was the object, should not be considered as an act of cowardliness; it is rather to be regarded, as in the case of Fénelon, to which it has sometimes been compared, as the result of an innate tendency to peace. Sailer has left a large number of writings of all kinds, which, however, are not distinguished by any special merit.¹

Among the numerous friends and disciples of Sailer, we will mention only the Abbé FENEBERG and MELCHIOR VON DIEPENBROCK (1798-1853).² Diepenbrock was a native of Westphalia, and after having led a somewhat roving life, he was converted by Sailer, whose secretary and vicar-general he became. In 1845 he was appointed prince-bishop of Breslau. He edited the works of Suso, and published a highly-esteemed collection of spiritual poems.³ Diepenbrock kept up an active correspondence with CARL PASSAVANT,⁴ the celebrated physician and thinker of Frankfort. The pious and indefatigable pastor MARTIN BOOS (1762-1825)⁵ also belongs to the same movement. Leading a most troubled life, and fleeing from place to place to escape the persecution of jealous and suspicious superiors, Boos preached the gospel in Bavaria, in the country of Salzburg, and in Rhenish Prussia. He understood much better than those already named the Pauline doctrine of justification by

¹ Briefe aus allen Jahrhunderten, 1800-1804. Grundlehren der Religion. Moralphilosophie. Erziehung für Erzieher. Die Weisheit auf der Gasse.

² Melchior von Diepenbrock. Ein Lebensbild von seinem Nachfolger (Förster), 1859. Reinkens: M. Diepenbrock, 1881.

³ Geistlicher Blumenstrauß. Most of these poems are translated from the Spanish, while some are by contemporary German poets.

⁴ J. C. Passavant. Ein christliches Charakterbild, Frkf. a/M. 1867.

Briefe von J. M. Sailer, M. Diepenbrock, u. J. C. Passavant, nebst einigen Aufsätzen aus Passavant's Nachlass, 1860. Cf. Passavant's Das Gewissen, 1857.

⁵ Gossner: M. Boos, 1831.

faith. JOHANN GOSSNER (1773–1855), preacher in Bavaria, at St. Petersburg, and Berlin;¹ and ALOYS HENHOEFER (1789–1862),² priest at Mühlhausen and Graben in Baden, and afterwards a Protestant pastor, belong to the same school. Baron IGNAZ HEINRICH VON WESSENBERG (1774–1860)³ is also connected with the same movement. He was Vicar-General of Constance, and he introduced useful reforms into his diocese. He is known by a work on the *Great Councils of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*,⁴ as well as by many incidental writings and a collection of religious poems. Rome refused Wessenberg the title of bishop, "*ob gravissimas causas*," without, however, being able to reproach him with a single positive heresy. He pursued the ideal of a great German national Church, and of a return of the Church to Ecclesiastical Councils as the proper remedy to arrest its decline. Less mystical and more resolute in character than Sailer, Wessenberg, like all the enlightened Catholics of this school, lacks precision in doctrine, and a really scientific spirit in matters of history and exegesis.

One of the most earnest attempts made to bring Catholicism closer to modern thought so as to establish their accord, is connected with the name of Hermès. GEORG HERMÈS (1775–1831),⁵ a man of clear, cultivated intellect, was animated with a serious interest in science, as well as with an ardent piety. He lectured as a professor with great success, first at Münster, and then from 1819 at Bonn. He had studied the philosophy of Kant, and he tried to apply his method of demonstration to the defence of the Catholic dogmas. In his *Philosophical Introduction*,⁶ he raises three

¹ Prochnow: J. Gossner, Biographie aus Tagebüchern u. Briefen, 2 vols. 1864. J. Dalton: J. Gossner, 2nd ed. 1878. [Gossner became a Protestant in 1826. He founded the remarkable Gossner Mission in Bengal. See accounts of it by Dr. Nottrott and Dr. Plath.]

² Frommel: Aus dem Leben des Dr. Aloys Henhoefer, 1865.

³ J. Beck: Freiherr von Wessenberg, sein Leben u. Wirken, 1862.

⁴ Die grossen Kirchenversammlungen des 15 u. 16 Jahrhunderts, 4 vols. 1840.

⁵ Cf. Esser: Ueber Hermes Leben u. Lehre, 1832. Elvenich: Acta Hermesiana. Elvenich u. Braun: Acta Romana, 1838.

⁶ Philosophische Einleitung, 1819, 2nd ed. 1831.

questions, and he resolves all the three in an affirmative manner:—1st, Is man capable of deciding with certainty on the subject of truth and the reality of things? 2nd, Is there a God, and what is He? 3rd, Is a revelation possible, and what does it contain? Hermès completed this philosophical introduction by a *Positive Introduction*,¹ in which he examined the external and internal proofs which may be invoked: 1st, In favour of the writings of the New Testament; 2nd, In favour of oral tradition; and 3rd, In favour of the authority of the priesthood. The conclusions of Hermès appeared in every point favourable to the Catholic system. The supernaturally revealed Christian doctrines are true, according to him, because they are in harmony with the truths naturally revealed by reason. Every reasonable man is obliged by the very reason which God has given him, to recognise the ecclesiastical authority as a divine authority placed above reason.

The teaching of Hermès, which had been much appreciated and had received enthusiastic support, especially on the part of the Catholic professors of Bonn and Breslau, came into collision with the opposition of the Ultramontanists even in the lifetime of the author. But this opposition only broke out publicly and strongly after his death and that of his protector, Archbishop Spiegel of Cologne. Denunciations of Hermès went out from Münster, the centre of the Ultramontane reaction. They were issued in a Papal Brief of the 26th September 1835, which condemned the doctrine of Hermès under the pretext that it made doubt the basis of theological inquiry, and considered reason as the supreme norm and the only criterion of revealed truth. His adherents were reprehended for allowing themselves to be seduced by dangerous novelties. The Hermesians of Bonn and Breslau replied by a declaration, in which, like the Jansenists of former days, they distinguished the questions of right and

¹ Positive Einleitung, 1829. Also: Ueber die innere Wahrheit des Christenthums, 1805; and Christkatholische Dogmatik, herausgegeben von Achterfeld, 3 vols. 1834.

of fact, and by subscribing the condemnation of the incriminated doctrines, but denying that they were contained in the writings of their master. Two of these professors went to Rome in order to submit their condemned writings to the examination of the Curia; but they could effect nothing, and the late Pope, Pius IX., on his accession, confirmed the sentence of his predecessor. The reprobation with which so laudable an attempt to strengthen and rejuvenize the dogmas of the Church was thus struck, caused profound discouragement among the German Catholics. Guided by a just instinct, Rome did not wish any renovation of doctrine, nor any compromise with modern philosophy. In fact, the principle of absolute Authority which it represents, demands a submission which is not reasoned, but blind; for if reason is considered as the moving spring of obedience, it is always to be feared that at any moment she may change her mind, and turn against the doctrines or the institutions to which she has consented to submit herself.

ANTON GÜNTHER (1783-1863), a free priest and philosopher at Vienna, was captivated by the writings of Schelling and Jean Paul. Uniting a penetrating intellect and a certain inherent power of dialectic to an ardent imagination, he tried in his turn to apply philosophy to the defence of the doctrine of the Church. His system, which took a bolder flight than that of Hermès, landed in dualism.¹ Günther was desirous to prove that positive Christianity corresponds so well to rational thought, that in denying it man is obliged to deny his own nature. According to Günther, Monism is the irreconcilable adversary of the Christian dogmas and facts; and it is the basis of most of the modern philosophical systems. Monism distinguishes, indeed, between God and the world, and between the mind and the body, but only as the essence is distinguished from one of its appearances. According to this

¹ *Vorschule zur speculativen Theologie des Christenthums*, 1827-28, 2nd ed. 1846. *Der letzte Symboliker*, 1834. Cf. Knoedt: A. Günther, 2 vols., Wien 1880. Fliegel: A. Günther's Dualismus von Geist u. Natur, 1880.

thinker, God and the world, spirit and nature, form two essentially different beings, of which each one develops itself and manifests itself in an absolutely independent and original manner. Man is the product of the meeting and simultaneous action of these two beings, to which there correspond two sources of knowledge: faith and science. The writings of Günther, when denounced by the Jesuits, were defended passionately by their adherents. They were put on the Index in 1857, and the trinitarian, christological, and anthropological heresies which they contain were pointed out in a Papal Brief to the Archbishop of Cologne, which, however, did not designate their author. They have been blamed mainly for wanting in respect for the Fathers of the Church, and for granting too much value to reason and philosophy. Günther submitted to the Holy See and ceased writing.

The works of J. FROHSCHAMMER, Professor of Philosophy at Munich, met the same fate in 1862. Frohschammer was very popular as a teacher, but he was not the less censured, and the Roman Curia prohibited the students from attending his lectures. Frohschammer maintained an independent course, proved an acute critic of the Vatican Council and its decrees, and has since then greatly increased his reputation by his contributions to philosophy.¹

¹ Frohschammer's principal writings are the following: *Ueber den Ursprung der menschlichen Seele*, 1854. *Einleitung in die Philosophie*, 1858. *Freiheit der Wissenschaft*, 1861. *Ueber die Vereinigung der Katholiken u. Protestanten*, 1862. He edited a philosophical review called the *Athenäum* from 1862 to 1864, and in it he sought to maintain the liberty of science in the interest of faith. It was in connection with these discussions that he came into collision with the Roman See. His most important recent philosophical writings are: *Die Phantasie als Grundprincip des Weltprocesses*, 1877. *Monaden u. Weltphantasie*, 1879. *Ueber die Genesis der Menschheit u. deren geistige Entwicklung*, 1883. *Ueber die Organisation u. Cultur der menschl. Gesellschaft*, 1885. *Die Philosophie als Idealwissenschaft u. System*, 1884. Among his anti-papal writings may be mentioned his *Der Fels Petri*; and his *Das Christenthum Christi, u. das Christenthum des Papstes*, 1875. Frohschammer has lately written a very interesting autobiographical sketch: *Autobiographie*, 2nd ed. 1888. [The Translator published in 1878 translations of several of Frohschammer's pamphlets and discussions on the Roman Church: *The Romance of Romanism*, *A Discovery and a Criticism*; and *The Reality of Romanism*, *A Survey and an Elucidation*. By J. Frohschammer, Professor of Philosophy at Munich. Douglas, Edinburgh.]

III.

But by far the most eminent representative of the modern Catholic theology in Germany is JOHANN ADAM MÖHLER (1796–1838).¹ He was Professor of Theology at the University of Tübingen, and during the last two years of his life at that of Munich. Möhler is one of the noblest and most sympathetic individualities which the German Catholic Church has produced. Uniting great moral elevation with rare subtlety and delicacy of feeling, to a clear, exact intellect, and sincere piety, he presented in his character that harmonious mixture of breadth and strength which produces so favourable an impression, and draws forth confidence and esteem. Nourished on the writers of classical and Christian antiquity, and trained in the learning of the University of Tübingen, Möhler completed his studies by visiting the principal Catholic and Protestant Universities of Germany. During his stay at Berlin he attended the lectures of Schleiermacher, who produced a deep impression upon him, and to whose influence he owed a fertile impulse.

Möhler began his literary career by various patristic studies, which were published in the *Tübingen Catholic Review*, and which were collected after his death into a volume,² with the exception, however, of those which appeared animated by a too liberal spirit.³ His first remarkable publication was an essay on *Unity in the Church*,⁴ or the principle of Catholicism expounded in the spirit of the Fathers of the Church of the first three centuries. Möhler distinguishes between the mystical unity of the Church, or the unity of the spirit by which the divine life is preserved and propagated in the world, and the rational unity or that of the body, by which

¹ See a biographical sketch of Möhler prefixed to the fifth edition of his *Symbolik* by his friend Reithmayer; and Wörner: J. A. Möhler, 1866.

² These articles were published in the *Theologische Quartalschrift* from 1823. The volume in which they have been republished by Döllinger is entitled, *Gesammelte Schriften u. Aufsätze*, 1839.

³ Such as the articles in which Möhler blames the Church for refusing the cup to the laity, and for continuing the mass in a language unintelligible to the people.

⁴ *Die Einheit in der Kirche*, 1825.

he means the expression of this life in doctrine and tradition. Outside of the Catholic Church we see plurality without unity in the heresies and sects born of the principle of free inquiry, which behave as if Christianity was lost, and as if it was necessary to turn backwards to the apostolic times in order to find it again. Dissent also violently separates Scripture and Tradition; it rejects or mutilates the sacred Scriptures, because it pretends to dispense with the interpretation of the Church. The Church, on the contrary, realizes unity in plurality. It knows how to preserve and respect the individuality of every one in the communion of believers, and to express in a great variety of forms the revealed faith which all its members equally possess. Passing to the constitution of the Christian society, Möhler shows how Christian love, putting itself at the service of the brethren, manifests itself in a series of definite forms that are united to each other by an organic bond. The more barbarous and selfish the Church has become, as in the Middle Ages, for example, the more also does all its life and all its power concentrate itself at the summit of the hierarchy, or in the Papacy; and, on the contrary, the Church is the more prosperous and living the less such a concentration is necessary. Two cherished ideas of Möhler are distinctly expressed in this first work. The first of these is the idea of a progressive evolution of Catholic truth in tradition, determined even by the opposition which the Church encounters on its way. The Church possesses all the truth in germ, but events develop it in proportion to the new needs which manifest themselves. The second of these ideas is that of a resurrection of the synodal forms as destined to vivify the body of the Church and to counter-balance the omnipotence of the Holy See.

We shall pass over several remarkable monographs by Möhler on the patristic period and on the Middle Ages, merely indicating them below,¹ in order that we may at once

¹ Athanasius der Grosse u. die Kirche seiner Zeit, besonders im Kampfe mit dem Arianismus, 2 vols. 1827. Anselm von Canterbury, Theol. Quartal-

proceed to his *Symbolics*,¹ which is his chief work. Möhler made a profound study of the adversary he undertook to combat. He does not believe that an alliance with Protestantism can be hoped for, because the opposition between it and Romanism is in reality an opposition of principles. This has become more apparent still since rationalism has again given place to orthodoxy in the bosom of Protestantism. Möhler thinks that it is testifying esteem for his adversary and showing the case he has to make out when he unveils in all its extent, the abyss which separates the two Churches. Contrary to many of his co-religionists, the learned Tübingen professor admits that the Reformation of the sixteenth century was born of a religious need, but it was not long till it mistook the way and strayed in a sectarian spirit, owing to the exaltation and the fanaticism of some of its leaders. What Möhler may be blamed for in the exposition which he gives of the Protestant doctrine, is that he did not seek to carry it back to its true principles, nor did he take care to derive it from its official symbols. He confines himself to submitting the individual dogmas to a fine and penetrating criticism, and he has often recourse for this purpose to the private writings and the rash assertions of the Reformers, which have received no official sanction. It is principally the doctrine of justification by faith, the doctrine of evangelical liberty, and the doctrine of the relations of the religious and moral life, which appear to him stained by regrettable misunderstandings. If, on the one hand, Möhler thus disfigures certain Protestant dogmas, it may be said, on the other, that he idealizes and transfigures the Catholic doctrine, or rather that of the Council of Trent, by removing from it all compromising interpretations and applications.

This double reproach does not imply any premeditated

schrift, 1827, H. 3, 4, 1828, H. 1. Published after his death under the title: *Patrologie, oder Christliche Literaturgeschichte*, 1840. Also *Kirchengeschichtliche Vorlesungen*, ed. by Reithmayer, 3 vols. 1867 sq.

¹ *Symbolik oder Darstellung der dogmatischen Gegensätze der Katholiken u. Protestanten nach ihren öffentlichen Bekenntnisschriften*, 1832, 6th ed. 1844.

intention on the part of Möhler to misinterpret his texts, but it has been brought into relief by the controversial works which were drawn forth by the appearance of his *Symbolics*. Among these we may mention especially those of Nitzsch, Baur, and Marheineke, and a reply by Möhler himself.¹ This controversy has been very beneficial to our Protestant theology, since it has forced the Protestant theologians to give a more exact account of their point of view, and to disengage the true Protestant principle from the secondary forms which have often obscured or disfigured it. Möhler has thus had the twofold merit of having given to his own Church the best scientific impetus that it has received during this century, and of having determined more precise and profound dogmatic researches in his adversaries. Unfortunately this was not understood at Rome, where it was considered whether Möhler's book should not be put on the Index. The reception which was given to all these attempts to reconcile the dogmas of the Catholic Church with modern thought by spiritualizing them, was of a nature to discourage all who might be tempted to imitate them. The triumph of Ultramontanism, moreover, was about to strike a mortal blow at Catholic science.

IV.

One of the first and most valiant champions of Ultramontanism in Germany, was JOHANN JOSEPH GOERRES (1776-1848).² He was the son of a wood merchant of Coblenz.

¹ Baur: *Der Gegensatz des Catholicismus u. Protestantismus nach den Prinzipien u. Hauptdogmen der beiden Lehrbegriffe*, 1834, 2nd ed. 1836. Reply of Möhler: *Neue Untersuchungen der Lehrgegensätze zwischen den Katholiken u. den Protestanten*, 1834, 2nd ed. 1836. Nitzsch: *Eine protestantische Beantwortung der Symbolik Dr. Möhler's*, 1835. Marheineke: *Die Symbolik Möhler's*. *Jahrb. für wissenschaftl. Kritik*, 1833, H. 2. Cf. *Tafel: Vergleichende Darstellung der Lehrgegensätze der Katholiken u. Protestanten mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Dr. Möhler u. seine protestantischen Gegner*, Tüb. 1835.

² Cf. Denk: *J. von Görres*, 1876. Sepp: *Görres u. seine Zeitgenossen*, 1877. See also the biographical notices published by his son in the *Historisch-politische Blätter*, vol. xxvii., 1831, and in the *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift*, 1848, H. 2.

Having become the Editor of a Jacobin Journal called the *Red Journal* in 1798, he was entrusted with a mission to Paris for the purpose of bringing about a union of Rhenish Prussia with France; and in that first period of his life Goerres was a republican and a cosmopolitan fanatic. Under the Empire, his Germanic patriotism awoke, and he worked most eagerly to bring about the national outburst of 1814 through his paper called the *German Mercury*. Having become a Professor of Physics and a man of letters, he occupied himself with equal talent in the study of natural history, art, and philosophy.¹ He cherished the dream of re-establishing the imperial crown of Germany in the House of Austria, on a democratic basis. His book on *Germany and the Revolution*² was confiscated, and it sent him into exile. In this book he strongly reproached the German princes for having failed in the promises they had lately made to their peoples, and for having deceived the hopes of the true patriots.

During a stay which he made at Strasburg in 1820, Goerres made the acquaintance of a number of ardent and convinced Catholics; and he broke with the political liberalism, from which till then he had expected the salvation of Europe, in order to embrace with the same zeal, and to defend with the same passion, the theocratic ideas of his new friends. Having been appointed Professor of History at Munich by King Louis, for whom he felt a deep admiration, he took the most active part in the Catholic Controversies of the time. This he did first in his book on Athanasius,³ which was practically an incendiary torch hurled against Prussia on the subject of its attitude on the question of mixed marriages; then in a pamphlet published on the occasion of the pilgrimages to Trèves;⁴ and finally, in his

¹ Aphorismen über die Kunst, 1802. Glaube u. Wissen, 1806. Mythen-geschichte der asiatischen Welt, 1810; edition by Lohengrin, 1813. Alt-deutsche Volks u. Meisterlieder, 1817.

² Deutschland u. die Revolution, 1819. Die Revolution, 1827. The complete Works of Goerres have been edited by his daughter Marie, in 8 vols. München 1854-60; and his Correspondence by Binder, in 3 vols. 1858-74.

³ Athanasius, 1827.

⁴ Die Wallfahrt nach Trier, 1845.

articles inserted in the *Historico-political Journal of Munich*,¹ of which he was the principal editor for ten years. It is in the clever, incisive, passionate form of his polemic that Goerres displays all his talent. He directs the inexhaustible flashes of his irony against the idea of the modern State, with its bureaucracy, its abstract principles of right, and its liberty of conscience. He follows the progress of modern society with bitterness and rage, and treats its legitimate aspirations and its unwholesome dreams in the same sarcastic tone.

It has been said that hatred has as keen eyes as love. Goerres, fevered by his theocratic and mystical ideal of the Middle Ages,² displays an unparalleled violence and passion in pointing out the vices and the corruption of modern society. Like Louis Veuillot, he has the genius which rage inspires. Heedless of historical truth, which he tramples continually under his feet, pursuing Protestantism and its representatives with insults, justifying and idealizing the most criminal institutions, customs, and acts of the Catholicism of the Middle Ages, and resuscitating in a way all the bad spirits of the past, he astounds and dazzles his readers by his style, which is copious and magnificent, and charged with images. And what is strange in all this is, that while never ceasing to repeat that there is salvation for our society only in Catholicism, he himself no longer possesses that faith for which he combats with all the strength of his soul. Under the exuberant and passionate fanaticism of the prophet, the sceptic makes himself felt. We never find in Goerres the calm and serenity which spring from the

¹ Historisch-politische Blätter, 1838. See also: Emmanuel Swedenborg, 1827. Die Triarier Leo, Marheineke u. Bruno Bauer, 1838. Kirche u. Staat nach Ablauf der Kölner Irrung, 1842. Der Kölner Dom u. der Strassburger Münster, 1842.

² See in particular his work: Die christliche Mystik, 4 vols. 1836-42, new ed. in 5 vols. 1879-80. In this extensive work Goerres has done for the Mysticism of the Middle Ages what Montalembert undertook to do for Asceticism in his Monks of the West. It is an able rehabilitation in which the author only brings out the bright sides of his subject, and passes silently over or minimizes its shadows.

feeling of strength. In his person Catholicism has entered into alliance with Romanticism, and it is in this path of artificial and violent restoration that it was to persevere, much rather than in that which the Wessenbergs and Möhlrs had traced out for it with more luminous insight.

The head of the ultramontane party in Germany during the recent critical time was Ketteler, Bishop of Mayence. WILHELM EMANUEL VON KETTELER (1811–1877) was born at Münster, and educated at the Jesuits' College at Brieg. He first studied law, but took the tonsure in 1836 in order to enter upon possession of a living. He then studied theology at Munich, and was consecrated priest in 1844. He was a Member of the Frankfort Parliament of 1848, and he sought to turn the liberal aspirations of the time to the account of the Church, for which he claimed an absolute independence of the State. He filled the Episcopal See of Mayence from 1850 till his death. Bishop Ketteler became well known by the manifestoes he hurled forth in connection with the celebration of Saint Boniface, the Apostle of Germany, and the tercentenary of the Council of Trent, in which he sought to demonstrate that Germany owes its civilisation to Rome, and that the Reformation, "that crucifixion of the German people," has gravely compromised the conservation of this glorious inheritance. The principal work of Ketteler, entitled *Liberty, Authority, and Church*,¹ is one of the most violent declarations of war against modern liberalism, "that legitimate child of the Reformation of the Sixteenth Century." It was from Mayence that all those denunciations went forth which were directed against the liberal or reforming endeavours that arose in Ketteler's time in the bosom of German Catholicism. It was there also where all the measures were taken to defend the absolute authority of the Holy See, whether against the encroachments of the State, or against the claims of the science of the Universities. Ketteler was

¹ Freiheit, Autorität u. Kirche. Erörterungen über die grossen Probleme der Gegenwart, Mainz 1862.

powerfully aided by Dr. Moufang, the principal editor of *The Catholic*, which was founded in 1821, and became the devoted and popular organ of the ultramontane party.¹

Even at Munich the struggle was carried on with ardour. The management of the *Historico-political Journal* passed into the hands of EDMUND JOERG, a fiery Romanist, and author of a *History of Protestantism in its latest Development*,² which is hardly anything but a series of invectives and caricatures sketched with a biassed hand.

Among the contemporary Catholic Historians, special mention must be made of Janssen. JOHANNES JANSSEN, born at Xanten, in Rhenish Prussia, in 1829, became Professor of History at Frankfort in 1854, and Apostolic Pronotary in 1880. He is a violent Gallophobe, and is author of a very partial History of the Sixteenth Century, in which, with a talent worthy of a better cause, he vilifies the Reformation in its heroes, its institutions, and its literary monuments.³

V.

While the German Catholic Episcopate, dragged along by Bishop Ketteler, after some timid exhibitions of resistance or of liberal remonstrance, made an unconditional submission to the Holy See, and has successively accepted its most authoritative decisions, a larger and firmer spirit has reigned in the German Catholic Universities at Munich, Bonn, Breslau, Tübingen, and even at Vienna and Freiburg. This spirit has been exhibited in a large number of scientific publications, some of which are of real value, especially in

¹ Dr. Christoph Moufang, born at Mayence in 1816, is professor in the Seminary of that city, and one of the most influential members of the "centre party" of the Reichstag.

² Geschichte des Protestantismus in seiner neuesten Entwicklung, 2 vols. Freib. 1853. Joerg, born at Immenstadt in 1819, became Archivist at Landshut, and was a member of the Bavarian Parliament and of the Reichstag till 1881. He has also written a Geschichte des grossen Bauernkriegs, 1850; and a Geschichte der sozialpolit. Parteien in Deutschland, 1867.

³ Zeit u. Lebensbilder, 1875, 3rd ed. 1879. F. L. Graf v. Stolberg, 2 vols. 1877–78. Geschichte des deutschen Volks seit dem Mittelalter, 4 vols. 1876–88. This work has already passed through twelve editions.

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the department of Ecclesiastical History.¹ But it has found still stronger expression in the decided opposition to the promulgation of the dogma of the Infallibility of the Pope, which gave birth to the important movement of the Old Catholics in Germany, and to their remarkable congresses at Munich, Cologne, and Constance.²

JOSEPH JOHANN IGNAZ VON DÖLLINGER stands at the head of this party, whose object is the constitutional reform of German Catholicism, and which does not mean to sever the chain of Christian traditions and beliefs, but, on the contrary, to reconnect it, and to continue it at the point where the later Romanism has interposed to break it. Döllinger was

¹ Among these works reference must be made in the first place to those of Hefele on the History of the Councils of the Church: *Conciliengeschichte nach den Quellen*, 5 vols. 1855-74, 2nd ed. 7 vols. 1873-79. [A History of the Councils of the Church to A.D. 451. From the Original Documents. Translated from the German of C. J. Hefele, D.D., Bishop of Rottenburg. T. & T. Clark.] Mention may also be made of Theiner's edition of the Acts of the Council of Trent (*Acta genuina ss. oecumenici Concilii Tridentini nunc primum integra, edita ab A. Theiner, tom. i. 1874 ss.*); Gfrörer's *Papst Gregor VII.*, 7 vols. 1861; Hurter's *Geschichte Innocenz III. u. seiner Zeitgenossen*, 4 vols. 1834-42; Huber's *Joh. Scotus Erigena. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Philosophie u. Theologie im Mittelalter*, 3 vols. 1861, and his work on the Jesuits: *Der Jesuitenorden nach seiner Verfassung u. Doctrin, Werksamkeit u. Geschichte*, 1873. In other subjects the following works may be mentioned. In Dogmatics, Klee: *Katholische Dogmatik*, 4th ed. 1861. Michelis: *Kathol. Dogmatik*, 1881. In Ethics, Hirscher: *Christliche Moral*, 5th ed. 1851. In the Philosophy of Religion and Apologetics, Drey: *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, 1838. Werner: *Geschichte der apologetischen u. polemischen Literatur der christl. Theologie*, 5 vols. 1861-67. *Geschichte der kathol. Theologie Deutschlands seit dem Trienter Concil*, 1866. (Also *System der christl. Ethik*, 3 vols. 1850-52; and *Monographs on Bede*, 1879; *Alcuin*, 1881; *Gerbert d'Arvillac*, 1878; and on Scholasticism, 1881.) We may note also, Philipps: *Kirchenrecht*, 1850; Reinke: *Die messianischen Weissagungen*, 1862, and *Commentaries on the O. T. and N. T.* Among the Catholic Scientific Reviews may be mentioned the *Tübingen Theologische Quartalschrift*; the *Munich Historisch-politische Blätter*; Michelis's *Natur u. Offenbarung* (directed mainly against Materialism); Moy's *Archiv für Kirchenrecht*; and the *Bonn Theologisches Literaturblatt*, edited by Reusch. Reusch is the author, among other works, of a treatise entitled: *Bibel u. Natur*, 1862, 4th ed. 1876. [Nature and the Bible: Lectures on the Mosaic History of Creation in its Relation to Natural Science. T. & T. Clark.]

² Cf. *inter alia*, Friedrich: *Documenta ad illustrandum Concilium Vaticanum, Anni 1870, Nordl. 1872. Tagebuch während des Vatican. Concils geführt*, 1871, 2nd ed. 1873. Friedberg: *Sammlung der Actenstücke des Vaticanischen Concils mit einem Grundriss der Geschichte desselben*, 1872. Frommann: *Geschichte u. Kritik des Vatican. Concils von 1869 u. 1870*, Gotha 1872. O. Mejer: *Zur Geschichte der römisch-deutschen Frage, 1871-73.*

born at Bamberg in 1799. A learned historian, and from 1826 a distinguished Professor in the University of Munich, he contributed for a time to the *Historico-political Journal* of Goerres, and even showed himself a narrow and unjust adversary of the Protestants, as in his *Life of Luther*.¹ It was less by theoretical reasonings, or a spontaneous evolution of his thought, than by a profound study of history, and especially by the actings of the Court of Rome on the occasion of the proclamation of its latest dogmas, that Döllinger was brought to more liberal views.

His dissent broke out in his book on *Church and Churches, Papacy and Church State*, the publication of which in 1861 caused a great sensation.² In this work Döllinger speaks of the Reformation in terms almost eulogistic. In his view, it has rendered real services to the Church by purifying the European atmosphere of the deleterious miasmata which had gathered in the course of time, by driving the human mind into new paths, and by giving birth to a scientific and spiritual life of great richness. He estimates, and appreciates at its just value, the influence of the Protestant theology on the Catholic theology; and he complains bitterly of the ignorance of the Catholic people, and of the indolence and incapacity of the clergy. It is true that he also traces a picture of modern Protestantism which is anything but flattering. The last part of his work, which is the most important, is devoted to the examination of the question of the temporal power of the Popes. Without pronouncing as to its abolition, and even demanding its maintenance in certain respects, he applies himself to show its origin. The

¹ Luther. Eine Skizze, 1851. Hofmann of Erlangen replied to this work, and composed a fantastic *Life of St. Paul*, after the same principles as were applied by Döllinger to that of Luther. See also Döllinger's work: *Die Reformation, ihre innere Entwicklung u. ihre Wirkungen*, 3 vols. 1846-48, 2nd ed. 1851.

² Ueber Kirche u. Kirchen, Papstthum u. Kirchenstaat, Münch. 1861, 2nd ed. 1862. See also his works: *Christenthum u. Kirche im Zeitalter der Grundlegung*, 1860, 2nd ed. 1868. [The First Age of Christianity, 2 vols., Lond. 1866, 3rd ed. 1877.] *Die Papstfabeln des Mittelalters*, 1863. [Fables respecting the Popes in the Middle Ages. Transl. by A. Plummer, Lond. 1871. With Döllinger's Essay on the Prophetic Spirit. New York 1872.]

Church has lived long and has prospered without the temporal power, and the Papacy would doubtless derive new strength from abandoning it.

The important part which Döllinger took in the complications of the Roman Church on the subject of the question of Infallibility, his courageous resistance to the Bishop of Munich, his declaration to the German people, his excommunication, and the discourses which he delivered on various occasions upon the grave problems of the time, are all well known.¹ In reading these discourses we feel but one regret, which is to see that the German Empire and its illustrious founder, Prince Bismarck, seem to take the place in the thought of Döllinger which the Church and its infallible head had formerly occupied.² That is the danger in which, if care is not taken, the generous and sympathetic movement of the German Catholic reform may come to grief.³

Döllinger was worthily seconded in his struggle by his colleagues, Friedrich († 1886) and Pichler of Munich, by Huber of Tübingen, by Reinkens and Michelis of Breslau, and others.—ALOYS PICHLER (1833–1874), Döllinger's disciple, was born at Burghleichen in Bavaria. He was Professor at Munich, but in 1868 he became Librarian at St. Petersburg, whence he was transported to Siberia in 1870, under sentence for having been guilty of stealing books. Pichler published several remarkable works, including one

¹ Cf. his incisive criticism of the Syllabus in *Janus* (written along with his colleague, Professor Huber), 1869; and his *Letters from the Council*, originally published in the *Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung* (Römische Briefe vom Concil, vom Quirinus); his *Vorträge über die Wiedervereinigung der christlichen Kirchen*, 1872–1888 [Lectures on the Reunion of the Churches. London and New York 1872]; and his *Beiträge zur polit. kirchl. u. Kulturgeschichte der letzten sechs Jahrh.*, 3 vols. 1862–82.

² See especially the Address delivered by Döllinger in 1871 at Munich as Rector of the University.

³ Of Döllinger's other works the following are noteworthy: *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, 1836–38. [Church History. Transl. by E. Cox, 2 vols., Lond. 1839.] *Hippolytus u. Callistus*, 1853. [Hippolytus and Callistus; or the Church of Rome in the First Half of the Third Century. Transl. by Alfred Plummer. T. & T. Clark, 1876.] *Heidenthum u. Judenthum, Vorhalle zur Geschichte des Christenthums*, 1857. [The Gentile and the Jew in the Temple of Christ, 2 vols., London 1862.] *Sammlung von Urkunden zur Geschichte des Konzils von Trient*, 1876. *Akademische Vorträge*, 1888.

on the Schism between the Church of the West and the Church of the East, in which he has proved that there were faults on both sides, and that the Catholic Church, by still exaggerating the principle of the papal primacy, has rendered all approach to a reconciliation impossible.¹—JOSEPH HUBERT REINKENS was born in 1821 near Aix-la-Chapelle. He was Professor at Breslau from 1853, and in 1873 he became Bishop of the German Old Catholics, with his residence at Bonn. He has published a number of historical and polemical works which are not without value.²

¹ *Geschichte der kirchlichen Trennung zwischen dem Orient u. dem Occident von den ersten Anfängen bis zur jüngsten Gegenwart*, Münch. 1864. *Die russische, die hellenische u. die übrigen orientalischen Kirchen, mit einem dogmatischen Theile*, Münch. 1862. *Geschichte des Protestantismus in der orientalischen Kirche des 17ten Jahrhunderts*, Münch. 1862. *Die Theologie des Leibniz*, 2 vols. 1869–70. *Die wahren Hindernisse u. die Grundbedingungen einer Reform der kath. Kirche*, 1870.

² *Ueber päpstl. Unfehlbarkeit*, 1870. *Revolution u. Kirche*, 1876. *Ueber die Einheit der kath. Kirche*, 1877. *Hilarius von Poitiers*, 1864. *Die Geschichtsphilosophie des h. Augustinus*, 1866. *Martin von Tours*, 1866. *Amalie von Lasaulx*, 1878. *Melchior von Diepenbrock*, 1881. *Lessing über Toleranz*, 1833. *De Clemente presbytero Alexandrino*, 1851.

APPENDIX.¹

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DELITZSCH.²

FRANZ DELITZSCH, D.D., German Lutheran Theologian; born at Leipsic, Feb. 23, 1813 (of Hebrew descent); studied there, took degree of Ph.D. and became *privat-docent*; went thence as ordinary professor to Rostock 1846, thence to Erlangen 1850, and back to Leipsic in 1867, and has since been of that faculty. By reason of his pre-eminent attainments in biblical and post-biblical Hebrew, he has been styled "the Christian Talmudist." His writings are of great value, especially his commentaries,—*Der Prophet Habakkuk*, Leipzig 1843; in the Keil and Delitzsch series *Job*, 1864, 2nd ed. 1874 (English trans., Edin. 1866, 2 vols.); *Die Psalmen*, 1869, 3rd ed. 1874 (Eng. trans. 1871, 3 vols.); *Das Salomonische Spruchbuch*, 1873 (Eng. trans. 1875, 2 vols.); *Hohelied und Koheleth*, 1875 (Eng. trans. 1877); *Jesaja*, 1866, 3rd ed. 1879 (Eng. trans. 1867, 2 vols.); independently, *Genesis*, 1852, 4th ed. 1872 [5th ed. 1887, Eng. trans. 1888]; *Hebrews*, 1857 (Eng. trans. 1870, 2 vols.). His other publications include: *Zur Gesch. d. jüd. Poesie v. Abschluss d. A. B. bis auf die neueste Zeit*, 1836; *Jesurun sive Prolegomenon in Concordantias V. T. a Fuerstio*, Grimma 1838; *Anecdota zur Geschichte der mittelalterlichen Scholastik unter Juden u. Moslemen*, Leipz. 1841; *Das Sakrament des wahren Leibes und Blutes Jesu Christi*, Dresden 1844, 7th ed. Leipz. 1886; *Die biblisch-prophetische Theologie*, Leipz. 1845; *Vier Bücher von der Kirche*, Dresden 1847; *Neue Untersuchungen über Entstehung u. Anlage der kanonischen Evangelien*, Leipz. 1853 (only first part, on Matthew, has appeared); *System der bibl. Psychologie*, 1855, 2nd ed. 1861 (Eng. trans. *A System of Biblical Psychology*, Edin. 1867); *Jesus u. Hillel*, Erlangen 1867, 3rd ed. 1879; *Handwerkerleben zur Zeit Jesu*, 1868, 3rd ed. 1878 (Eng. trans. of the two by Mrs. P. Monkhouse, *Jewish Artisan Life in the Time of our Lord*; to

¹ The Supplementary Notes contained in this Appendix have been taken from Dr. Schaff's *Encyclopædia* (those on living Divines from the *Supplement*, 1887), with the exception of the note on Prof. Nöldeke, which has been drawn from the new edition of Meyer's *Conversations-Lexicon*.—Tr.

² See p. 420, and pp. 432-434, *supra*.

which is appended a critical comparison between Jesus and Hillel. London 1877, and of the *Artisan Life* alone, from 3rd ed. by Croll, Philadelphia 1883, and by Pick, New York 1883); *Schil welch ein Mensch!* Leipz. 1869, 2nd ed. 1872; *System der christlichen Apologetik*, 1869; *Paulus des Apostels Brief an die Römer aus d. Griech. ins Hebr. übersetzt u. aus d. Talmud u. Midrasch erläutert*, 1870; *Ein Tag in Capernaum*, 1871; *Complutensische Varianten zum A. T. Texte*, 1878; *Rohling's Talmudjude beleuchtet*, 1881 (7th ed. same year); *Was D. Aug. Rohling beschworen hat und beschwören will*, 1883 (2nd ed. same year); *Schachmatt den Bluthügnern Rohling u. Justus entboten*, Erlang. 1883; *Die Bibel u. der Wcin*, Leipz. 1885 (pp. 18); cf. *Expositor*, Jan. 1886. In connection with S. Baer, he has issued revised Hebrew texts of *Genesis, Ezra, Nehemiah, Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Daniel*, and the Minor Prophets, Leipz. 1861-1884. Dr. Delitzsch's excellent translation of the entire New Testament into Hebrew (1877, 4th ed. 1882) is circulated by the British and Foreign Bible Society.

FÜRST.¹

JULIUS FÜRST, Hebrew lexicographer; born at Zortkowo. Posen, May 12, 1805; died in Leipsic, Feb. 9, 1873. He studied at Berlin, Posen, and Breslau, and in 1864 became professor at Leipsic. He was of Jewish descent, and soon won fame by his Oriental researches. One of his theories was that triliteral should be reduced to biliteral roots. This idea is now generally discarded. In consequence of this and other philological notions, his great *Hebräisches u. chaldäisches Handwörterbuch* (Leipzig 1857-1861, 2 vols., 2nd ed. 1863, 3rd ed. by Victor Ryssel, 1876; English translation by Samuel Davidson. 1865-1866, 4th ed. 1871) is not generally considered as equal to Gesenius. Probably his best work was upon his *Concordantiæ Libr. Sac. V. T. Heb. et Chald.* (Leipzig 1837-40), in which he was aided by Franz Delitzsch. Among his other works (all published in Leipzig) are: *Bibliotheca judaica*, 1849-63, 3 vols.; *Geschichte d. Karäerthums* (said to be very inaccurate), 1862-1865, 2 vols.; *Gesch. d. bib. Lit. u. d. jüd.-hell. Schriftthums*, 1867-70, 2 vols.; and *Kanon des A. T. nach d. Ueberlief. in Talmud u. Midrasch*, 1868. Fürst's books evince great learning, but must be used with caution.

LAGARDE.²

LAGARDE, Paul Anthony de, Ph.D. (Berlin 1849), Lic. Th. (hon. Erlangen 1851), D.D. (hon. Halle 1868), German Protestant:

¹ See p. 420, *supra*.² See p. 420, *supra*.

born in Berlin, Nov. 2, 1827; studied in Berlin University from Easter 1844 to Easter 1846, and in Halle from Easter 1846 to Easter 1847; taught in schools in Berlin from Easter 1855 to Easter 1866; and since Easter 1869, has been professor of Oriental languages at Göttingen. "He accepts nothing but what has been proved; but accepts everything that has been proved." He is the author of the following works:—*Dilascalia apostolorum syriace*, 1854; *Zur Urgeschichte der Armenier*, 1854; *Reliquiae, iuris ecclesiastici antiquissimæ syriace*, 1856; *græce*, 1856; *Analecta Syriaca*, 1858; *Appendix Arabica*, 1858; *Hippolyti romani quæ feruntur omnia græce*, 1858; *Titi Bostreni contra Manichæos libri quatuor syriace*, 1860; *Titi Bostreni quæ ex opere contra Manichæos in Cod. Hamburgensi serrata sunt græce accedunt Julii Romani epistolæ et Gregorii Thaumaturgi κατὰ μέρος πιστῆς*, 1859; *Geoponicon in sermonem syriacum versorum quæ supersunt*, 1860; *Clementis romani recognitiones syriace*, 1861; *Libri V. T. apocryphi syriace*, 1861; *Constitutiones apostolorum græce*, 1862; *Anmerkungen zur griechischen Uebersetzung der Proverbien*, 1863; *Die vier Evangelien arabisch aus der Wiener Handschrift herausgegeben*, 1864; *Josephi Scaligeri poemata omnia ex museo Petri Scriverii*, 1864; *Clementina*, 1865; *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 1866; *Der Pentateuch koptisch*, 1867; *V. T. ab Origene recensiti fragmenta, Materialien zur geschichte und kritik des Pentateuch*, 1867; *Genesis græce*, 1868; *Hieronymi quæstiones hebraicæ in libro Genescos*, 1868; *Beiträge zur baktrischen Lexicographie*, 1868; *Onomastica sacra*, 1870; *Prophetæ chaldaicæ*, 1872; *Hagiographa chaldaice*, 1874; *Psalterium iuxta Hebræos Hieronymi*, 1874; *Psalmi i. -xix. in usum scholarum arab.*, 1875; *Psalterii versio memphitica*, etc., 1875; *Psalterium Job Proverbia arabice*, 1876; *Armenische Studien*, 1877; *Symmicta*, i. 1877, ii. 1880; *Semitica*, i. 1878, ii. 1879; *Deutsche Schriften*, 1878-86; *Prætermissorum libri duo syriace*, 1879; *Orientalia*, i. 1879, ii. 1880; *Aus dem deutschen gelehrtenleben*, 1881; *Die lateinischen übersetzungen des Ignatius*, 1882; *Ankündigung einer neuen ausgabe der griech. übersetzung des alten testaments*, 1882; *Ignatii antiocheni quæ feruntur græce. Sapientii utraque et Psalterium latine. Beschreibung des in Granada üblich gewesen dialekts der arabischen sprache. Johannis Euchaitorum metropolitæ quæ in codice vaticano græce 676 supersunt Johannes Bollig descripsit*, 1882; *Juda: Harizii macamæ hebraice*, 1883; *Ægyptiaca*, 1883; *Librorum V. T. P. i. græce*, 1883; *Isaias persicæ*, 1883; *Programm für die konservative Partei Preussens*, 1884; *Persische Studien*, 1884; *Mittheilungen*, 1884; *Probe einer neuen Ausgabe der lateinischen Uebersetzungen des Alten Testaments*, 1885; *Die revidierte Lutherbibel des Halleschen Waisenhauses besprochen*, 1885; *Catenæ in Evangelia Ægyptiaca, quæ supersunt*, 1886.

MERX.¹

MERX (Ernst Otto), Adalbert, Ph.D. (Breslau 1861), Lic. Theol. (Berlin 1864), D.D. (*hon.* Jena 1872), German Protestant theologian and Orientalist, born at Bleicherode, Nov. 2, 1838; studied at Marburg, Halle, and Berlin, 1857–64; became *privat-docent* of theology at Jena, 1865; professor extraordinary there, 1869; ordinary professor of Shemitic languages at Tübingen, 1869; ordinary professor of theology (O. T. Exegesis) at Giessen, 1873; at Heidelberg (O. T. Exegesis), 1875. He is the author of *Meletemata Ignatiana, Critica de epistolarum Ignatianarum versione Syriaca commentatio*, Halle 1861; *Bardesanes von Edessa*, 1863; *Cur in libro Danielis iuxta hebraeam aramæam adhibitus sit dialectus explicatur*, 1865; *Das Gedicht vom Hiob, Hebräischer Text kritisch bearbeitet und übersetzt, nebst sachlicher und kritischer Einleitung*, Jena 1871; *Die Prophetie des Joel und ihre Ausleger von den ältesten Zeiten bis zu den Reformatoren*, 1879. *Eine Rede vom Auslegen, ins Besondere des Alten Testaments*, 1879; *Grammatica syriaca*, vol. i. 1867; *Vocabulary of the Tigré Language written down by Moritz von Beurmann*, 1868; edited (with Arnold) the 2nd ed. of Tuch's *Commentar über die Genesis*, 1871; *Neusyrisches Lesebuch, Texte im Dialekt von Urmia*, Giessen 1871; *Türkische Sprichwörter in Deutsche übersetzt*, Venice 187–; *Zur Religionsphilosophie*, Giessen 1872; *Die Saadianische Übersetzung des Hohen Lieds ins Arabische, nebst andern auf das Hohe Lied bezüg. arab. Texten*, Heidelb. 1882; *Wissenschaftl. Gutachten über die Stellen aus Sohar und Vital auf die H. Prof. Rohling seine Blutbeschuldigung gründen will*, Vienna 1885; *Chrestomathia targumica vocabulis babiloniis instructa quam e codd. Mspts. addidit, lexicon adjecit. Historia artis grammaticæ apud Syros, accedit interpretatio Dionysii Thracis et Severi bar Sihakku grammatica syriaca*, 1887; also Articles, e.g. in the Transactions of the Fourth Oriental Congress, Florence 1880: *De Eusebianæ historia ecclesiasticæ versionibus syriacæ et armenicæ*, (with Professor Wright of Cambridge he has undertaken a revision of the Syriac text of Eusebius with a translation); in those of the Fifth Congress, Berlin 1882: *Bemerkungen über die Vocalisation der Targume, mit Anhang über die Tschfutkal'schen Fragmente*; in Uhlig's "G. Dionysii Thracis ars grammatica," 1883, *De versione armenica Dionysii Thracis disputatio*; in "Deutsche Morgenl. Zeitschr." 1885: *Proben der syr. Uebersetzung der Galenos' Schrift über die einfachen Heilmittel*; in "Protest. Kirch. Ztg." 1855: *Eine mittelalterliche Kritik der Offenbarung*, and *Zum 200 jährigen Geburtstage Sebastian Bach's: Bach als religiöser Componist*.

¹ See p. 420, *supra*.NÖLDEKE.¹

THEODOR NÖLDEKE, Orientalist, b. Mar. 2, 1836, at Harburg; studied theology and philology in Göttingen, Vienna, Leiden, and Berlin; *privat-docent* at Göttingen in 1861; extraordinary professor of theology in 1864, and ordinary professor in 1868 at Kiel; and professor of Oriental Languages at Strassburg since 1872. His principal works are:—*Geschichte des Korans*, 1860; *Ueber die Mundart der Mandäer*, 1862; *Das Leben Mohammeds*, 1863; *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Poesie der alten Araber*, 1864; *Ueber die Amalekiter*, 1864; *Die alttestamentliche Litteratur*, 1868; *Grammatik der neusyrischen Sprache*, 1868; *Untersuchungen zur Kritik des alten Testaments*, 1869; *Die Inschrift des König's Mesa*, 1870; *Mandäische Grammatik*, 1874; *Kurzegefasste Syrische Grammatik*, 1880; *Die semitischen Sprachen*, 1887; besides other works on ancient Arabic and Persian literature, and important contributions to the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.

STRACK.²

STRACK, Hermann Leberecht, Ph.D. (Leipsic 1872), Lic. Theol. (do. 1877), D.D. (do. 1884), Protestant theologian; b. in Berlin, May 6, 1848; studied at Berlin and Leipsic, 1865–70; taught in Kaiser Wilhelm Gymnasium [in Berlin], 1872–73; worked in the Imperial Library, St. Petersburg, Russia, 1873–76 (see below); became professor extraordinary at Berlin, 1877; spent six weeks with Abr. Harkavy, on request of the Russian Government, at Tschfutkale (in the Crimea), examining Firkowitsch's third great collection of manuscripts. (For his monumental labours upon the *Codex Babylonius Petropolitanus*, see below.) "One of the tasks of his life is to make the Christians acquainted with the history and literature of the Jews and to promote Christianity amongst the Jews." He . . . is the author of *Vollständiges Wörterbuch zu Xenophon's Anabasis*, Leipzig 1871, 4th ed. 1884; *Prolegomena critica in V. T. Hebraicum*, 1873; *Katalog der hebräischen Bibelhandschriften der Kaiserlichen öffentlichen Bibliothek in St. Petersburg* (with A. Harkavy), St. Petersburg u. Leipzig 1875; *Prophetarum posteriorum Codex Babylonius Petropolitanus*, 1876 (edited at an expense of three years' labour, photolithographed and published at the expense of the Emperor Alexander II. of Russia. This codex is dated A.D. 916; the text has the "Babylonian" or "Assyrian" system of vocalization, whose peculiarity consists in having signs of a different shape to represent the vowels, and in putting the vowels in all cases above the letters. The text occupies 449 folio pages, and is surrounded with Massoretic

¹ See p. 420, *supra*.² See p. 420, *supra*.

notes. The Codex occupies the same place in the determination of text for the portion of the Old Testament which it covers, as the Codex Sinaiticus does for the whole New Testament); *A. Pirkovitsch und seine Entdeckungen*, Leipzig 1876; *Die Dikduke hatcamim des Ahron ben Ascher und andere alte grammatisch-massoretische Lehrstücke* (with S. Baer), 1879; *Vollständiges Wörterbuch zu Xenophon's Kypädie*, 1881; *Pirke Aboth, Die Sprüche der Väter*, Karlsruhe u. Leipzig 1882; *Lehrbuch der neuhébräischen Sprache u. Litteratur* (with C. Siegfried), 1882 (various parts of the Mishnah in preparation); *Hebräische Grammatik*, 1883, 2nd ed. 1885 (English trans., New York and London 1886). The title of the monthly *Nathanael* which he edits, is now *Nathanael. Zeitschrift für die Arbeit der evangelischen Kirche an Israel*, Karlsruhe u. Leipzig. He edits, with Professor Zöckler of Greifswald, the *Kurzgefasster Kommentar zu den heiligen Schriften Alten und Neuen Testaments*, Nördlingen 1886 sqq. 12 vols. Strack, "while acknowledging the full right of critical investigation, is convinced that such investigation ought to be combined with reverence for the Holy Scriptures, and an earnest Christian faith. That Christ died for us, and rose again, is an irrefutable fact, nay, one inaccessible to criticism."

SCHRADER.¹

EBERHARD SCHRADER, Ph.D. (Göttingen 1860), D.D. (*hon.* Zürich 1870), German Protestant, critical school of Ewald and De Wette; b. at Brunswick, Jan. 5, 1836; studied at Göttingen; became ordinary professor of theology at Zürich, 1863, at Giessen, 1870, at Jena, 1873; professor of Oriental Languages at Berlin, 1875. He is a member of the Royal Prussian Academy. He is the author of *De lingua Æthiopica*, Gött. 1860; *Studien zur Kritik u. Erklärung der bibl. Urgeschichte*, Gen. i.-xi., Zür. 1863; edited 8th ed. of De Wette's *Lehrbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung in die kanonischen u. apokryphischen Bücher des A. T.*, Berlin 1869; *Die assyrisch-babylonischen Keilinschriften. Kritische Untersuchung der Grundlagen ihrer Entzifferung*, Leipz. 1872; *Die Keilinschriften u. d. Alte Testament*, Giessen 1872, 2nd ed. 1883 (Eng. trans., *The Old Testament and the Cuneiform Inscriptions*, London 1885-86, 2 vols.); *Die Holfenfuhr der Istar*, Giessen, 1874; *Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung*, 1878.

BAETHGEN.¹

FRIEDRICH WILHELM ADOLF BAETHGEN, Lic. Theol. (Kiel 1877), Ph.D. (Leipz. 1878), Protestant theologian; b. at

¹ See p. 420, *supra*.

Lachem; Hannover, Jan. 16, 1849; studied at Göttingen and Kiel; was in the German army in the war against France, 1870-71; in Russia, 1873-76; in British Museum, 1878; *privat-docent* at Kiel, 1878; professor extraordinary of theology, 1884; at Halle, 1888. He is the author of *Untersuchungen über die Psalmen nach der Peshitâ*, 1878; *Syrische Grammatik des Mar Elias*, 1880; *Anmuth u. Würde in der alttestamentl. Poesie*, 1880 (lecture); *Fragmente syrischer u. arab. Historiker*, 1884; *Evangelien-fragmente: Der griechische Text des Cureton'schen Syrsers wiederhergestellt*, 1885; *Beiträge zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte. Der Gott Israels u. die Götter der Heiden*, 1888.¹

CREMER.²

AUGUST HERMANN CREMER, Lic. Theol. (Tübingen 1858), D.D. (*hon.* Berlin 1873), Lutheran (United Evangelical); b. at Unna, Westphalia, Oct. 18, 1834; studied at Halle 1853-56, and at Tübingen 1856-59; became pastor at Ostönnen, near Soest, Westphalia, 1859; ordinary professor of systematic theology at Greifswald, and pastor of St. Mary's there, 1870. He was a delegate to the General Conference of the Evangelical Alliance at Basel, 1879, and read a paper on the state of religion in Germany. He is the author, among other works, of *Die eschatologische Rede Jesu Christi Matth. xxiv. 25*, 1860; *Ueber den biblischen Begriff der Erbauung*, 1863; *Ueber die Wunder im Zusammenhang der göttlichen Offenbarung*, 1865; *Biblisch-theologisches Wörterbuch der neutestamentl. Gräcität*, 1866-67, 4th ed. 1886 (English trans. by Rev. W. Urwick, *Biblico-theological Lexicon of New Testament Greek*, Edin. 1872, 3rd ed. 1886).

GRIMM.³

CARL LUDWIG WILIBALD GRIMM, Ph.D. (Jena 1832), Lic. Theol. (Giessen 1836), Lutheran; b. at Jena, Nov. 1, 1807; educated there, 1827-32, and has ever since been connected with Jena University, as *privat-docent*, 1833; professor extraordinary, 1837; ordinary professor, 1844. His theological standpoint is of the "Middle Party." His writings embrace, *De joannina christologia indole paulina comparata*, 1833; *De libro Sapientiae*, 1833; *Commentar über das Buch der Weisheit*, 1837; *Die Glaubwürdigkeit der evangelischen Geschichte* (against Strauss), 1845; and works on Luther and his translation of the Bible. With O. T. Fritzsche he edited the *Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zu den Apocryphen des A. T.*, 1851-60 (Mac-

¹ See Professor Sayce's review of this work in the *Academy*, Nov. 10, 1888.

² See p. 420, *supra*.

³ See p. 420, *supra*.

cabees, 1853-57; Wisdom, 1860). He has also edited Wilke's *Claris N. T. philologica* (1867), and it has become a new work and bears his name; *Lexicon Græco-latinum in libros N. T.*, 2nd ed. 1879 (English trans., *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*, being Grimm's Wilke's *Claris N. T.*, translated, revised, and enlarged by J. H. Thayer, D.D., Edin. 1887).

CHRISTLIEB.

THEODOR CHRISTLIEB, Ph.D. (Tübingen 1857), D.D. (*hon.* Berlin 1870), German Evangelical theologian; b. at Birkenfeld, Würtemberg, Mar. 7, 1833; studied at Tübingen, 1851-55; pastor of the German congregation in Islington, London, 1858; town pastor at Friedrichshafen, Lake of Constance, called thither by the King of Würtemberg; professor of practical theology and university preacher at Bonn, 1868. In 1873 he attended the Evangel. Alliance Conference in New York, and read a paper upon *The Best Methods of counteracting Modern Infidelity* (in English, N. Y. 1873; also in German, French, Dutch, Swedish, Danish, Italian, and Greek). His most important works are apologetical and evangelistic: *Moderne Zweifel am christl. Glauben*, 1868, 2nd ed. 1870 (Eng. trans., *Modern Doubt and Christian Belief*, Edin. 4th ed. 1879); *Die religiöse Gleichgültigkeit u. die besten Mittel zu ihrer Bekämpfung*, 1885; *Der Missionsberuf des evangel. Deutschlands*, 1876; *Der indobritische Opiumhandel*, 1878 (Eng. trans., *The Indo-British Opium Trade and its Effects*, 1879, 2nd ed. 1881); *Der gegenwärtige Stand der evangel. Heidenmission; eine Weltüberschau*, 1879, 4th ed. 1880 (English trans., London 1880, 3rd ed. 1881, Boston 1880, Calcutta 1882;² also into Swedish, Norwegian, and French). Since 1874 co-editor of the *Allgemeine Missionsschrift*, Gütersloh. See on Hundeshagen, pp. 486, 487, notes.

KLÖPPER.

ALBERT HEINRICH ERNST KLÖPPER, Lic. Theol. (Greifswald 1853), D.D., Protestant theologian; b. at Weitenhagen, near Greifswald, Mar. 20, 1828; studied at Greifswald and Berlin, 1847-51; became curator of the royal library at Königsberg, 1866; and professor extraordinary of theology there, 1875. He is the author of *De origine epistolarum ad Ephesios et*

¹ See p. 420, *supra*.

² Protestant Missions to the Heathen: A General Survey of their recent progress and present state throughout the World. By Dr. Th. Christlieb. Translated with Additions and Appendices by W. Hastie, B.D., Principal of the General Assembly's Institution, Calcutta. Calcutta and Edin., 5th thousand, 1882.

Colossenses a criticis Tübingensibus e gnosi Valentiniana deducta, 1853; *Exegetisch-kritische Untersuchungen über den zweiten Brief des Paulus an die Gemeinde zu Corinth*, 1870; *Kommentar über das 2. Sendschreiben des Apostel Paulus an die Gemeinde zu Corinth*, 1874; *Der Brief an die Colosser*, 1882.

ORELLI.¹

HANS CONRAD VON ORELLI, Ph.D. (Leipz. 1871), D.D. (*hon.* Greifswald 1885), Swiss Protestant; b. at Zürich, Jan. 25, 1846; studied at Zürich, Lausanne, Erlangen, Tübingen, and Leipsic; preacher at Zürich, 1869; *privat-docent*, 1871; professor extraordinary of theology at Basel, 1873; ordinary professor at Basel, 1881. He is the author of *Die hebräische Synonyma der Zeit u. Ewigkeit*, 1871; *Durch's heilige Land, Tagebuchblätter*, 1878, 3rd ed. 1884; *Die Unwandelbarkeit des apostolischen Evangeliums* (address to Evangel. Alliance), 1879; *Die alttestamentl. Weissagung von der Vollendung des Gottesreiches*, 1882. (English trans., *The Old Testament Prophecy of the Consummation of God's Kingdom traced in its Historical Development*, Edin. 1885); *Commentary on Isaiah and Jeremiah* (English trans., Edin. 1889); revised ed. of Schultz's *A. T. Theologie* in Zöckler's *Handbuch*; and many articles in Herzog and in the Calw. *Bibellæcon*, 1885.

SCHÜRER.²

EMIL SCHÜRER, Ph.D. (Leipz. 1868), D.D. (Tübingen, *honoris causa*, 1877), Lutheran; b. at Augsburg, May 2, 1844; studied at Erlangen, Berlin, and Heidelberg, 1862-66; *privat-docent* at Leipsic, 1869; professor extraordinary, 1873; ordinary professor at Giessen, 1878. He has edited the *Theologische Literaturzeitung* from its foundation in 1876 (with Harnack since 1881), and is the author of *Schleiermacher's Religionsbegriff*, 1868; *De controversiis paschalibus*, 1869; *Lehrbuch der newtestamentl. Zeitgeschichte*, 1874, 2nd ed. under title, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, 1886-87, 2 vols. (English trans., *History of the Jewish People in the Time of our Lord*, 3 vols. 1886 sqq.); *Die Gemeindeverfassung der Juden in Rom in der Kaiserzeit nach den Inschriften dargestellt*, 1879; *Ueber Φαγὴν τὴν πάσχα*, Joh. xviii. 28, 1883.

¹ See p. 420, *supra*.

² See p. 420, *supra*.

ZAHN.

ZAHN, Theodor, Lic. Theol. (Göttingen 1867), D.D. (*hon.* Göttingen 1872), German Protestant; b. at Mörs, Rhenish Prussia, Oct. 10, 1838; studied at Basel, Erlangen, and Berlin, 1854-58; became teacher in Neustrelitz Gymnasium, 1861; *repetent* at Göttingen, 1865, *privat-docent*, 1868, professor extraordinary, 1871; ordinary professor at Kiel, 1877, and at Erlangen, 1878 [at Leipsic, 1888]. He is the author of *Die Voraussetzungen rechter Weihnachtsfeier*, Berlin 1865, pp. 48; *Marcellus von Ancyra*, Gotha 1867, pp. 52; *Der Hirt des Hermas untersucht*, Gotha 1868; *Ignatius von Antiochien*, 1873; *Constantin der Grosse und die Kirche*, Hannover, 1876; pp. 35; *Ignatii et Polycarpi epistulae, martyria (Pat. apos. rec. de Gebhardt, Harnack, Zahn)*, Leipzig 1876; *Weltverkehr u. Kirche während der drei ersten Jahrhunderte*, Hannover, pp. 50; *Geschichte des Sonntags vornehmlich in der alten Kirche*, 1878, pp. 79; (Norwegian trans., Kristiania 1879, Dutch trans., Amsterdam 1884); *Sclaveri und Christenthum in der alten Welt*, Heidelberg 1879 (lecture); *Acta Joannis*, Erlangen 1880; *Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentl. Kanons und der altkirchlichen Literatur*, 1881 sqq.; I. *Tatian's Diatessaron*, 1881; II. *Der Evangelien Commentar d. Theoph. v. Antiochien*, 1883; III. *Supplementum Clementinum*, 1884; *Cyprian von Antiochien u. die deutsche Faustsage*, 1882; *Die Anbetung Jesu im Zeitalter der Apostel*, Stuttgart 1885 (lecture); *Missionsmethoden im Zeitalter der Apostel*, Erlangen 1886 (2 lectures), pp. 48; numerous articles, etc. *Geschichte des N. T. Kanons*, 1888.

DORNER.

DORNER, Isaac August, D.D., one of the greatest modern divines and teachers of Germany; b. at Neuhausen, in the kingdom of Württemberg, June 20, 1809; d. at Wiesbaden, July 8, 1884; buried, July 27, in the family vault at Neuhausen, where a plain monument is erected to his memory. He was the sixth of twelve children born to the pastor of Neuhausen, and was educated first by a private tutor, then in the Latin school at Tuttlingen. In 1823, he entered the collegiate seminary at Maulbronn; in 1827, the University of Tübingen, where he studied theology and philosophy. He visited England and North Germany. In 1834, he became *repetent* (teaching tutor or fellow in the theological department of the University), having two years previous acted as assistant to his father; and in 1837, professor extraordinary of theology in Tübingen. In 1835, David Friedrich Strauss, a colleague of Dorner, published

his *Life of Jesus*, and Dorner issued the first pages of his work of opposite tendency, *History of the Development of the Doctrine of the Person of Christ*, in which the historical Christ of the Gospels is traced through the ages of the Church as the greatest fact in Christian thought and experience. His teacher, Christian Friedrich Schmid, had incited him to take up the work, into which he put his thought and study until its completion in 1839. This work determined Dorner's place among theologians and doctrinal historians, and was a most effectual, though indirect, answer to Strauss and his mythical theory. The work was afterwards greatly enlarged and improved by an exhaustive study of the sources from the Apostolic age down to the recent Kenosis controversy. In 1839, he was called to the University of Kiel as ordinary professor, and there remained until 1843. He formed an intimate friendship with Bishop Martensen, the greatest theologian of Denmark; and even the Schleswig-Holstein difficulty did not disturb it. His principal writing during his Kiel residence is his dogmatic treatise upon the *Foundation Ideas of the Protestant Church*, in which he maintained that the so-called material and formal principles of the Reformation—*i.e.* justification by faith, and the supreme authority of Scripture, respectively—were to be considered as two pillars inseparably joined, so that each stands with and through the other. This was his word of comfort to those distressed by Strauss. No criticism can alter the fact that the primitive Church did record in the New Testament, by means of the Spirit proceeding from Christ, its impressions and experiences of Christ's salvation. On the other hand, faith holds fast to the written word. For the Christ whom faith experiences is the Christ of Scripture, which alone enables the Christian to understand and assert faith and the mystery of His new personality. Justification, he used to say, is the only completed fact in the Christian: everything else is growth.

In 1843 he became professor of theology at Königsberg, in 1847 at Bonn, in 1853 at Göttingen, and finally in 1862 at Berlin. Here, besides being professor in the University, he was superior consistorial councillor (*Oberkirchenrath*), and from here, for twenty-two years, he exerted a quiet but mighty influence on the Evangelical Church of Prussia, and on students from all parts of the world.

In 1873 he visited, with his son August, the United States as a delegate to the Sixth General Conference of the Evangelical Alliance in New York, and read a thoughtful paper on the *Infallibility of the Vatican Council*, which is published in the *Proceedings*, New York, pp. 427-436. He travelled in New England and as far south as Washington, and was deeply impressed with the religious and literary activity of America. He carried back with him the most favourable recollections, and

heartily welcomed American students in his hospitable home. The last years of his life were clouded by a painful cancerous affection of his face, and the incurable malady of one of his sons, a promising youth, who lost his mind while studying at College. He bore his trial with meek resignation, and never complained. He continued to work on his Christian Ethics till the last weeks of his life, which he spent at Wittenberg in view of the Luther House. Then, feeble as he was, he set out with his wife on a journey to Switzerland for rest, and proposed visiting on the way the national monument of Germania on the Niederwald by the Rhine; but was seized with a hemorrhage, and died suddenly at Wiesbaden. His wife followed him a few months afterwards to his eternal rest.

Dr. Dorner was one of the profoundest and most learned theologians of the nineteenth century, and ranks with Schleiermacher, Neander, Nitzsch, Julius Müller, and Richard Rothe. He mastered the theology of Schleiermacher and the philosophy of Hegel, appropriated the best elements of both, infused into them a positive evangelical faith and a historical spirit. The central idea of his system was the divine-human personality of Christ as the highest revealer of God, the perfect ideal of humanity, and the Saviour from sin and death. His theology is pre-eminently christological, and his monumental history of Christology will long remain the richest mine of study in that department. He lectured on exegesis, on New Testament theology, on symbolics, and especially on dogmatics and ethics, in which he excelled all his contemporaries. He was one of the revisers of the Luther Bible, and proposed a correspondence with the Anglo-American Revision Committee while in New York, 1873, which was carried on for a short time. He was alive to all the principal Church questions, and laboured in the *Oberkirchenrath* for synodical church government, and the development of the lay agency and the voluntary principle. He had a deep interest in the work of "inner missions," and was one of its directors.

He was, with Wichern and von Bethmann-Hollweg, one of the founders of the German Church Diet, in the revolutionary year 1848, and one of the leading speakers and managers at its annual sessions. His catholicity went beyond the limits of the German Churches, and was in full sympathy with the principles and aims of the international Evangelical Alliance. He was a most devoted and conscientious teacher, and a favourite among students. The *Johanneum* and the Melancthon House in Berlin are memorials of his active interest in indigent students. The leading traits of his personal character were purity, simplicity, courtesy, gentleness, humility, and love. Decan Jäger and Diaconus Knapp paid noble testimonies to his virtues at the funeral (*Zur Erinnerung an Dr. Isaac*

August Dorner, Tuttlingen 1884), and Dr. Kleinert as dean of the theological faculty delivered a eulogy before the University of Berlin, July 26, 1884 (*Zum Gedächtniss, J. A. D's*, Berlin 1884), in which he places him next to Schleiermacher, and calls him "a leader and prophet in the highest question of theology," adding that "great as were his merits in theological science, the noblest thing in him was his personality, which reflected the image of Christ, and impressed itself indelibly on all who knew him." His son has given a good account of his theological system in *Dem Andenken von Dr. J. A. Dorner, von Dr. Dorner, Prof. in Wittenberg*, Gotha 1885.

The following is a list of Dorner's publications:—*Entwicklungsgeschichte der Lehre von der Person Christi von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die neueste dargestellt*, Stuttgart 1839; 2nd ed. more than doubled in size, 1st part, *Die Lehre von der Person Christi in den ersten vier Jahrhunderten*, Stuttgart 1845; 2nd part, *Die Lehre von der Person Christi von Ende des vierten Jahrhunderts bis zur Gegenwart*, 3 divisions (*bis zur Reformation*, 1853; *in dem Reformations Zeitalter*, 1854; *bis zur Gegenwart*, 1856), Berlin 1853–56 (English trans. by W. L. Alexander and D. W. Simon, *History of the Development of the Doctrine of the Person of Christ*, Edinburgh, 1861–63 5 vols.); *Der Pietismus, insbesondere in Württemberg, und seine speculativen Gegner, Binder und Märklin, mit besonderer Beziehung auf das Verhältniss des Pietismus und der Kirche*, Hamburg 1840; *Das Princip unserer Kirche nach dem innern Verhältnisse seiner zwei Seiten betrachtet*, Kiel 1841; *De oratione Christi eschatologica*, Matt. xxiv. 1–36 (*Luc. xxi. 5–36, Marc. xiii. 1–32*) *asserata*, Stuttgart 1844; *Das Verhältniss zwischen Kirche und Staat, aus dem Gesichtspunkte evangelischer Wissenschaft*, Bonn 1847; *Sendschreiben über Reform der evangelischen Landeskirchen im Zusammenhang mit der Herstellung einer evangelisch-deutschen Nationalkirche*; an Herrn C. J. Nitzsch in Berlin und Herrn Julius Müller in Halle, Bonn 1848; *Ueber Jesu sündlose Vollkommenheit*, Gotha 1861 (translated into English by H. B. Smith, New York); *Geschichte der protestantischen Theologie*, Munich 1867 (English trans., *History of Protestant Theology, particularly in Germany, viewed according to its fundamental movement, and in connection with the religious, moral, and intellectual life*, Edinburgh 1871, 2 vols.); *System der christlichen Glaubenslehre*, Berlin 1879–80, 2nd ed. 1886, 2 vols. (English trans. by Rev. Profs. Alfred Cave and J. S. Banks, *A System of Christian Doctrine*, Edinburgh 1880–82, 4 vols.); *Gesammelte Schriften auf dem Gebiete der systematischen Theologie, Exegese und Geschichte*, Berlin 1883 (contains his valuable metaphysical essays on the unchangeability of God, and criticism of the Kenosis theory of the incarnation); *System der christlichen Sittenlehre* (560 pp., edited by August Dorner, his son), Berlin 1885. He founded

and edited, with Liebner, the valuable theological quarterly, *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, Gotha 1856-1878.¹

PHILIP SCHAFF.

¹ August Dorner, the son of the great theologian, and editor of his *Ethics*, as stated above, has already won a reputation as a theologian and metaphysician, and the account of him in Dr. Schaff's *Encyclopædia* may also be reproduced. August Johannes Dorner, "Ph.D., Lic. Theol. (both Berlin 1867 and 1869), D.D. (hon. Halle 1883), Protestant (son of the late J. A. Dorner); born at Scheltach, Baden, May 13, 1846; studied at Berlin; was *repentant* in Göttingen, 1870-73; since then has been professor of theology and co-director of the theological seminary at Wittenberg. He is the author of *De Baconis Philosophia*, Berlin 1867; *Augustinus sein theologisches System und seine religions-philosoph. Anschauung*, 1873; *Predigten vom Reiche Gottes*, 1880; *Kirche u. Reich Gottes*, 1883, besides minor publications and review articles." He has also published: *Das menschliche Erkennen. Grundlinien der Erkenntnistheorie und Metaphysik*, Berlin 1887.

INDEX.

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A

ALTENSTEIN, 318.
Ammon, 21, 126, 128, 227.
Arndt, G. M., 188, 287-288, 536.
Arnim, A. von, 291.
Arnold, T., 528, 541.
Astié, 492.
Auberlen, C. A., 485-486.
Auerbach, 295.
Augusti, 126.
Augustus, Duke Charles, 18, 255.

B

Baader, Franz von, 371.
Babut, 492.
Bachmann, 212.
Baer, 420, 612, 616-617.
Baethgen, 420.
Bähr, 204.
Bähring, 539.
Baldensperger, 577.
Barclay, R., 538.
Bauer, Bruno, 374-378.
Baum, 412.
Baumgarten, 215, 464-466.
Baumgarten-Crusius, 414.
Baur, F. C., 43, 197, 214, 323, 333, 378-388, 390, 391, 393, 397, 412, 445, 459, 485, 495, 567, 601.
Baur, W., 4.
Baxmann, 379.
Beaconsfield, Lord, 427.
Beck, 484-485, 594.
Bekker, 121.
Bender, 587.
Bengel, 402.
Berger, 379.
Bestmann, 577.
Bethmann-Hollweg, 188, 314, 402.
Beyschlag, 488-490.
Biedermann, 321, 572-573.
Birch, Dr. S., 534.
Blair, 55.
Bleck, F., 188, 400-402.
Blunn, R., 370.

Bluntschli, 350.
Bockh, 121.
Böhme, 322.
Böhmer, 371.
Boos, Martin, 593-594.
Börne, L., 370.
Brandis, 188, 536.
Brentano, 281.
Bretschneider, 30, 32, 320.
Brömel, 445.
Brück, 497.
Brückner, 370.
Bunsen, 497, 527-533.
Buttmann, 121.
Buxton, 532.

C

Caro, 255, 265.
Cherbulier, 321.
Christlieb, 487, 618.
Colani, 321, 492.
Colln, 131.
Coquerel, A., 540.
Credner, 414.
Cremer, 420, 617.
Creuzer, 5, 200, 227, 495.
Cunitz, 412.
Czerski, 591-592.

D

Darwin, 344, 364.
Daub, 199, 200, 222-227, 230, 360.
Daumer, 367-369.
Davoust, 118.
Delbruck, 130.
Delitzsch, Dr. Franz, 424, 432-435, 420, 466, 611-612.
Delitzsch, F., 434.
Delitzsch, J., 434.
De Wette, 34-45, 121, 132, 171, 175, 197, 227, 321.
Didache, 419.
Dieckhoff, 577.
Diepenbrock, 593.

Diestel, 407.
 Dillmann, 420, 567.
 Dittenberger, 226.
 Döllinger, 592, 606-608.
 Dorner, 9, 38, 445, 472, 477-480, 620-624.
 Dorner, A., 624.
 Drechsler, 406.
 Drey, 606.

E

Eberhardt, 52, 112.
 Ebrard, 405-406, 447.
 Echtermeyer, 364.
 Eckermann, 262.
 Eichendorf, 291.
 Eichhorn, 320.
 Elwert, 38.
 Engelhardt, 560.
 Ense, 169.
 Eppler, 488.
 Erdmann, 240-241.
 Ernesti, 320.
 Erskine, Thomas, 497.
 Esser, 594.
 Evangelical Gazette, 214.
 Ewald, 407-410, 540, 567.

F

Fabri, 371, 490-492.
 Fawcett, 55.
 Feneberg, 593.
 Feuerbach, 317, 360-363, 370.
 Fichte, 8, 11-13, 89, 91, 95, 107, 159, 274, 550.
 Fichte, J. H., 371, 534.
 Fischer, 492.
 Flegel, 596.
 Flugel, 677.
 Frank, 559, 577, 587-588.
 Frederick William III., 529.
 Frederick William IV., 311.
 Freiligrath, 370.
 Frick, 170.
 Friedberg, 606.
 Friedrich, 606.
 Fries, 35, 36, 38.
 Frohschammer, 597.
 Frommann, 606.
 Frommel, 594.
 Fry, Elizabeth, 532.
 Fürst, 420, 612.

G

Gallitzin, Princess, 258.
 Gass, J. C., 48, 111.
 Gass, W., 48, 559.
 Geibel, 301.

Gelert, 252.
 Gelzer, 472, 527, 539.
 Gentz, 57.
 Gerhardt, 243.
 Gerlach, 239.
 Gervinus, 591.
 Gesenius, 201, 214, 417.
 Gess, 446.
 Gfrörer, 606.
 Gieseler, 320, 557-558, 591.
 Gladstone, 531.
 Gneisenau, 118.
 Goethe, 18, 88, 219-273, 494.
 Görres, 601-604.
 Göschel, 239-240.
 Gossner, 594.
 Gottschalk, 321.
 Grau, 463.
 Griesbach, 35, 333.
 Grimm, 420, 617-618.
 Grunow, Eleanore, 103, 116.
 Guder, 488.
 Guericke, 219, 424.
 Günther, 596-597.
 Gurlitt, 168.
 Gurney, 532.
 Gutzkow, 272, 370.

H

Hagenbach, 168, 467, 487-488.
 Hahn, 217, 543.
 Hamann, 8, 253.
 Hanne, 557.
 Harless, 218.
 Harms, 20, 48, 207-211.
 Harnack, A., 560-561.
 Harnack, K., 444, 447.
 Hartmann, 371.
 Hase, 20, 31, 379, 543-549, 591.
 Hasse, 241.
 Hausrath, 321, 567, 570.
 Hebel, 291.
 Hefele, 606.
 Hegel, 8, 14-17, 159, 200, 220, 223, 225, 230, 239, 283, 317, 324, 360, 364, 390, 495, 552, 554.
 Heine, 208-301.
 Heinzen, 370.
 Heldt, 488.
 Hengstenberg, 20, 211, 212-217, 318, 327, 334, 422, 459, 461.
 Henke, 594.
 Henke, 21, 558.
 Heppel, 558.
 Herbart, 371.
 Herbst, 589.
 Herder, 8, 18, 35, 253, 256, 399.
 Hermes, 594-596.
 Herrmann, 584-585.
 Herwegh, 370.
 Herz, Henriette, 56, 274.
 Heubner, 186, 496, 497.

Heyne, 528.
 Hilgenfeld, 379, 392-393.
 Hirscher, 606.
 Hirzel, 573.
 Hitzig, 569-570.
 Hofacker, L., 320.
 Hoffmann, 472-473.
 Höfling, 444.
 Hofmann, 48, 215, 424, 446-458, 466.
 Holsten, 395.
 Holtzendorf, 565.
 Holtzmann, 492, 539, 567-569.
 Hossbach, 126.
 Huber, 606.
 Humboldt, 57.
 Hume, 8.
 Hundeshagen, 202, 486-487.
 Hur, 539.
 Hupfeld, 414.
 Hurter, 606.

J

Jacobi, 46, 168, 258, 559.
 Jahn, F. L., 288-290.
 Jahn, Dr. J., 589.
 Janssen, 605.
 Joerg, 605.
 Jonas, 556-557.

K

Kaftan, 585-586.
 Kähler, 474.
 Kahnis, 194, 215, 424, 459-462.
 Kamphausen, 539.
 Kant, 8-11, 18, 19, 22, 25, 35, 54, 107, 159, 186, 223, 244, 265, 341, 534, 550, 576.
 Kayser, 379.
 Keil, 407.
 Keim, 412, 567.
 Kern, 322.
 Kerner, 6, 322.
 Kestner, 254.
 Ketteler, 537, 604.
 Kittel, 420.
 Klee, 606.
 Kleinert, 407.
 Klettenberg, Fräulein von, 252, 254, 259.
 Kliefoth, 422, 424, 435-438, 465.
 Kling, 168.
 Kloppe, 420, 618-619.
 Klopstock, 243.
 Knapp, A., 302-303.
 Knapp, 112.
 Knobel, 410.
 Knoedt, 596.
 Körner, 286-287.
 Köstlin, 393-394.
 Kottwitz, Baron von, 402, 496.

Kotzebue, 39.
 Krabbe, 168, 465.
 Krause, 556.
 Krummacher, D., 218, 402.
 Krummacher, E., 496.
 Krummacher, F. W., 218.
 Kuenen, 420.
 Kurtz, 219.

L

Laas, 364.
 Lachmann, 121, 418, 528.
 Lagarde, 420, 612-613.
 Lamartine, 295.
 Lampadius, 591.
 Lang, 321, 573-575.
 Lange, 467, 481-482.
 Lavater, 253, 256, 258.
 Lechler, 414-415.
 Lenau, 297-298.
 Leo, 442-443, 459.
 Lepsius, 534.
 Lessing, 186, 244.
 Levin, Rachel, 57, 274.
 Liebig, 371.
 Liebner, 472, 480.
 Lipsius, 560, 567, 577.
 Lisso, 126, 557.
 Lobstein, 582.
 Lohé, 430-432.
 Lommatzsch, 142.
 Lotze, 372-373.
 Löwe, 488.
 Lücke, 171, 188, 399-400, 402.
 Luther, 404, 495.
 Luthardt, 424, 464, 577.

M

Mahlmann, 291.
 Marheineke, 20, 31, 38, 126, 171, 192, 226, 227-239, 470, 601.
 Marklin, 322, 323.
 Martensen, 482-483.
 Marx, 370.
 Matthäi, 418.
 Mejer, O., 606.
 Mendelssohn, 270.
 Merx, 614.
 Messner, 472.
 Meyer, H. A. W., 404-405.
 Meyer, J. F. von, 402-405.
 Michaelis, 320.
 Micheliis, 606.
 Miller, 535.
 Müller, 598-601.
 Moleschott, 370.
 Monod, J., 168.
 Monod, Mme. W., 190.
 Montalembert, 603.
 Moravian Brethren, 49, 111, 253, 282.

Moufang, 605.
Movers, 589.
Moy, 606.
Mühlenfels, Henriette, 117, 120.
Müller, Julius, 197, 212, 327, 381, 497.
Münchmeyer, 434-435.
Mundt, 370.

N

Napoleon I., 270.
Nathasius, P. von, 442.
Nathasius, Marie, 441.
Neander, 121, 167-185, 197, 212, 214, 229, 230, 307, 402, 422, 495.
Neftzer, 379, 539.
Neumann, 169.
Nicolai, 20.
Niebuhr, 121, 188, 389, 528.
Niemeyer, 52, 112.
Nightingale, Florence, 532.
Nippold, 492, 525.
Nitzsch, 185-196, 307, 601.
Noack, 378.
Nöldeke, 615.
Nösselt, 52, 112.
Novalis, 89, 232-285, 494.

O

Oehler, 406.
Oettinger, 485.
Oettingen, 463.
Olshausen, 405.
Orelli, 619.

P

Passavant, 593.
Paulus, 21-24, 35, 199, 200.
Perthes, 171, 248.
Pfister, 199.
Pfeiderer, 554-555.
Philippi, 443, 447.
Philipp, 606.
Pichler, 608.
Planck, 28-29, 170, 227.
Platen, 297.
Plato, 59, 106, 168.
Pressensé, 540.
Prochnow, 594.

R

Ranke, L., 527.
Redwitz, 312.
Reinhard, 20, 25-27.
Reinke, 606.
Reinkens, 592, 609.
Renan, 333, 335, 540, 566.

Reusch, 606.
Reuschle, 321.
Reuss, 410-412.
Richter, 89, 276-277, 402, 441, 494.
Riehm, 406.
Riggenbach, 434, 488.
Rink, 200.
Ritschl, 379, 396-397, 576-584.
Rödiger, 418.
Rohmer, F., 372.
Rühr, 19-20.
Ronge, 591, 592.
Rosenkranz, 222, 240.
Rothe, 48, 202, 215, 316, 402, 485, 492-526, 536, 556.
Rottmann, 199.
Rückert, F., 295-296.
Rückert, L. J., 550-552.
Rudelbach, 219.
Ruge, 364-367, 370, 459.

S

Sack, 55, 89, 104, 111, 188.
Sacy, Sylvestre de, 528.
Sailer, 592-593.
Sallet, 301.
Sand, 39.
Sardinoux, 379.
Sartorius, 219.
Schadow, 57.
Schaff, Dr., 481.
Schaller, 241, 371.
Scharnhorst, 113, 457.
Schebest, 359.
Scheele, 441-442.
Schefer, 301.
Scheibel, 497.
Schelling, 8, 13-14, 112, 159, 223, 231, 274, 322, 425, 531, 534, 543.
Schenkel, 316, 334, 350, 379, 492, 523, 561-567, 591.
Schenkendorf, 290.
Scherer, 15, 168.
Schiller, 222, 242-249, 259, 272, 285.
Schlegel, A. W. von, 57, 274, 278-279.
Schlegel, F. von, 55, 57, 104, 279-280, 494.
Schleiermacher, 20, 31, 38, 40, 46-166, 169, 171, 174, 186, 197, 208, 212, 226, 229, 230, 334, 399, 400, 401, 422, 441, 496, 534, 552, 555.
Schmid, 589.
Schmidt, 289, 321.
Schmidt, P., 556, 565.
Schneckenburger, 386, 558.
Schopenhauer, 371.
Schrader, 567, 616, 619.
Schröck, 166.
Schubert, 5, 531.
Schultz, 131, 586-587.
Schürer, 420, 619.

Schwab, 199, 291.
Schwalb, 379.
Schwartz, 199.
Schwarz, C., 205, 227, 401, 552-554.
Schwegler, 390-391.
Schweizer, 570-572.
Semler, 18, 52, 320.
Sieveking, 169.
Solms, 492.
Spalding, 57, 89.
Spencer, H., 364.
Spiegel, 591.
Spinoza, 91, 106, 255.
Spitta, 303, 307.
Spörri, 492.
Stade, 420.
Stael, Madame de, 279.
Stahl, 313, 425-430.
Steffens, 497.
Stein, Baron von, 4, 118, 122, 287.
Stein, Madame von, 258.
Steinmeyer, 463.
Steitz, 559.
Steudel, 27-28, 327.
Stieglitz, 169, 170.
Stier, 402-404.
Stirner, 363.
Stoecker, A., 575.
Strack, 615.
Strauss, 43, 113, 180, 202, 214, 220, 225, 241, 320-359, 374, 391, 445, 459.
Strauss, V. von, 443.
Sydow, 557.

T

Theile, 418.
Theiner, 606.
Thiersch, 415-416.
Thikötter, 577.
Thilo, 418.
Tholuck, 272, 402, 441, 459, 473-477.
Thomasius, 444-445, 447.
Tieck, 280, 494.
Tischendorf, 418-419.
Tittmann, 371, 418.
Tobler, 395-396.
Tocqueville, De, 540.
Trendelenburg, 371.
Tuch, 406.
Twisten, 196-197.
Tzschirner, 20, 32-34, 186.

U

Uhland, 199, 291-295.
Uhlhorn, 379.
Ullmann, 168, 199-205, 307, 327, 422.
Ulrici, 371.
Umbreit, 200.

V

Veit, 60.
Veuillot, 603.
Vilmar, 438-441.
Virchow, 370.
Vischering, 591.
Vogelin, 573.
Vogt, 370.
Volkmar, 394-395.
Voltaire, 243, 253, 258, 300, 334.

W

Waddington, Frances, 528.
Wagner, 371.
Wangemann, 424.
Weber, 371.
Wegscheider, 20-21, 201, 214.
Weise, 374.
Weiss, 416-417, 577.
Weisse, 371.
Weizsäcker, 412.
Wellhausen, 419-420.
Werner, 589, 606.
Wessenberg, 594.
Wieland, 243.
Wilke, 374.
Wilkens, 495.
Willich, 117.
Winckel, 492.
Winckelmann, 244.
Winer, 417-418.
Wolf, 52, 389.
Wolf, W., 9, 18, 25, 52, 252.
Wuttke, 560.

Z

Zahn, 420, 620.
Zaremba, 48.
Zeller, 319, 321, 391-392.
Zezschwitz, 462-463.
Zinzendorf, 496.
Zöckler, 463.

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30 History of German theology in the nineteenth
G3 century / by F. Lichtenberger ; translated and
L513 edited by W. Hastie. -- Edinburgh : T.&T. Clark,
1889b 1889.

xxxix, 629p. ; 23cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.
Photocopy. 22x28cm.

1. Theology, Doctrinal--History--Germany. 2. Theology, Doctrinal--History--19th century. I. Hastie, William, 1842-1903. II. Title. III. Title: German theology in the nineteenth century.

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